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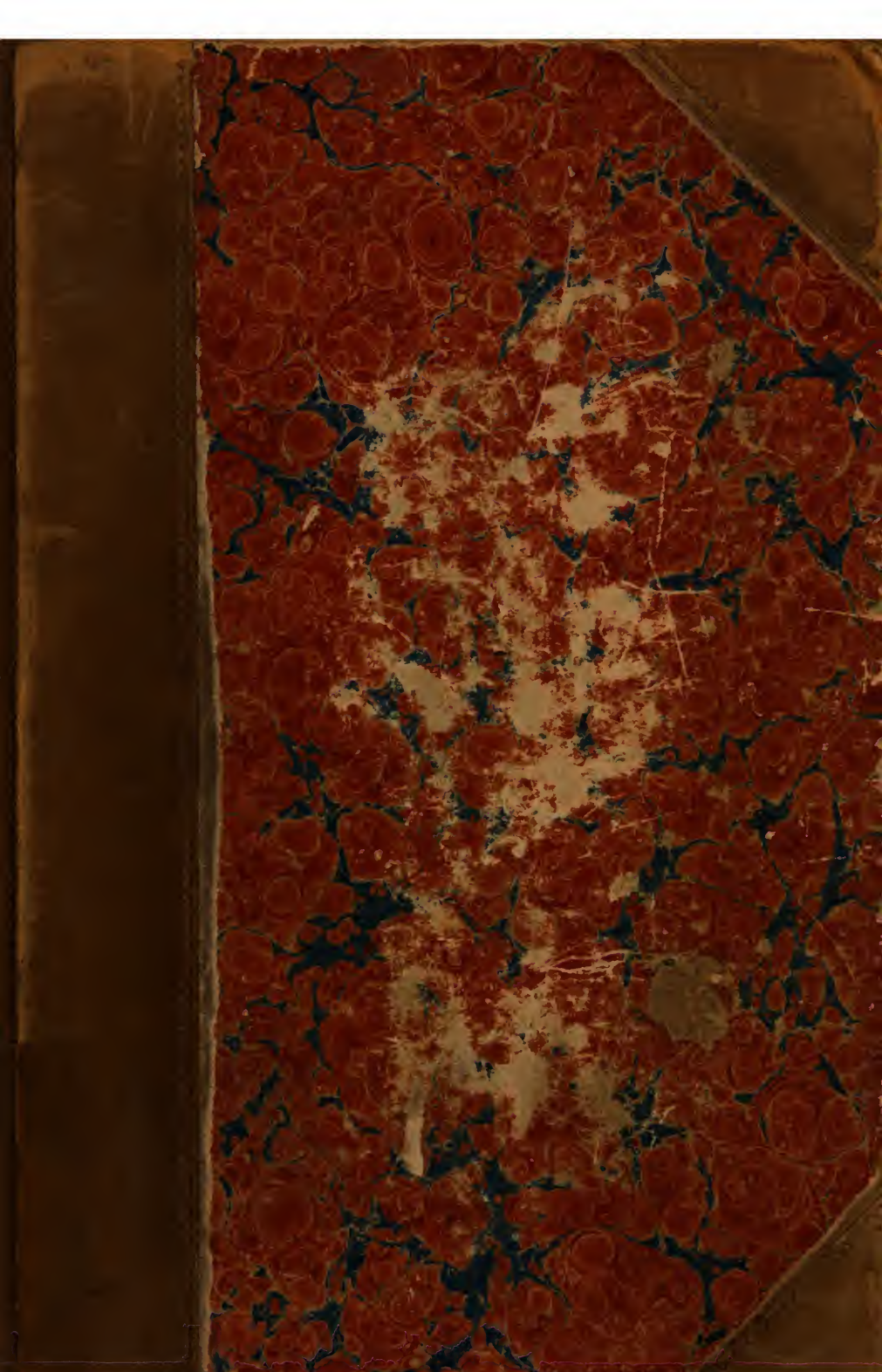
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116





TRACTS
PUBLISHED
UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE
OF THE
CATHOLIC INSTITUTE
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

VOL. I.

TRACTS 1—38.



LONDON :

SOLD AT THE OFFICE OF THE CATHOLIC INSTITUTE,
14, SOHO SQUARE, AND BY ALL CATHOLIC
BOOKSELLERS.

Price 5s. 6d. bound in Cloth and Lettered.

1838-1841.

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v.1

LONDON:
RICHARDS, PRINTER, 100, ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

22

CONTENTS.

A Short Account of the Origin and Progress of the Catholic Institute of Great Britain, with an Appendix of Documents.

Apostolic Letter from His Holiness Pope Gregory XVI to the Right Honourable the Earl of Shrewsbury, President of the Catholic Institute.

TRACTS.

1. Declaration of the Catholic Bishops, the Vicars Apostolic, and their Coadjutors in Great Britain.
2. Bishop Baines' Sermon on Faith, Hope, and Charity.
3. The Widow Wolfrey *versus* the Vicar of Carisbrooke; or Prayer for the Dead
4. Bishop Milner's Letters on the Rule of Faith, or the Method of finding out the True Religion, No. I.
5. — Ditto No. II.
6. — Ditto No. III.
7. Bishop Milner's Catholic Scriptural Catechism.
8. Bishop Challoner's Touchstone of the New Religion, and the True Principles of a Catholic annexed.
9. The True Principles separately.
10. Sixty Reasons in favour of the Old Religion; or the Cogitations of a Convert to the Catholic Faith.
11. A Short Account of the Conversion of the Hon. and Rev. G. Spencer to the Catholic Faith, written by himself.
12. An Inquiry into the Doctrine of Good Works, Merit, &c.
13. A Refutation of the Charge of Religious Persecution, urged against the Catholic Religion; being an Abridgment of his Fourth Letter to a Prebendary, by the Right Rev. John Milner, D.D., F.S.A.
14. A Short Treatise on Fasting.
15. The High Church Claims, No. I, by the Right Rev. Nicholas Wiseman, occasioned by the Controversy respecting Dr. Hampden's appointment to the Theological Chair at Oxford, in 1836.
16. Ditto ditto, No. II,—occasioned by a Sermon by the Rev. John Keble, M.A., entitled "Primitive Christianity recognized in Holy Scripture," &c.

735203

17. The High Church claims, No. III,—occasioned by the publication of the "Tracts for the Times."
18. Ditto ditto, No. IV,—occasioned by the "Tracts for the Times," and the publication of a new Edition of the Works of the Rev. Richard Hooker, with additions, arranged by the Rev. John Keble.
19. Ditto ditto, No. V,—occasioned by the publication of the "Tracts for the Times."
20. Ditto ditto, No. VI,—occasioned by the publication of the "Remains of the late Rev. H. Froude, M.A."
21. Tracts from the Fathers of the English Church, No. I,—Two Letters of Alcuin on the Confession of Sins
22. Reasons for Subscribing to the Exclusive Teaching and Authority of the Catholic Church, by John Athanasius Cooke, Esq. Barrister-at Law
23. Mumford's Catholic Scripturist, No. I,—Scripture and Tradition
24. A Search into Matters of Religion, by Francis Walsingham, Deacon of the Protestant's Church before his Change to the Catholic
25. Mumford's Catholic Scripturist, No. II,—Perpetuity of the Church—its Universality and Infallibility
26. Nuns and Monastic Institutes
27. Mumford's Catholic Scripturist, No. III,—Roman Church the infallible Church—the Supremacy of St. Peter—the Pope not Antichrist.
28. Remarks on the Erroneous Opinions entertained respecting the Catholic Religion, by Henry Howard, Esq.
29. Tracts from the Fathers of the English Church, No. II,—Alcuin on the Holy Eucharist and the Ceremonies of Baptism
30. Pastoral Charge of the Archbishop of Tours, for the Lent of 1840
31. Mumford's Catholic Scripturist, No. IV,—Of the Sacraments of the Church and accompanying Ceremonies—Baptism—Confirmation
32. Ditto ditto, No. V,—Of the Holy Eucharist and Communion under one kind
33. Ditto ditto, No. VI,—Of the Mass
34. Ditto ditto, No. VII,—Of Saying Mass and other Public Prayers in the Latin Tongue
35. Dialogues on Methodism, by the Rev. J. A. Mason, No. I
36. Mumford's Catholic Scripturist, No. VIII,—Penance—Extreme Unction—Holy Order—Matrimony—Single Life of Priests
37. Dialogues on Methodism, by the Rev. J. A. Mason, No. II
38. An Account of the Conversion of an American Family, by the Right Rev. Dr. Hughes, Bishop of Basileopolis and Coadjutor of New York

A SHORT ACCOUNT
OF THE
ORIGIN AND PROGRESS
OF
THE CATHOLIC INSTITUTE
OF
GREAT BRITAIN:

WITH
AN APPENDIX OF DOCUMENTS,

INTENDED AS

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE FIRST ANNUAL REPORT.



1839.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY C. RICHARDS, 100, ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

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1846
Catholic Institute
1846

A SHORT ACCOUNT,

&c. &c.

FOR some years previously to 1837, a society had existed in London, under the name of the METROPOLITAN CATHOLIC TRACT SOCIETY, the object of which was, as the title imported, to circulate tracts explanatory and vindicatory of the Catholic faith. This Society originated with the late Mr. William Eusebius Andrews, and a few zealous friends, and though it did, undoubtedly, considerable good, by the circulation of a large number of tracts, yet not being recognized by the proper ecclesiastical authorities, it received but little efficient support, and towards the close of the year 1837, its longer existence was problematical. In this situation of matters some of the members of the Committee applied to the Rev. Mr. Sisk, of Chelsea, for his advice and aid to save the Society from extinction. Mr. Sisk entered warmly into the views of the Committee, and arranged for a meeting of the Society, to take into consideration its state and prospects. The Rev. Dr. Cox, now Vice-President of St. Edmund's College, Old Hall Green, having consented to attend the meeting, these two reverend gentlemen requested Mr. Smith, now the Secretary of the Catholic Institute, to accompany them to the meeting, and to assist them in their deliberations.

A meeting was accordingly held on the 13th December, 1837; at which, after considerable discussion, a resolution was come to, appointing a Committee for the purpose of re-modelling the Society. New officers were appointed *pro tempore*, and Mr. Smith was solicited to take upon himself the duties of the Secretaryship, a request with which he complied.

As the plan of organization required great consideration, and as the above named gentlemen considered it desirable to consult, as occasion might offer, the Clergy, and such of the influential Laity, as might be supposed favourable to the plan, no active measures were taken till after the meeting of Parliament in February 1838. A preliminary meeting having been arranged with Mr. O'Connell, M.P., the Hon. Charles Langdale, M.P. and other leading members of the Catholic body, a circular was addressed by the Secretary to the Catholic clergy in London and the vicinity, and to a considerable number of the laity, calling a meeting at the Sabloniere Hotel, Leicester Square, on Monday, the 26th February, 1838, for the purpose of re-modelling the METROPOLITAN CATHOLIC TRACT SOCIETY. The Hon. Mr. Langdale was called to the Chair, and certain resolutions, proposed by the Secretary, for re-organizing that Society, were unanimously passed.

Mr. O'Connell, however, had more extended views; and, after a luminous and animated speech, proposed that a committee should be appointed "to take into consideration, the best means of procuring the co-operation of the Catholic Clergy and Laity in Great Britain, towards the formation of some Institution for the protection and encouragement of the Catholic religion and Catholic people." This motion was unanimously adopted, and a Committee of nineteen gentlemen, with power to add to their number, was named to consider the above matter, and to report.

The Committee and other Catholic gentlemen, friendly to the object, met at the Sabloniere Hotel on 1st March, Mr. Langdale in the chair. At this meeting, Mr. O'Connell moved "that it is the opinion of this Committee that an Institute be formed, to consist of the Catholic Clergy and Laity of Great Britain, to protect the rights of conscience of the poorer classes of Catholics, and to promote the interests of religion and charity." This motion was passed unanimously, as was the following, also proposed by the honorable and learned gentleman, "That a respectful communication be addressed to the Catholic Prelates, with the above resolution, requesting their opinion and co-operation." The following gentlemen were then named to draw up the address to the Bishops, viz. the Hon. C. Langdale, M.P., Mr. O'Connell, M.P., Rev. Mr. Picquot, Rev. Mr. Sisk, and Mr. M. J. Quin. An address was accordingly prepared, (see Appendix, No. 1) and a copy thereof, signed by Mr. Langdale, as Chairman, was sent to each of the British Vicars Apostolic.

The address was reported to a meeting of the Committee, held on 6th April, at which the Earl of Shrewsbury presided.

At another meeting held on 31st May, over which his Lordship also presided, Mr. O'Connell moved "that a sub-Committee be appointed to frame a proposal for the formation of a Catholic Institute, and to report the same to an adjourned meeting of the Committee, to be held on 7th June, proxo."

The Committee accordingly met on that day, when a proposal for the formation of an Institute was laid before the meeting. The Committee adjourned till the 13th, and it was resolved, in the meantime, that the proposal and the letter to the Vicars Apostolic, and the answer of the English Catholic Bishops (see Appendix, No. 2) should be printed and circulated for the use of the Committee.

At the adjourned meeting, held on the 13th June, at which Mr. Langdale presided, a sub-Committee was appointed to circulate amongst the Catholics of Great Britain, singly and simply for the purpose of consideration and of obtaining an expression of their opinions, printed copies of the letter to the Vicars Apostolic, the answer thereto of the English Catholic Bishops, and the proposal for forming an Institute; and to accompany these documents with such explanations as they might think fit.

The resolutions (see Appendix No. 4) were agreed to, at meetings held on 27th June, 3rd and 9th of July, 1838.

At a meeting held on 16th July, 1838, a sub-committee of seven gentlemen, on the motion of Mr. Langdale, seconded by the Rev. Mr. Sisk, was appointed; to whom the general objects of the Institute were, in the mean time, confided. This sub-Committee drew up an address (see Appendix, No. 3) to the Catholics of Great Britain, which was printed and circulated very extensively.

This address was reported to an adjourned meeting of the general Committee, held on 1st August, 1838, and the conduct of the Committee of general purposes in regard thereto was approved of by that meeting. The General Committee again met on 1st October following, when a written report from the Committee of general purposes was read, giving a short detail of its proceedings, and containing several suggestions for the consideration of the Institute. Amongst these was the appointment of two other sub-Committees, one for managing the pecuniary affairs of the Institute, and for organizing local branches or affiliations of the Society; and another for superintending the publication of such tracts and other works as might be approved of by the proper ecclesiastical

authority. The proposed Sub-Committees were accordingly appointed, whose proceedings will be found detailed in the first annual Report of the Institute. It remains to be stated, that after the formation of the Institute, a report was made by the Committee appointed to re-model the METROPOLITAN CATHOLIC TRACT SOCIETY to a general meeting of that body, at which meeting a resolution was unanimously passed, dissolving that society as being no longer necessary.

The Publication Committee having been instructed by the Committee of Management to prepare a publication embodying such documents and statements as they might consider desirable, for the purpose of exhibiting the origin and progress of the Institute, and to serve as an introduction to the first Annual Report, submit the foregoing details and the following papers to the Members of the CATHOLIC INSTITUTE

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Copy of a Letter addressed to each of the Vicars Apostolic of Great Britain.

31, Jermyn Street, London, March 7th, 1838.

MY LORD,—I have been requested by several of the Catholic clergy and laity, in meeting assembled, to submit to your Lordship the outlines of a Plan for the formation of a Society in London, the main objects of which would be to secure to the poorer classes of the Catholic community in Great Britain the full enjoyment of the rights of conscience guaranteed to them by the laws, and to advance generally the interests of religion and charity by all the means which such a Society can command.

It is proposed that the Society should consist of the Catholic prelates and clergy, and of as many of the laity of every class as can be prevailed upon to become members of it, and that it should be organized under the appellation of the Catholic Institute of Great Britain.

Your Lordship is aware that notwithstanding the provisions of the Act of 1829, the spirit of intolerance which pervaded the penal code has been hitherto very little, if at all, abated. On the contrary, it would seem that the liberality of the legislature, in passing that great measure, has only rendered the enemies of our religion more active than ever. Anti-Catholic Associations have been recently created in the metropolis, and in many parts of the country, for the express purpose of opposing, by every species of misrepresentation, the progress of our faith, and of frustrating the beneficial results of the Act of Emancipation. The press, the pulpit, and the lecture-room, teem with libels on our Church; and even within the walls of Parliament voices are continually raised to swell the tide of calumny against us.

It appears to the gentlemen who have charged me to communicate with your Lordship, that essential services might be rendered to our holy religion by the accomplishment of the following practical measures:

1. The creation of a *Fund*, by means of small contributions collected generally from the Catholics of Great Britain.
2. The Fund to be applied by the management, and under the direction and complete control of our prelates, to the Erection of Chapels wherever they may judge such edifices to be necessary.
3. The Fund to be used also in printing and circulating throughout the country, in a cheap form, Catholic publications of an approved and authorized character.
4. The forming local Societies for the purpose of distributing small tracts, and of lending religious books to all persons who may feel a desire to become acquainted with our doctrines.
5. In encountering expeditiously, through the medium of the periodical press, hostile attacks of every description, from whatever quarter they may emanate.

6. In securing to Catholic sailors, soldiers, prisoners, invalids in the hospitals and to the poor in the workhouses, the religious rights to which they are by law entitled, and the consolations which they can derive from well-selected books.
7. In establishing, if the prelates should deem it expedient, provision for Catholic Lectures, to be delivered in the metropolis, by clergymen expressly appointed and duly authorized for that purpose.
8. In affording all possible aid to the Catholic Charity Schools throughout the country.

The anxious desire of the Meeting was to create such an organization of the Catholic body in Great Britain, as should, in the first instance, be entitled to obtain the approbation and consequent cooperation of the Catholic prelates and clergy. We seek for suggestion and advice as to the best method of carrying our general purpose into full effect; being desirous to manage all the details in the mode most suitable to the discipline as well as to the doctrine of the Catholic Church.

A strong impression prevails that the time is come, when there should be an organized mode of collecting an annual sum of money from every Catholic capable of contributing, graduated according to the means of the party, and placed under the control of the Catholic prelates and clergy, for all ecclesiastical purposes.

Requesting your Lordship's consideration, and a reply at your convenience, it being intended to hold another meeting as soon as circumstances will permit, I have the honour to remain,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant,
C. LANGDALE, *Chairman.*

No. II.

Copy of the Reply of the English Vicars Apostolic.

York, May 12, 1838.

HON. AND DEAR SIR,—IN the month of March you did each of us, the Vicars Apostolic in England, the honour of transmitting a copy of a letter signed by you as Chairman of the Preparatory Meeting of the Catholic Institute of Great Britain. The letter submits to our consideration a plan for the formation of this Society, and specifies also the objects and the means of the proposed Catholic Institute.

At the time, we merely acknowledged the receipt of your much valued communication, and deferred expressing our sentiments on its important contents, until we should meet and confer together on the subject. Having now given to every part of your letter our very serious consideration, we hasten to say that we rejoice much to see the zeal that is manifested in your proposed undertaking and that we confidently trust much good will result from its efforts. We fully agree with you, that prejudice and bigotry are awakened and increased by the means to which your letter refers, and we think it high time that there should be a General Association among us to oppose the efforts of these promoters of bigotry. We are, at the same time, anxious that our good and holy cause should be defended in a dignified manner; and that in the tracts and other publications that shall issue from our press, there should be nothing low or violent. To prevent this evil arising, as also to secure the orthodoxy and sound morality of these tracts and other publications, we deem it necessary that they shall all be submitted to the inspection of an Ecclesiastic, who shall be named by the Vicar Apostolic of London.

We beg leave furthermore respectfully to state, that we see many objections to a part of the Fund of the Catholic Institute being applied to the erection of Chapels, as mentioned in No. 2 of your letter. We think the work of erecting Chapels is too intricate and various, to be successfully managed by a General Committee.

The other proposed objects of the Catholic Institute may, we think, be better attained by a general co-operation and a General Committee; and for the

attainment of them, we have much pleasure in giving our united and cordial sanction, and shall be happy, at all times, to lend all the assistance in our power.

Honoured and Dear Sir,

With sincere esteem and much respect, we have the honour to be,

Your humble and faithful Servants,

P. A. BAINES, Vic. Ap. West. Dis.

T. C. WALSH, Vic. Ap. Midl. Dis.

J. BRIGGS, Vic. Ap. North. Dis.

T. GRIFFITHS, Vic. Ap. London Dis.

[Approbatory letters were also received from all the Scottish Vicars Apostolic, individually, which, being in conformity with the above, it is considered unnecessary to print.]

No. III.

Address issued by the Committee.

THE COMMITTEE of the CATHOLIC INSTITUTE consider it to be their first duty to make known to their Fellow-Catholics, throughout Great Britain, the design and objects of that Institution, and to solicit their earnest and zealous cooperation. To this end, therefore, they propose to circulate, as widely as possible, the fundamental articles upon which it has been founded. From these may be collected as well the objects of the Institute, as the system on which it is intended to give them practical effect. They are essentially the vindication of our holy religion from the calumnious defamation of modern adversaries, and the protection of its poorer and more defenceless adherents from oppression for conscience sake.

In the discussions preliminary to the Establishment of the Institute, it was suggested, that as it could not be doubted that such an association would receive the general concurrence and support of the entire body of British Catholics, it might be placed on a more enlarged basis, and embrace other objects of great utility. After much consideration, however, it was determined to confine it *strictly* to its present purposes. The motive to this resolution was a desire to secure that unanimity and concentration in the Catholic body which seemed indispensable to the success of the undertaking, by the selection of such objects only of undoubted importance as appeared to be beyond the possibility of objection.

As a large step towards the general approbation of their Catholic countrymen, the Committee are happy to announce that the Institute has already received the high sanction of every Vicar Apostolic in England and Scotland, and that numerous accessions, from the general body of the Clergy, including some of the most eminent amongst them, for piety and learning, afford good ground to hope for the general cooperation of that venerable class in our Community.

British Catholics have been frequently taunted by their adversaries, and sometimes reproached even by their friends, for want of concert in the pursuit of their common interests. Indeed, the alleged experience of the past has suggested in some quarters the apprehension that *this* institution may, by the same cause, be limited in its exertions, if not in its very existence. The Committee, however, without discussing the question whether the charge as respects the past be groundless, or well founded, feel confident that on the present occasion, there is no cause for such apprehension. Between this and all former associations, a wide and obvious difference exists. Those were formed under the influence of severe and actual oppression, and whilst the body at large was stamped by the law with the marks of inferiority and degradation. Moreover the object of such associations was of partial, and in some degree exclusive, interest, being the recovery of secular privileges which from their very nature must be unequal in their distribution.

Happily, here the circumstances and objects are wholly different. Catholics have been for many years restored to political equality: we have freely mixed with our fellow-countrymen, in the transaction of public affairs, and may now

assume the tone, and exercise the rights of freemen without challenge or exception, and it is not conceivable that the objects contemplated can contain any elements of disunion. They regard not matters of temporal or secular interest. They aim at higher ends; at ends in which every member of our community, however high or low may be his rank or station, has a common and equal concern, namely, the glory of God and the good of our neighbour.

It is notorious that the most vigorous efforts are daily made, to check the progress of our holy religion. Argument conducted fairly and candidly, Catholics would rather court than discountenance, knowing that ultimately it must assist rather than retard the advancement of truth. But many have recourse to other weapons. They pervert our tenets, misrepresent our religious observances, and calumniate without scruple the characters of some of the purest amongst the professors of our creed, without regard to sex or station. Silence and supineness under such circumstances would be unjust to our fellow christians of other denominations. They might reasonably believe, that charges thus boldly made, were passed over only because they could not be contradicted: and we should consequently become indirect but efficient agents in the delusion.

If the objects of the Institute are in themselves laudable, or free from reasonable objection, the mode in which it is proposed to effect them, will be not less so. For it is intended ever to keep carefully in remembrance, that the maintenance of Truth is the *sole* basis of this incorporation. Thus, while its members will feel themselves called upon to promote, through the proper channel, the prompt and vigorous refutation and exposure of the misrepresentations and calumnies complained of, so that the antidote may closely follow and neutralize the poison, they will carefully avoid the course which they condemn in others, as being plainly inconsistent with that sacred purpose.—Virulence, harshness, and irritation are the usual accompaniments, and indeed indications, of error. The calm dignity of truth disclaims their support. Its appropriate and powerful arms are moderation and charity, which are nevertheless perfectly compatible with energy and active utility.

It is then to an undertaking, formed for carrying out objects which must be dear to every Catholic, in a temperate and Christian-like spirit, that the Committee of the Institute earnestly invite the attention and support of their Catholic countrymen, and they confidently hope that the appeal will not be in vain.

CHARLES LANGDALE,

July 1838.

Chairman of the Committee

No. IV.

Resolutions passed at Meetings held for the purpose of organizing the Institute, and referred to in the foregoing address.

1. That a CATHOLIC INSTITUTE be formed, for the undermentioned purposes, which have been sanctioned by the Vicars Apostolic.
2. That all the Catholic Prelates of Great Britain and the Colonies shall be members of the Institute, without any contribution save what they may voluntarily choose to give.
3. That all the Catholic Priests in Great Britain and the Colonies, having faculties, or approved of, be also members of the Institute upon the same terms.
4. That every individual of the Catholic Laity, who shall contribute not less than six shillings in the year, or six pence by the month, shall be a member, and shall continue to be a member so long as such contribution shall be paid.
5. That the objects of the Institute shall be confined to the exposure of the falsehood of the calumnious charges made against the Catholic religion, to the defence of the real tenets of Catholicity, to the circulation of all useful knowledge upon the above-mentioned subjects; and to the protection of the poorer classes of Catholics in the enjoyment of their religious principles and practices.
6. That the affairs of the Institute shall be under the management of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, and Secretary, to be elected as hereinafter mentioned, and of a Committee to be constituted as hereinafter mentioned.

7. That the Right Honourable the Earl of Shrewsbury be President of the Institute.

8. That all Catholic Peers, and Members of Parliament, contributors to the Institute, be *ex officio* Vice-Presidents, if, upon application to them, they will accept such office; and that there be twelve Vice-Presidents, to be elected by the Committee.*

9. That the President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer and Secretary, shall be *ex officio* members of the Committee; and that in addition to them, the Committee shall consist of all the Catholic Bishops and Clergy of Great Britain, members of the Institute, of such Peers and Members of Parliament as may contribute to the funds of the Institute, and of Twenty-one Laymen (to be elected as hereinafter mentioned), with power to increase that number to any extent not exceeding fifty.

10. That an Annual Meeting of the members shall be held in London on the second Wednesday in the month of May, at which the Secretary and twenty-one Lay-Members of the Committee, shall be elected; and that at such meeting an account of the funds and of the proceedings of the Institute, its condition and prospects, shall be laid before the members, and that the discussion at such meeting shall be limited to the foregoing objects.

11. That the funds of the Institute shall be applied by the Committee in providing a suitable place of meeting, and in recompensing the Secretary, and such officers as they may consider to be necessary for the purpose of conducting the affairs and keeping the accounts of the Institute; and that a farther portion of the funds shall be applied in printing and circulating such publications as having the previous sanction of a clergyman duly authorized by the Vicar Apostolic of the London district, may be deemed most useful to obviate calumny, to explain Catholic tenets, and defend the purity and truth of Catholic doctrines, and circulate useful information on these subjects.

12. That the Committee shall also undertake the examination of all cases of religious oppression or deprivation of rights of conscience of the poorer and less protected classes of Catholics, under any circumstances.

13. That the Committee shall be authorized to appoint sub-committees, of not less than five members, out of their own body, for any purposes of the Institute; and also to organize local committees, and to solicit and avail themselves of the cooperation of individuals in different parts of Great Britain and of the Colonies.

14. That all questions, whether in Committee or at meetings, shall be decided by a majority of votes, the Chairman having a casting vote in cases of equality; and that five members shall constitute a quorum of the Committee.

15. That Mr. Henry Robinson be appointed Treasurer to the Institute.

16. That Mr. James Smith be appointed Secretary to the Institute.

17. That every Member of the Committee be authorised to receive Subscriptions, and to sign receipts for the same, which are to be countersigned by the Secretary.

No. V.

Statement detailing the objects of the Institute.

As numerous inquiries have been made on the part of many persons friendly to the Institute, but who are not sufficiently acquainted with its objects, for information on these points, the Committee deem it advisable to issue the following Statement:—

The general objects of the Institute are comprehended in the 5th Resolution;—viz. "The exposure of the falsehood of the calumnious charges made

* By a resolution of the Institute, passed on 8th May, 1839, the number of Vice-Presidents is declared unlimited; and by another resolution, also passed at the same time, the General Committee is empowered at all times to place additional names upon the list of Vice-Presidents.

against the Catholic Religion; the defence of the real tenets of Catholicity, the circulation of all useful knowledge upon the above-mentioned subjects; and the protection of the poorer classes of Catholics in the enjoyment of their religious principles and practices."

Particular objects of the Catholic Institute.

1. To meet the calumnious charges against the Catholic Religion, whenever refutation may be deemed necessary, by the publication of accredited Tracts or Pamphlets, or otherwise.
2. To defend the doctrines of the Catholic Religion by distributing Tracts and Works duly approved of by a Clergyman authorized by the Bishop of the London district, for the purpose of explaining its principles and practices.

N.B.—In most cases such Tracts and Treatises, as far as the funds of the Institute may permit, will be distributed gratuitously, either through the medium of the resident Clergymen in their respective localities, or through Members of the General and Local Committees. And every member of the Institute shall be entitled to receive a certain quantity of Tracts, to be lent out to their Protestant friends and neighbours. Whenever it shall be deemed advisable by the resident Clergymen, or by the General or Local Committees, to circulate Tracts at any Public Meeting held for the purpose of attacking the Catholic Religion, these will be furnished by the general Secretary on being applied for.

3. Another object of the Institute is to put the poorer classes of Catholics in possession of Books of Piety and Devotion at the lowest possible price; and in cases where persons are too poor to purchase, to supply them gratuitously.
4. To remove every obstacle which may occur to prevent Catholic Soldiers, Sailors, Inmates of Workhouses, Hospitals, and Prisons, from enjoying the full and unfettered freedom of their worship and the comforts of religious instruction by the Clergy.
5. To vindicate the rights of all classes of Catholics, and particularly those of the poor, to the full enjoyment of every right and privilege to which they are legally entitled, and to apply for the redress of every grievance to which Catholics, *as such*, may be subjected.

N.B.—As the *complete* redress of every well-founded complaint and the removal of every impediment to the religious education of Catholics, are the main objects of the Institute, it is not intended to regulate the assistance by the sums of money subscribed from any particular place.

The above desirable objects are intended to be accomplished by organizing the entire Catholic Body of Great Britain in one Society, so as, by the collection of small sums from every individual, to place at the disposal of the Institute funds sufficient to meet every case. The want of such co-operation among Catholics has been too generally felt to be any longer a question; and it becomes now the imperative duty of every one to support an Institution which will afford Catholics, for the first time in this country, an opportunity of coming fairly before their fellow-countrymen. The good results of such a combination are indeed incalculable; and the Committee are happy to state that, accordingly, this Institution has the sanction of all the Right Reverend the Vicars Apostolic of Great Britain, and of a numerous body of the Clergy, Nobility, and Gentry.

The subscriptions have been fixed at a small sum, and may be paid either monthly or yearly, in order to afford every one an opportunity of assisting in this great work of Charity.

Many other privileges and benefits are intended to be conferred upon Members; but, in the present state of the Institute, the Committee defer their consideration until the state of the funds throughout the country can be correctly known.

In the mean time it is very gratifying to be able to state that many Local Societies have been already formed both in town and country; and the Committee feel confident that nothing is wanting to insure the utmost success, but the contributions of every Catholic, however humble may be his rank, or however small may be his means.

Every person is a Member who pays any sum not less than *Six Shillings* by the year, or *Sixpence* by the month.

December 6, 1838.

By order of the Committee,
JAMES SMITH, *Secretary*.

No. VI.

Instructions for the Organization and Management of Local Auxiliary Societies.

At a Meeting of the General Committee held on the 20th of August, 1838 It was determined that each Member of the said Committee should have the power of convening Meetings for the purpose of forming Local Societies in aid of the general purposes of the Institute.

By another resolution of the said Committee it was also determined that all other persons wishing to form Local Societies should apply to the said Committee for powers to act.

At a Meeting of the General Committee, held on the 1st October, inst., a Finance Committee was appointed, with full powers to organize all such Local Societies.

Accordingly the Finance Committee issue the following instructions:

1. Printed forms for convening Meetings are to be obtained gratuitously, (*carriage free*) on application to the Secretary, James Smith, Esq. 3, Crosby Row, Walworth Road, London.*

N.B.—This form has one blank for the insertion of the name of the gentleman who will preside at the Meeting, and another blank for the name of the place and time at which such Meeting will be held. The Committee consider it desirable that one of the resident Clergy of the district should be solicited to take the Chair.

In London, and within any convenient distance thereof, deputations from the General Committee will, if requested, attend all such Meetings, in order to explain the objects of the Institute and reply to such questions as may arise.

Copies of the proceedings of similar Local Meetings which have already taken place, may be obtained (if required), on application to the Secretary.

2. All mere political discussion is strictly forbidden: the speakers must confine themselves to the explanation of the objects of the Catholic Institute, and its practical application to the wants of the locality in *particular*, or of the Catholic body in *general*, as set forth in the printed resolutions for July, 1838.

3. The name of every Local Society must be "The (here insert the name of the place) Auxiliary Catholic Institute."

4. A President, Committee, Secretary, and Treasurer are to be appointed.

5. The Secretary shall forward a copy of the proceedings had at the inaugural Meeting, with the names of the subscribers, a list of the officers, and the amount of subscriptions.

6. The Treasurer shall forward, when requested so to do, an account of the state of the subscription list, distinguishing monthly from annual subscribers, with their names and addresses, for the purpose of enrolment: when the sum in his hands shall amount to £5, he shall remit the same through the Local Bank, or other agency, to the "account of the Catholic Institute of Great Britain," at the Bank of Messrs. Wright and Co., 6, Henrietta-street, Covent Garden.

7. All receipts for subscriptions must be furnished by the Secretary in London, and may be had upon application.

* Now at 14, Soho Square.

8. Every Member admitted by a Local Society shall be entitled to participate in all the privileges and benefits arising from the Institute.

9. All applications for the Publications of the Institute must be made to the "Publications Committee of the Catholic Institute of Great Britain," and addressed to the Secretary as above.

10. All cases of religious oppression, calumny, or deprivation of rights of conscience of the poorer and less protected classes of Catholics under any circumstances, having been first *carefully* investigated by the Local Committee, must be forwarded to the General Committee, who, whether by the exertion of the influence which they possess, or the appropriation of the necessary funds, will take the requisite steps to obtain redress.

N.B.—As the *complete* redress of every well-founded complaint, and the removal of every impediment, to the religious education of the Catholics of Great Britain, are the primary objects of the Institute, the General Committee do not propose to regulate the amount of their assistance, either in publications or otherwise, by the sums which may have been contributed from any *particular* Locality.

By Order of the Committee.

October 24, 1838.

(Signed) JAMES SMITH, *Secretary*.

No. VII.

Letter from the Rev. Thomas Youens, D.D. to the Secretary.

MY DEAR SIR,—You are, I believe, aware that it is, at present, in contemplation to establish in Liverpool a Branch of the Catholic Institute of London; in fact two preliminary Meetings have already been held for that purpose, and provisional officers have been appointed, of whom I happen to be one,—having been chosen President. A third Meeting is to be held on Thursday, the 14th of March. As, however, very little is here known respecting the nature of the Institute, and as it is quite necessary that we should distinctly understand what we are doing, and what will be expected from the Branch Institute of Liverpool, may I request that you will have the kindness to send me, at your earliest convenience, all the information you can upon the following points:—

1. What is the nature of the internal working of the Institute? I mean, particularly, with regard to the publication of Books. Is it contemplated that they should be principally tracts or books of religious instruction, or books of a controversial nature? Is there any intention of assisting such publications existing, as the Dublin Review, in case of emergency?

2. What will be the relation in which the Liverpool branch will stand to the parent Institute? Will it be requisite that the branch should be provided with the same officials for the transaction of business as the Institute in London? Will it have the management of its own funds and be expected to send out its own publications? In case the funds are to be paid over to the Treasurer of the London Institute will the branch in Liverpool have a power of voting the publication of any work, or the application of money to any special purpose, or only of sending up recommendations to the London Institute?

3. On what footing are the other Local branches which have already been established?

Though I have not been commissioned to ask the above questions, nor, indeed, in any way to communicate with you upon the subject of this letter, yet I hope you will be kind enough to send me all the information you can, before the Meeting which is to be held on the 14th of March. Not only is it necessary, for avoiding future disagreement, that we should start with a clear and distinct understanding, but I do not see how we can proceed at all, with the formation of the Liverpool branch, without some farther information than we at present possess.

I beg to remain, My dear Sir,

Liverpool, 7th March, 1839.

James Smith, Esq.

Secretary to the Catholic Institute, London.

Your obedient and humble Servant,

T. YOUNES.

No. VIII.

Answer to the foregoing Letter.

Catholic Institute, 14 Soho-square, London, 8th March, 1839.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I am favoured with your letter of yesterday. I had imagined that the nature and objects of the Institute had been already so fully explained in the address issued by the Committee, and in the paper of 'objects' printed and circulated by order of the Committee, and of which I sent Mr. Yates a large quantity, that any further exposition, in the present infant state of the Institute, would be unnecessary. Perhaps these objects might have been more amplified in some of the details; but as the Institute might embrace other objects of the same tendency, which might arise out of the working out of our plan, it was deemed best to confine ourselves, in the first instance, to general principles. [Here followed a detail of the objects of the Institute.—See No. 6 of Appendix,—number of Tracts printed, and the proceedings of the Institute, unnecessary to be here printed.]

I now come to your queries. 1. The internal working of the Institute is under the direction of a Board or General Committee, consisting of a President, eighteen Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, and Secretary, and a number of Laymen, not exceeding fifty. All Catholic Peers and Members of Parliament, and all the Catholic Bishops and Clergy of Great Britain, and the Colonies, are Members, *ex officio*, of this Committee. This Board has power to nominate Sub-Committees, of which there are now five sitting. To one of these is entrusted the duty of selecting, compiling, or abridging Tracts, or other works, for publication; but no publication can be issued without the previous sanction of an examiner, appointed by the Bishop of the London District, agreeably to the rule laid down by the English Vicars Apostolic. The present examiner is the Rev. Dr. Cox, Vice-President of St. Edmund's College. The Institute contemplate principally the publication of Tracts; but books of religious instruction, and religious controversy, will also form a part of their plan of publication. I am not aware that at present there is any intention of assisting such publications as the Dublin Review, or any other class of publications; but if the funds of the Institute were to reach any considerable amount, I have no doubt that, in cases of real emergency, some assistance would be afforded.

2. As to your second query, I must refer you in part to the instructions issued by the Finance Committee for forming Local Societies, which instructions you will find in either of the Directories. The Liverpool branch, like all other branches, should have a President (and Vice-President, if you please), Committee, Treasurer, and Secretary. Being an emanation from the parent society, all its acts should be in perfect accordance with the rules of the Institute; but it may make such regulations as may seem suitable for its own local government. The Liverpool branch will stand in relation to the parent Institute on the same footing as all the other branches; that is to say, it will have to act under the direction of the Central Board or Committee, sitting in London, and remit the funds realised by it to the account of the Institute at London. In the opinion of the Committee, any contrary course would lead to the most inconvenient results; for, were every branch to claim the privilege of managing its own funds, and sending out its own publications, it is perfectly clear that ere long the parent Institute would become a nonentity. Besides, it must be borne in mind, that in providing a place of business, and hiring servants to perform certain duties, the Members of the Central Board have contracted liabilities which must be discharged; and it would assuredly never answer that they should run all this risk, without having the means of indemnification at hand.

But apart from these considerations, it is absolutely necessary to secure unity of action, (and no class of persons know and feel better the value of union than Catholics), that all the pecuniary concerns, and the issuing of publications should be under the direction of *one* board. Such is the way in which the Bible and other Protestant religious societies act; and we all know

how well they work in drawing out the sinews of war—our great desideratum. Nothing but the *unholiness* of their cause could have prevented them from achieving wonders, for certainly their system of centralization is admirable. We must take a leaf out of their book, and draw wisdom from their experience. Let us have no jealousy of each other, but let us unite heart and soul in carrying out our plans. The General Committee will, I know, discharge its duty to all parts of the country with strict impartiality, and husband well the resources which may be put into their hands; they are, I know, always ready to give their best attention to any suggestions which may be offered to them, particularly when proceeding from the Clergy, and I have no doubt they will be happy at all times, not only to receive, but to thank you or your friends for any advice you or they may be pleased to offer. But do not, I beg of you, attempt to make yourselves in any shape independent of us—we must stand or fall together; for if the Catholics of Liverpool insist upon privileges involving the very existence of the Institute, there is no saying how soon all our labours and anxieties in its construction may end in disappointment. Only one of the auxiliaries which have been formed gave any indications of following such a course; but the idea was abandoned when the results to which it would have led were pointed out. On the subject of gratuitous distribution, each branch will be allowed to exercise its own discretion, as it is evident that the Members of each locality must be the best judges of its wants. The supply will in every case be commensurate with the demand, if the state of the funds will admit of it, for there can be no doubt that the wider our publications are diffused the greater will be the good done. In short, with regard to this matter, the office-bearers of the Local Societies will be placed on the same footing as those of the Central Board, of which indeed many of them will be *ex officio* Members.

I am afraid that I must have wearied you with this long epistle, but I was anxious to make my sentiments fully known to you, and because I am extremely desirous to prevent the possibility of a collision between the parent Institute and any of its branches. I trust that in the great undertaking in which we have so well embarked, all classes of Catholics will cordially co-operate; and that every topic, which by any possibility might lead to disunion or distrust, will be cautiously avoided. I am happy to learn that the Catholics in Liverpool are alive to the importance of the Institute; and I hope they will take up that prominent position, as a leading branch of the general body, to which they are entitled, as well from their numbers as from their respectability.

I have the honour to remain, Rev. and Dear Sir,

The Rev. T. Youens, D.D.

Yours very faithfully,

Liverpool.

JAMES SMITH, *Secretary.*

No. IX.

Letter from John Yates, Junr. Esq. to the Secretary.

Liverpool, June 18th, 1839.

DEAR SIR,—We held our Public Meeting on Thursday last, and by this post I send you the *Liverpool Journal* containing the resolutions adopted at the meeting, and also a report of the proceedings.

The meeting, both as to numbers and respectability, was the most important one ever held by the Catholics of Liverpool, and the unanimity of sentiment and feeling in favour of the great objects of the Institute were most gratifying, and afford a perfect assurance that the Society will be second only to the parent Institute, in numbers, strength, and stability. The room in which the meeting was held is capable, I should fancy, of containing a thousand persons, and it was crowded almost to suffocation; and contained all classes of Catholics,—and included nine-tenths of the wealth, respectability, and intelligence of that body. The most gratifying part of the whole, is, that the Committee consists of fifty-one of the most influential Catholics in Liverpool, all of whom

have consented to act; the Vice-Presidents are also, as you will observe, men of the first character, and they also gave their consent to being named as officers of the Society.

I must not omit to mention the great pleasure and satisfaction derived from your communication to the Rev. Dr. Youens; it was considered by all as a most important and valuable communication, and has given a vigour and unity to our proceedings which might otherwise have been wanting.

I remain yours respectfully,

James Smith, Esq.

JOHN YATES, JUNR.

Secretary to the Liverpool Branch of the Institute.

No. X.

The Parent Society has received Reports from several Auxiliaries: the following is given as a specimen.

First Report of the Committee of the Liverpool Branch of the Catholic Institute of Great Britain, to the Parent Society.

Your Committee, in reporting their proceedings and prospects so soon after the formation of this branch of the Institute, are gratified to state, that the important and interesting objects for which the Institute has been brought into existence, and the most important of which are, the protection of the poorer classes of Catholics in the free exercise of their religious duties and observances, and the refutation of calumny and misrepresentation, by the dissemination of the true tenets of our Holy Faith, have met with a warm and zealous reception in Liverpool, equal to the high consideration they are entitled to, and worthy the just and pious feeling which has heretofore distinguished the Catholic public in this district.

This branch of the Institute was established in Liverpool, on the 14th of March last, at one of the largest and most respectable meetings of the Catholics ever held in Liverpool, and the unity of feeling and sentiment which distinguished the meeting, augurs well for its future prospects.

A statement of the Resolutions adopted at the meeting, with the names of the President and Vice-Presidents, together with those of the Committee and Officers, is annexed to this Report; subsequently, there has been added to the List of Vice-Presidents, the names of

WILLIAM BLUNDELL, Esq. of Crosby Hall, and
CHARLES STANLEY, Esq. Dannah.

Since the meeting at which this branch of the Institute was formed, there has been only one monthly meeting held, (on the second of May instant); yet your Committee are happy to state they have already enrolled the names of 266 subscribers, and have received subscriptions to the amount of £60, which sum they have remitted to the Treasurer of the Parent Society, to be placed to the credit of the Institute. A List of the Subscribers accompanies this Report.

Your Committee trust, that this statement of their proceedings, may be considered as realising the expectations naturally formed of the proceedings of so important a branch as the Liverpool Society, and they entertain a confident hope, that when it shall become their duty to make their first annual Report, such Report will not disparage the character of the Catholics of Liverpool, for zeal in the support of every laudable Institution, more especially when it embraces such noble objects as those for which the Institute has been formed.

Some difficulty having arisen with the Committee in the collection of the monthly subscriptions, they propose forming district societies, to be attached to each chapel; and thus, by dividing the labour, increase the facilities of obtaining collections.

In conclusion, your Committee beg to express an earnest hope, that ere long the Branches of the Institute may be extended to every provincial town in which there is a Catholic congregation; that the zeal and energy of the great Catholic community, which have too long been isolated, and by consequence useless, may be concentrated as one body; that the unity which distinguishes our creed, may also distinguish our exertions in the attainment and maintenance of our religious rights; that as the branches of a common stock, we may know no object, but the common good of religious liberty; and when these springs of action shall be our guide, we venture to express a confident expectation, that religious oppression will be unknown; the calumnies of the bigot and the slanderer will cease, and we shall be left to follow, undisturbed, the dictates of our consciences.

JOHN YATES, JUN., *Secretary.*

Liverpool, May 26, 1839.

FORM OF A BEQUEST TO THE CATHOLIC INSTITUTE.

I give to the Treasurer for the time being of a Society formed in London in or about the year 1838, called THE CATHOLIC INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN, the office or establishment of which is now or lately was situate in Soho Square, in the county of Middlesex, the sum of _____ pounds, to be raised and paid out of such part of my personal estate as shall not consist of chattels real, and to be applied in promoting the lawful purposes of the said Society, in the manner which the General Committee for the time being of the said Society in London shall from time to time or at any time direct. And I declare that the receipt of such Treasurer shall be a sufficient and effectual discharge for the said legacy or sum of £ _____, as well as for all or any accrued interest in respect thereof

Apostolical Letter
FROM
HIS HOLINESS
POPE GREGORY XVI.

TO THE RIGHT HON.
THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY,
President of the Catholic Institute of Great Britain,

WITH
A TRANSLATION OF THE SAID APOSTOLICAL LETTER, AND A
LETTER FROM THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY TO THE
SECRETARY OF THE CATHOLIC INSTITUTE.



Published in pursuance of a Resolution of the General Committee
of the Catholic Institute, passed on the 11th March, 1840:
The Hon. Charles Langdale, M.P. in the Chair.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY C. RICHARDS, 100, ST MARTIN'S LANE.

1840.

GREGORIUS PAPA XVI.

Dilecte Fili, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

QUUM amaritudine repleremur ob mala quotidie magis, magisque in Christi Ecclesiam ingruentia, ea sane, Dilecte Fili, lætitiæ causa permoti sumus ut mœrore illo quo conficiebamur non parum levati, abundantiorum animo jucunditatem perceperimus. Accipimus enim Te, aliisque præclaris, piisque viris curantibus, Catholicum Institutum duobus abhinc annis inductum in Magna Britannia fuisse, eo præsertim consilio, ut Divinæ nostræ fidei asseclæ sarti tectique serventur, atque Immaculati Agni Sponsa ab Heterodoxorum calumniis per libros in lucem editos vindicetur. Quæ quidem cum in maximum cedant Anglorum emolumentum, facile perspicis, Dilecte Fili, cur eo inde Nos gaudio perfusi simus, Heredes divinitus constituti et Nominis et Cathedræ illius Magni, qui Britanniam primus idolatriæ tenebris involutam Catholicæ Fidei face illustravit; scilicet in spem erigimur perjucundam, futurum ut Divinæ lumen veritatis, eadem denuo qua olim claritate Britannorum mentibus affulgeat. Nihil porro vehementius exoptamus quam ut Anglorum Gentem, tot tantisque dotibus exornatam, paterna iterum exultatione complectamur, deperditasque jamdiu oves in electum Christi Gregem recipiamus. Quamobrem, Dilecte Fili, non possumus quin te, universosque quorum piæ societati præfectus es, vehementer excitemus ad fervidas Nobiscum preces Misericordiarum Patri offerendas, ut caliginem illam teterrimam quæ tot infelicium in errore versantium adhuc occupat mentes, propitius depellat, filiosque Ecclesiæ ab eadem longe aberrantes ad desertæ Matris sinum clementer reducat. Interea Tibi, tuisque omnibus ad Catholicum Institutum quomodocumque pertinentibus, Apostolicum Benedictionem peramanter impertimur.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, Die Decimanona Februarii M.DCCCXXX. Pontificatus Nostri Anno Decimo.

GREGORIUS P.P. XVI.

Dilecto Filio

JOANNI COMITI DE SHREWSBURY,
Præsidi Instituti Catholici Magnæ Britanniae.

Translation of the foregoing Letter.

POPE GREGORY XVI.

To our beloved Son, JOHN EARL OF SHREWSBURY, President of the Catholic Institute of Great Britain.

Beloved Son, Health and Apostolical Benediction.

WHILST filled with sorrow on account of the ever increasing calamities of the Church of Christ, We have received such abundant cause of gladness, as has not only relieved Us in the bitterness

wherewith We were afflicted, but has excited in Us more than ordinary joy. For We have been informed that by the care of yourself, and other noble and pious men, the Catholic Institute was, two years ago, established in Great Britain, with the design especially of protecting the followers of our Divine Faith in freedom and security, and, by the publication of works, of vindicating the Spouse of the Immaculate Lamb from the calumnies of the heterodox. Since, therefore, these purposes tend in the highest degree to the advantage of the English nation, You can easily understand, Beloved Son, the reason why such joy should have been felt by Us, who have been, by Divine appointment, constituted the Heirs of the Name and Chair of that Gregory the Great, who, by the torch of the Catholic Faith, first enlightened Britain, involved in the darkness of idolatry. We are encouraged to entertain the cheering hope that the light of Divine Faith will again shine with the same brightness as of old, upon the minds of the British people. We desire nothing with greater earnestness than to embrace once more with paternal exultation the English Nation, adorned with so many and such excellent qualities, and to receive back the long lost sheep into the fold of Christ. Wherefore, Beloved Son, we cannot refrain from strenuously exhorting you, and all the members of the pious Association, over which you preside, to offer up fervent prayers with Us to the Father of Mercies, that He would propitiously remove the lamentable darkness which still covers the minds of so many dwelling unhappily in error, and in His clemency bring the Children of the Church, who have wandered from her, back to the bosom of the mother whom they have left.

Meanwhile, to you and to all your countrymen who belong in any way to the Catholic Institute, We most affectionately impart our Apostolical benediction.

Given at Rome at St. Peter's, on the nineteenth day of February, MDCCCL. the tenth of our Pontificate.

GREGORY P.P. XVI.

Letter of the Earl of Shrewsbury to the Secretary.

Rome, February 19, 1840.

DEAR SIR,—I inclose the original letter with its translation, which His Holiness has just addressed to me as President of the Institute. I hope its publication will not only impart additional zeal to its present members, but will be the means of inducing others to join us who have hitherto kept aloof from the Society; for it is only by our united efforts that it can ever attain to any great good, while the success which has so far attended our exertions, is, I trust, an earnest of our future advancement.

I have the honour to remain,

JAMES SMITH, Esq.

Dear Sir,

Catholic Institute,

Your obedient Servant,

14, Soho Square, London.

SHREWSBURY.

TRACT No. 1.

[PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE CATHOLIC INSTITUTE
OF GREAT BRITAIN.]

DECLARATION OF THE **CATHOLIC BISHOPS,** THE **Vicars Apostolic and their Coadjutors** IN **GREAT BRITAIN.**

—•—
NEW EDITION
—•—



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President

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PREAMBLE.

WHEN we consider the misrepresentations of the Catholic religion which are so industriously and widely propagated in this country, we are filled with astonishment. But our astonishment subsides, when we call to mind, that the character of Christ himself was misrepresented: he was charged with blasphemy, with breaking the sabbath, and with forbidding tribute to be paid to Cæsar: *—that the apostles and disciples of Christ were misrepresented,—they were charged with speaking blasphemous words against Moses and against God, with exciting sedition, and with many other grievous offences entirely devoid of proof; † and that misrepresentation was the general lot of Christians in the first ages of the church. The primitive Christians were first calumniated and held up to public contempt, and then persecuted and deprived, not only of their civil rights and privileges, but of their property, and even of their very lives. They were charged with idolatry, with horrid cruelties, and other flagitious crimes, even in their religious worship. In a word, their whole religion was described as a system of folly and superstition, grounded on no one rational principle.

St. Justin and Tertullian, in their Apologies for the Christian Religion, endeavoured to dispel these misrepresentations, by exhibiting the real doctrines and precepts, and explaining some of the sacred rites of the Christian religion. They showed that these injurious misrepresentations were, in many instances, the inventions of men, who, unable to withstand the evidences of the divine establishment of Christianity, endeavoured to excite prejudices against it in the minds of the people, by holding out its doctrines as absurd and impious, and its professors as the causes of every public calamity.

St. Augustin complained of the calumnies which were circulated against the Catholic church, by the Manicheans and Donatists in his age. He humbly confessed and lamented, that he himself had employed the same weapons against the church, when he was attached to the former of these sects, ‡ and acknowledged that he then blindly and rashly and falsely, accused the Catholic church of doctrines and opinions which, he was at length convinced, she never taught, believed, or held.

The Catholics of Great Britain have to lament and to complain that the doctrines and religious rites which, as Catholics, they are taught by their church to believe and observe, have been long grossly misconceived and misrepresented in this country, to the great injury of their religious character and temporal interests.

They are persuaded that many, who are opposed to them on account of their religion, suppose, without inquiry, that the Catholic church really teaches all that she is reported by her adversaries to teach; and

* Matt., xxvi. 65. Mark, iii, 22. John, ix, 16. Luke, xxiii. 2.

† Acts, vi. 11.—xxiv. 5.—xxv. 7.

‡ Gaudens erubui; non me tot annos adversus Catholicam fidem, sed contra carnalium cogitationum figmenta latrâsse.

imagine that she is responsible for every absurd opinion entertained, and for every act of superstition performed, by every individual who bears the name of Catholic.

We hope that all who are animated with a love of truth, and with sentiments of Christian charity, will be disposed willingly to listen to the sincere declarations of their Catholic fellow-countrymen, and will never impute to their religion, principles or practices which, as Catholics, they do not hold or observe, and which their church condemns as errors or abuses.

In this hope and persuasion the British Catholics have made repeated declarations of their religious doctrines, and have shewn, they trust to the satisfaction of all who have paid attention to them, that they hold no religious principles, and entertain no opinions flowing from those principles, that are not perfectly consistent with the sacred duties which, as Christians, they owe to Almighty God, with all the civil duties which, as subjects, they owe to their sovereign and the constituted civil government of their country, and with all the social duties which, as citizens, they owe to their fellow-subjects, whatever may be their religious creed.

They had flattered themselves that the numerous and uniform expositions of their religious doctrine, given in public professions of the Catholic faith, in Catholic catechisms, in various authentic documents, and in declarations confirmed by their solemn oaths, would have abundantly sufficed to correct all misrepresentations of their real tenets.

But they have to regret that some grievous misconceptions regarding certain points of Catholic doctrine are, unhappily, still found to exist in the minds of many, whose good opinion they value and whose goodwill they wish to conciliate. To their grief they hear, that, notwithstanding all their declarations to the contrary, they are still exhibited to the public as men holding the most erroneous, unscriptural, and unreasonable doctrines—grounding their faith on human authority, and not on the word of God—as enemies to the circulation and to the reading of the Holy Scriptures—as guilty of idolatry in the sacrifice of the mass, in the adoration, as it is called, of the Virgin Mary, and in the worship of the saints, and of the images of Christ and of the saints; and as guilty of superstition in invoking the saints, and in praying for the souls in purgatory;—as usurping a divine power of forgiving sins, and imposing the yoke of confession on the people—as giving leave to commit sin by indulgences—as despising the obligation of an oath—as dividing their allegiance between their king and the pope—as claiming the property of the church establishment—as holding the uncharitable doctrine of exclusive salvation, and as maintaining that faith is not to be kept with heretics.

We are at a loss to conceive why the holding of certain religious doctrines, which have no connexion with civil or social duties, whether those doctrines are taken in the sense in which they are misconstrued by others, or in the sense in which they are uniformly understood by Catholics, should be made a subject of crimination against British Catholics, by those who assume to themselves liberty of thinking what they please in matters of religious belief. It is difficult to understand why doctrines purely religious, in no wise affecting the duties which

Catholics owe to their sovereign or to civil society, should be brought forward at all when the question relates only to the civil rights and privileges which they claim as British subjects. It is much to be wished that those who declaim against what they call the errors and superstitions of popery, would first learn from Catholics themselves, by inquiry, what their real doctrines are on the points above alluded to, and in what sense Catholics understand the terms by which their doctrines are expressed. They would perhaps find that they have been hitherto contending, not against the Catholic faith, but against the fictions of their own imaginations, or against their own misconstructions of the language of the Catholic church.

Though we might refer to former expositions of the faith of Catholics, which we deem amply sufficient to correct the misconceptions and to refute the misrepresentations of our doctrines, yet, it having been stated to us that, by publishing at the present time a plain and correct declaration of our real tenets on those points which are still so much misrepresented or misconceived, a better understanding may be established among his Majesty's subjects, and the advancement of religion and charity may be effected; hence we, the undersigned Catholic Bishops, the Vicars Apostolic and their Coadjutors in Great Britain, have thought it our duty to publish the following Declaration, in the hope that it will be received by all who read it, with the same love of truth and the same good-will with which it is given.

SECTION I.

On the General Character of the Doctrines of Faith professed by the Catholic Church.

THE doctrines of the Catholic church are often characterized as *erroneous, unscriptural, and unreasonable*.

All those doctrines, and only those doctrines, are articles of Catholic faith, which are revealed by Almighty God.

Whatsoever is revealed by God, who knows all things, as they are in themselves, and who cannot deceive us by teaching falsehood for truth, is most true and certain; though it may entirely surpass the comprehension of created minds.

On the authority of divine revelation, the Catholic believes, as doctrines of faith, that in one God there are three distinct persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; that Jesus Christ, who died on the cross for the salvation of all mankind, is the second person of the Blessed Trinity, true God and true Man; that there is no remission of sin, nor salvation but through him; that the sacraments of baptism and penance are divinely appointed means for the remission of sin; that in the mass, a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice is offered to God for the living and the dead; that the souls detained in purgatory are helped by the suffrages of the faithful; that the saints reigning together with Christ are to be honoured and invoked; that at the last day our bodies will be raised from death, and that Christ will come to

judge all men according to their works; that eternal happiness will be the reward of the good, and eternal misery the punishment of the wicked.

If these and other doctrines of Catholic faith are really revealed by Almighty God, they are not erroneous, but most true and certain—they are not unscriptural, but agreeable to the true sense of the written word of God—the belief of them is not unreasonable, because it is reasonable to believe what is true, and taught by the God of truth.

The Catholic is fully persuaded that all the articles of his faith are really revealed by Almighty God.

Is he not at liberty to think so, as well as others are to think the contrary; and in this empire especially, where liberty of thought is so loudly proclaimed and lauded? Is it reasonable or charitable to condemn him for thinking so, when he may have good and solid grounds for his conviction, and may feel that his eternal salvation depends on his firm belief of all the doctrines which Christ has taught?

SECTION II.

On the grounds of the certitude which a Catholic has, that all the Doctrines which he believes, as articles of Catholic Faith, are really revealed by Almighty God.

CATHOLICS are often charged with grounding their faith on mere human authority, and not on the word of God.

Catholics deny this, because they are convinced that their faith is grounded on the word of God, proposed to them by the authority of that ministry which Christ established and appointed to teach his revealed doctrines to all nations.

The Catholic believes all those doctrines which God has revealed.

The question, *what* are those doctrines which God has revealed, is a question of FACT. It appears reasonable that the existence of a *fact*, should be ascertained by the evidence of *testimony*.

The body of the doctrines, precepts, and institutions, which were delivered by Christ to his apostles, constitutes the new or the Christian law; as the body of the doctrines, precepts, and institutions, which were delivered by the Almighty to Moses, constituted the old law.

The true and certain knowledge of what is commanded by any law is generally communicated and obtained by the authoritative *promulgation* of the law.

By the ordinance of God the doctrines and precepts of the old law were made known to the Israelites and Jewish people by Moses and the priests in succession till the end of the law.

By the ordinance of God, the doctrines and precepts of the new law were to be made known to all nations, in all ages, by the apostles and their successors, to the consummation of the world.

On the spiritual authority of the apostles and their successors, who were divinely commissioned to promulgate and teach the law of Christ to

all nations, and on the uniform and universal testimony, belief, and practice of all Christian churches from the beginning, the certitude of the Catholic is grounded, that all the doctrines which he believes as articles of Catholic faith, and all the sacred precepts and rites, which he observes as the ordinances of Christ, were really revealed and instituted by Almighty God, and are the same as were originally delivered by Christ to his apostles, and by them promulgated over all nations.

The Catholic is fully satisfied that this method which he follows, for ascertaining *what* are the revealed doctrines of divine faith, is the right rule, and that it leads him to the unity of truth.

Is he not at liberty to follow a rule which gives such satisfaction and security to his mind?

Is it fair for others who, by following a different rule, are led into a countless variety of contradictory doctrines on matters of Christian belief, to disturb the tranquillity of the Catholic on this head, or to condemn him for his submission to the authority of a ministry which he is convinced was established by Christ for the purpose of bringing all nations to the certain knowledge of his law and to the unity of faith? Is not this rule perfectly natural and reasonable? Can any human legislator condemn the principle and rule of the Catholic in this regard?

SECTION III.

On the Holy Scriptures.

IN England the Catholic church is held out *as an enemy to the reading and circulating of the Holy Scriptures.*

Whereas the Catholic church venerates the Holy Scriptures as the written part of the word of God; she has in all ages been the faithful guardian of this sacred deposit; she has ever laboured to preserve the integrity of these inspired writings, and the true sense in which they have been universally understood at all times from the Apostolic age.

The Catholic church has never forbidden or discouraged the reading or the circulation of authentic copies of the sacred Scriptures, in the original languages. She binds her Clergy to the daily recital of a canonical office, which comprizes a large portion of the sacred volume, and to read and expound to the faithful, in the vernacular tongue, on Sundays, the epistle or gospel of the day, or some other portion of the divine law.

As to translations of the Holy Scriptures into modern languages, the Catholic church requires that none should be put into the hands of the faithful but such as are acknowledged by ecclesiastical authority to be accurate and conformable to the sense of the originals. There never was a general law of the Catholic church prohibiting the reading of authorized translations of the Scriptures; but, considering that many, by their ignorance and evil dispositions, have perverted the meaning of the sacred text to their own destruction, the Catholic church has thought it prudent to make a regulation, that the faithful should be guided in this matter by the advice of their respective Pastors.

Whether the Holy Scripture which ought never to be taken in hand

but with respect, should be made a class book for children, is a matter of religious and prudential consideration, on which the Pastors of the Catholic church have a right to decide with regard to their own flocks; and we hold that, in this matter, none have a right to dictate to them.

The Catholics in England, of mature years, have permission to read authentic and approved translations of the Holy Scriptures, with explanatory notes, and are exhorted to read them in the spirit of piety, humility, and obedience.

Pope Pius VII. in a Rescript dated April 18, 1820, and addressed to the Vicars Apostolic in England, earnestly exhorts them to confirm the people committed to their spiritual care, in faith and good works; and for that end, to encourage them to read books of pious instruction, and particularly the Holy Scriptures, in translations approved by ecclesiastical authority; because, to those who are well disposed, nothing can be more useful, more consoling, or more animating than the reading of the sacred Scriptures, understood in their true sense—they serve to confirm the faith, to support the hope, and to inflame the charity of the true Christian.

But when the reading and the circulation of the Scriptures are urged and recommended as the entire rule of faith, as the sole means by which men are to be brought to the certain and specific knowledge of the doctrines, precepts, and institutions of Christ; and when the Scriptures, so read and circulated, are left to the interpretation and private judgment of each individual; then such reading, circulation, and interpretation are forbidden by the Catholic church, because the Catholic church knows that the circulation of the Scriptures, and the interpretation of them by each one's private judgment, was not the means ordained by Christ for the communication of the true knowledge of his law to all nations—she knows that Christianity was established in many countries before one book of the New Testament was written—that it was not by means of the Scriptures that the Apostles and their successors converted nations, or any one nation to the unity of the Christian faith—that the unauthorized reading and circulation of the Scriptures, and the interpretation of them by private judgment, are calculated to lead men to contradictory doctrines on the primary articles of Christian belief; to inconsistent forms of worship, which cannot all be constituent parts of the uniform and sublime system of Christianity; to errors and fanaticism in religion and to seditions and the greatest disorders in states and kingdoms.

SECTION IV.

On the Charge of Idolatry and Superstition.

IGNORANCE or malice has gone so far as to charge the Catholic church with IDOLATRY in the sacrifice of the Mass—in the adoration (as it is called) of the Virgin Mary, and in the worship of the Saints, and of the images of Christ and of the Saints; and with SUPERSTITION, in invoking the Saints, and in praying for souls in purgatory. Now

idolatry consists in giving to any creature that supreme adoration, — honour, or worship which is due only to Almighty God.

The Catholic church teaches that idolatry is one of the greatest crimes that can be committed against the majesty of God; and every true member of this church shudders at the idea of such a crime, and feels grievously injured by so horrid an imputation.

But it is said that Catholics adore the elements of bread and wine in the Mass; that they adore the Virgin Mary; that they adore the cross; and that they worship the saints and the images of Christ and of the saints. Before we repel these horrid imputations, in the sense in which they are made, we must explain the different meanings of the words *adoration*, *honour*, and *worship*, that the calumnious charge, and its denial, may be understood in the same explained sense.

We find that, in the language of the sacred Scripture, in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin,* as well as in the language of the ancient liturgies of the Christian church, these words, adoration, honour, and worship, are ambiguous terms, and are used in different senses, according to the nature of the object to which the act, implied by the term, is directed, and according to the intention of him who performs the act. Hence we find them used as relating, sometimes to God, and sometimes to creatures. Although, in modern times, the exclusive idea of that supreme homage, which is due only to God, is attached by some to the words *adoration* and *worship*; yet these words may still be retained by others, in a different meaning, without affording the remotest cause for the imputation of idolatry. In this different meaning they are still retained, in the unchanged language of the ancient liturgies used in the Catholic church.

The words *adoration* and *worship* are equally referred, sometimes to God, and sometimes to creatures, as is the word *honour*. Now, because we are commanded in Scripture to *honour* God, and to *honour* the king; and children are commanded to *honour* their parents: it does not follow that the honour due to the king, or to parents, is the same as that which we owe to God. To God we owe supreme and sovereign honour, such as it would be a crime to pay to any creature. To the king, we owe the highest civil honour. To parents, children owe the honour of filial respect and obedience. How unjust would it be to say, that because a subject honours his king, he pays him that supreme and sovereign honour which is due only to God! The same is to be said of the terms *adoration* and *worship*, as used in former times, and sometimes used at present in the language of the Catholic church. To *adore*, even according to modern usage, often means no more than to express extreme affection or respect. To *worship* (in the translation of the Bible, published at Oxford) is therein used to signify inferior as well as supreme worship. In the first book of Chronicles, xxix. 20, we read in that edition, that the assembly *bowed down their heads and*

* See in Hebrew (Prov. iii. 9, and Exod. xx. 12), (Deut. xxviii. 47 and 48) (Ps. xcvi. 9, and 1st alias 3d Kings i. 23.) In Greek, Gen. xxiv. 26, and Gen. xlix. 8. In Latin Adorare ¹⁰ xviii. 2, and Gen. xxiii. 7, and 2d alias 4th Kings, ii. 15.

WORSHIPPED the Lord (Jehovah) and the king. Did they worship the king with the same supreme worship which they paid to God? Certainly not. When a man says to the woman he takes to wife, "with my body I thee *worship*," can this be called idolatry? Surely nothing can be more unfair than arguments drawn from ambiguous terms, construed in a sense disavowed by those against whom the arguments are employed.

We answer, therefore, that if by the terms *adoration*, *honour*, and *worship*, be understood that *supreme* adoration, honour, and worship which is due only to God; Catholics do not adore, nor honour, nor worship any other than the one, only, true, and living God, the Creator and Sovereign Lord of the universe: they do not, in this sense, adore, nor honour, nor worship the Virgin Mary, nor any of the saints, nor the cross, nor images, nor any other creature whatsoever.

In the Mass, Catholics do offer supreme adoration, not to the elements of bread and wine, which they hold not to be present after the consecration; but to Jesus Christ, the Son of God, whom they believe to be truly, really, and substantially present, under the appearances only of bread and wine after the consecration, and change thereby of the elements into his body and blood. To adore Christ, by an act of supreme adoration, is no idolatry; because he is truly God, and, consequently, a legitimate object of supreme worship.

But if Catholics using the ancient language of the Christian church, are said,

1st. To *worship* the saints: this worship must be understood to be only an *inferior* worship, honour, and respect, paid to them proportionate to the limited perfections and excellencies which God has bestowed upon them; but this worship is infinitely below that supreme worship which they pay to God. Catholics acknowledge no perfection or excellence in any saint, not even in the Blessed Virgin Mary, which they do not profess to be the work and gift of God in them. So that in honouring the saints they celebrate the works of God, and, consequently, give glory to him. Whatever act of religious veneration we pay to the saints, is ultimately referred to God.

2d. To *adore* the cross: this word, if applied to the cross itself, means no more than an inferior and relative respect paid to the instrument of our redemption; but if in view of the cross it be applied to Christ himself, then it means, as it ought to mean, an act of supreme adoration.

3d. To *worship* the images of Christ or of the saints: the word is here again understood by Catholics, only of an *inferior* and relative respect shewn to images, in consideration of the respect due to the objects which they represent, and to which the respect shewn to the images is referred. In this sense respect is shewn to the statue or to the throne of the king, in consideration of the majesty of the personage to whom they relate. An insult offered to his statue would be considered as intended to be offered to the king himself. In this sense a son respects the image or picture of his parent; a parent that of his child; a friend that of his friend; not for any intrinsic virtue in the material substance or work of art, but because it relates to, and brings to his mind, the object of his respect and affection.

To condemn this relative regard for images, or pictures, would be to condemn the very feelings of nature. To charge the Catholic with idolatry because the term *worship*, meaning only an *inferior* and *relative* regard, is found in the ancient and modern liturgies of his church, is not consistent with candour or charity.

The charge that the Catholic church sanctions the praying to images is a calumny, and carries with it an imputation of stupidity too gross to be noticed. Catholics sometimes pray *BEFORE* images, because they serve to collect their thoughts, and fix their attention in their meditations and prayers; but they are not, on that account, to be supposed to be so void of reason and sense as to pray *TO* the image: for they know that in it there is no virtue or power; and that it can neither see, nor hear, nor help them.

Catholics do solicit the intercession of the angels and saints reigning with Christ in heaven. But in this, when done according to the principles and spirit of the Catholic church, there is nothing of superstition, nothing which is not consistent with true piety. For the Catholic church teaches her children, not to pray to the saints, as to the authors or givers of divine grace, but only to solicit the saints in heaven to pray for them, in the same sense as St. Paul desired the faithful on earth to pray for him.

Catholics, according to the faith and pious practice of the Christian church from the age of the apostles, do pray for the repose and eternal rest of departed souls, who may be detained for a time in a state of punishment on account of their sins; but in this we cannot discover even the shadow of superstition.

By invoking the intercession of the saints in heaven, and by praying for the suffering souls in purgatory, Catholics exercise acts of that communion of charity, which subsists between the members of the mystical body of Christ: the principle of which communion they profess to believe when they say, "I believe the holy Catholic church, *the communion of Saints.*"

After this explanation and declaration, we hope that our countrymen will never be so unjust or so uncharitable, as to charge Catholics with idolatry or superstition; nor be so illiberal as to attempt to give a colour to these injurious charges, by fixing an exclusive meaning to terms, which, in the language of Scripture, Christian antiquity, and common usage, bear different senses in different circumstances.

SECTION V.

On the power of forgiving sins, and the precept of Confession.

THE Catholic church is charged with impiety, in *usurping the power of forgiving sins*, and with spiritual tyranny, in imposing on the people *the yoke of confession*.

The Catholic church cannot be charged with impiety for exercising powers given by Christ to his apostles and to their lawful successors; nor with tyranny in enforcing the observance of the precept of Christ.

Catholics believe that Christ granted to his apostles, and to the priests of his church, power to forgive sins by the administration of the sacraments of baptism and penance to those who are duly disposed to receive the grace. They believe that the sacrament of penance is an institution of Christ, no less than the sacrament of baptism. The belief of both rests on the same foundation.

In both these sacraments, sin is forgiven by the ministry of man. *Be baptized every one of you for the remission of sins*, Acts, ii. 38; *whose sins YOU SHALL FORGIVE, they are forgiven*, John, xx. 23. But no actual sin can be forgiven at the mere will of any Pope, or any priest, or any person whomsoever, without a sincere sorrow for having offended God and a firm resolution to avoid future guilt, and to atone for past transgressions. Any person who receives absolution without these necessary dispositions, far from obtaining the remission of his sins, incurs the additional guilt of hypocrisy and profanation.

The obligation of sacramental confession to a priest, is not an imposition of the church, but a precept of Christ. Without the voluntary confession of the penitent, the power of forgiving or retaining sins could not be exercised with discretion and judgment by the minister of the sacrament of penance. The confession of sins could never have been introduced, had it not been received from the beginning as a divine ordinance for the remission of sin. It has been practised from the earliest ages of Christianity. It is attended with the most salutary effects. Besides being a means of obtaining the remission of sin, it affords relief to the troubled conscience, and opportunities of reclaiming deluded sinners from mischievous projects, and of causing reparation to be made for injuries done to persons, property, or character. It may be ridiculed by such as *blaspheme those things which they know not* (2 Pet., ii. 12), but it will be ever cherished as a merciful and salutary institution, by those who are sincerely sorry for their sins, and earnestly sue for pardon.

SECTION VI.

On Indulgences.

THE Catholic church is charged with encouraging guilt *by giving leave to commit sin, and granting an anticipated pardon for sins to come by indulgences.*

The Catholic church rejects with abhorrence the imputation, that by granting an indulgence, she grants permission to commit sin, or a pardon for sins to come. An indulgence, in the sense of the Catholic church, is no pardon for sin at all; it is only a remission of the whole or of a part of the temporal punishment which the justice of God often reserves to be undergone by the sinner, after the guilt of the sin has been remitted. The power of granting the remission of this temporal punishment was given by Christ to St. Peter and his successors, and has been exercised from the earliest ages. An indulgence, so far from exempting sinners from works of penance and piety, is an encouragement to the perform-

ance of such works, since they are prescribed as conditions for gaining the benefit of an indulgence.

Surely, therefore, the doctrine of the Catholic church concerning the sacrament of penance, confession, and indulgences, does not tend to relax Christian morality, nor to encourage guilt, nor facilitate the commission of crime; but rather to put an end to sin, and to promote the exercise of every Christian virtue amongst men.—

SECTION VII.

On the Obligation of an Oath.

CATHOLICS are charged with holding that *they are not bound by any oath, and that the Pope can dispense them from all the oaths they may have taken.*

We cannot sufficiently express our astonishment at such a charge.— We hold that the obligation of an oath is most sacred: for by an oath man calls the Almighty searcher of hearts to witness the sincerity of his conviction of the truth of what he asserts, and his fidelity in performing the engagement he makes. Hence, whosoever swears falsely, or violates the lawful engagement he has confirmed by an oath, not only offends against truth or justice, but against religion. He is guilty of the enormous crime of perjury.

No power in any Pope, or council, or in any individual or body of men, invested with authority in the Catholic church, can make it lawful for a Catholic to confirm any falsehood by an oath; or dispense with any oath, by which a Catholic has confirmed his duty of allegiance to his sovereign, or any obligation of duty or justice to a third person. He who takes an oath is bound to observe it, in the obvious meaning of the words, or in the known meaning of the person to whom it is sworn.

SECTION VIII.

On allegiance to our Sovereign and obedience to the Pope.

CATHOLICS are charged with *dividing their allegiance between their temporal sovereign and the Pope.*

Allegiance relates not to spiritual but to *civil* duties; to those temporal tributes and obligations, which the subject owes to the person of his sovereign, and to the authority of the state.

By the term *spiritual*, we here mean, that which in its nature tends *directly* to a *supernatural* end, or is ordained to produce a *supernatural* effect. Thus, the office of teaching the doctrines of faith, the administration of the sacraments, the conferring and exercising of jurisdiction purely ecclesiastical, are *spiritual* matters.

By the term *temporal*, we mean that which in its nature tends *directly*

to the end of *civil* society. Thus, the right of making laws for the civil government of the state, the administration of civil justice, the appointment of civil magistrates and military officers, are *temporal* matters.

The allegiance which Catholics hold to be due and are bound to pay to their sovereign, and to the civil authority of the state, is perfect and undivided. They do not divide their allegiance between their sovereign and any other power on earth, whether temporal or ecclesiastical. They acknowledge in the sovereign, and in the constituted government of these realms, a supreme civil and temporal authority, which is entirely distinct from, and totally independent of the spiritual and ecclesiastical authority of the Pope and of the Catholic church. They declare that neither the Pope nor any other prelate or ecclesiastical person of the Roman Catholic church has, in virtue of his spiritual or ecclesiastical character, any right, directly or indirectly, to any civil or temporal jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority within this realm; nor has any right to interfere, directly or indirectly, in the civil government of the United Kingdom, or any part thereof; nor to oppose in any manner, the performance of the civil duties which are due to his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, from all or any of his Majesty's subjects; nor to enforce the performance of any *spiritual* or *ecclesiastical* duty, by any *civil* or *temporal* means. They hold themselves bound in conscience to obey the civil government of this realm in all things of a temporal and civil nature, notwithstanding any dispensation or order to the contrary had, or to be had, from the Pope, or any authority of the church of Rome.

Hence we declare, that by rendering obedience in *spiritual* matters to the Pope, Catholics do not withhold any portion of their allegiance to their King, and that their allegiance is entire and undivided; the *civil* power of the state, and the *spiritual* authority of the Catholic church, being absolutely distinct, and being never intended by their Divine Author to interfere or clash with each other.

"Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's."

SECTION IX

On the claim of British Catholics to the property of the Church Establishment in England.

BRITISH Catholics are charged with entertaining a *pretended right to the property of the Established Church in England.*

We consider such a charge to be totally without foundation. We declare that we entertain no pretension to such a claim. We regard all the revenues and temporalities of the church establishment as the property of those on whom they are settled by the laws of the land. We disclaim any right, title, or pretension with regard to the same.

SECTION X.

On the Doctrine of Exclusive Salvation.

CATHOLICS are charged with *uncharitableness, in holding the doctrine of exclusive salvation.*

Catholics are taught by their church to love all men, without exception; to wish that all may be saved; and to pray that all may be saved, and may come to the knowledge of the truth, by which they may be saved.))

If the Almighty himself has assigned certain conditions, without the observance of which man cannot be saved, it would seem to be an act of impiety to attempt to annul those divinely-established conditions; and an act of great uncharitableness towards a fellow-man, to tell him that he may be saved, without complying with the conditions prescribed by the Almighty.

The doctrinal principle of exclusive salvation belongs to the law of Christ.

Has not Christ, who commands the belief of his revealed doctrines, pronounced, that he that *believeth not shall be condemned?* (Mark, xvi. 16.) Has not Christ, who instituted baptism for the remission of sins, declared that, *except a man be born again of water and of the Holy Ghost, he CANNOT enter into the kingdom of God?* (John, iii. 5.) Has not St. Paul enumerated a list of crimes, such as adultery, idolatry, hatred, seditions, heresies, murders, drunkenness, &c., of which he declares, that *they who do such things shall not obtain the kingdom of God?* (Galat., v. 21.) Are not these exclusive conditions?

Whoever professes the law of Christ must profess the *principle* and doctrine of exclusive salvation. It is not the Catholic, it is God himself who will exclude from Heaven those who are not duly qualified for it by faith and good works.

But the Catholic, whilst he is bound to admit, and with firm faith to believe, this doctrinal *principle*, is bound also by the divine commandment not to judge. He is not allowed, therefore, to pronounce sentence of condemnation on individuals who may live and die out of the external communion of the Catholic church; nor to pronounce sentence of condemnation against those who may die in an apparent state of sin. All those he leaves to the righteous judgment of the great Searcher of hearts, who at the last day will render to every man according to his works.

But surely charity, as well as truth, must forbid one Christian to deceive another, in a matter of such infinite importance as the eternal salvation of his soul. He who should persuade his neighbour, that no condition for salvation is required on the part of man, would deceive him. He who admits that any one such condition is required by the Almighty, admits the *principle* of exclusive salvation.

SECTION XI.

On keeping Faith with Heretics.

CATHOLICS are charged with holding the principle *that they are not bound to keep faith with Heretics.*

As Catholics, we hold and we declare, that all Catholics are bound by the law of nature, and by the law of revealed religion, to observe the duties of fidelity and justice to all men, without any exception of persons, and without any distinction of nation or religion.

British Catholics have solemnly sworn, "that they reject and detest that unchristian and impious principle, that faith is not to be kept with heretics or infidels."

After this, the imputation of their holding this principle cannot but be felt by them as grievously injurious to their religious and moral character.

CONCLUSION.

HAVING, in the foregoing declaration, endeavoured to state, in the simplicity of truth, such doctrines of our church as are most frequently misrepresented or misunderstood in this country, and to explain the meaning in which Catholics understand the terms by which these doctrines are expressed in the language of their church, we confidently trust that this declaration and explanation will be received by all our fellow-subjects, in a spirit of candour and charity; and that those who have been hitherto ignorant of, or but imperfectly acquainted with our doctrines of faith, will do us the justice to acknowledge that, as Catholics, we hold no religious principles, and entertain no opinions flowing from those principles, which are not perfectly consistent with our duties as Christians and as British subjects.

This declaration we, the undersigned, approve, and publish, as an exposition of our principles and doctrines, on the subjects to which it refers

- ✠ WILLIAM, Bishop of Halia, V. A. in the London District.
- ✠ PETER BERNARDIN, Bishop of Thespie, V. A. in the Western District.
- ✠ THOMAS, Bishop of Bolina, V. A. in the Northern District.
- ✠ THOMAS, Bishop of Cambrsopolis, V. A. in the Midland District.
- ✠ ALEXANDER, Bp. of Maximianopolis, V. A. in the Lowland District in Scotland.
- ✠ RANALD, Bishop of Aeryndela, V. A. in the Highland District in Scotland.
- ✠ PETER AUGUSTINE, Bishop of Sign, Coadjutor in the Western District.
- ✠ JAMES, Bishop of Usula, Coadjutor in the London District.
- ✠ THOMAS, Bishop of Europum, Coadjutor in the Northern District.
- ✠ ALEXANDER, Bishop of Cybistra, Coadjutor in the Lowland District in Scotland.

May, 1826.

- ✠ ROBERT, Bishop of Lydda, Coadjutor in the London District.

January, 1829.

- ✠ ANDREW, Bishop of Eretria, V. A. in the Western District in Scotland.
- ✠ JAMES, Bishop of Germanicia, V. A. in the Northern District in Scotland.
- ✠ ANDREW, Bishop of Ceramis, V. A. in the Eastern District in Scotland.
- ✠ JOHN, Bishop of Trachis, V. A. in the Northern District.
- ✠ JOHN, Bishop of Castabala, Coadjutor in the Western District in Scotland.
- ✠ THOMAS, Bishop of Olena, V. A. in the London District.
- ✠ JAMES, Bishop of Limyra, Coadjutor in the Eastern District in Scotland.

November, 1838.

TRACT 2.

[PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE CATHOLIC INSTITUTE
OF GREAT BRITAIN.]

FAITH, HOPE, AND CHARITY.

THE SUBSTANCE

OF

A S E R M O N

PREACHED AT THE DEDICATION OF

The Catholic Chapel

AT BRADFORD, IN THE COUNTY OF YORK,

On Wednesday, July 27, 1825.

BY PETER AUGUSTINE BAINES, D.D.,

BISHOP OF SIGA, &c.



Stereotyped for the Catholic Institute of Great Britain.

LONDON:

**SOLD BY ALL CATHOLIC BOOKSELLERS FOR ONE PENNY, OR FOR FIVE SHILLINGS PER
HUNDRED TO PURCHASERS FOR GRATUITOUS DISTRIBUTION.**

1840.

G. RICHARDS PRINTER, ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

A SERMON

We see now through a glass in a dark manner ; but then, face to face. Now I know in part ; but then I shall know, even as I am known. And now there remain faith, hope, and charity, these three ; but the greatest of these is charity.—1 Cor. xiii. 12, 13.

IN these words, my Christian brethren, the apostle speaks of the natural blindness of men respecting religion. He teaches, that whilst we live in this lower world, encompassed with clouds and darkness, we see faintly and obscurely the things that are above ; that the revelations made to us respecting a future world, are often wholly above our comprehension, and generally full of mystery and difficulty ; that we shall never be able fully to comprehend them, till the veil is drawn aside by death, and we behold God face to face ; in whom, as in a clear mirror, all truth and all knowledge will be found.

In the mean time, there remain for our exercise three virtues, faith, hope, and charity, which united form an epitome of the whole duty of a Christian, each of which is commanded and necessary ; but the first, the greatest, the most excellent, and the most indispensable of which is charity.

Faith serves as a remedy for our natural defects, and supplies the place of knowledge. It teaches us to believe, without doubting, doctrines which we cannot comprehend, on the testimony of God, who has taught them. It teaches us to put a restraint on the daring flights of reason, and to confine within its proper limits this noblest of our natural gifts ; to employ it in examining the grounds upon which revelation rests, but not in discussing the credibility of any subject which it discovers to have been revealed ; to wait with patience till our faculties are enlarged, and the obstacles to our knowledge removed, and in the mean time, with the humility and simplicity of children, to receive, venerate, and love the hidden and mysterious truths taught us by the invisible and incomprehensible Deity.

Hope teaches us to look forward with humble confidence to future happiness. It is an essential doctrine of revelation, that God really and truly desires the salvation of all mankind ; that he created all for this end ; that with this view, Jesus Christ, his eternal Son, died upon the cross, and established the Church with all necessary helps to salvation ; that, consequently, if we do our best endeavours, we shall be saved, not indeed by our natural strength, for with this alone we can do nothing, but by the help of grace, which God is ever ready and desirous to impart to those who employ the proper means of obtaining it ; that consequently, if any one is lost, his perdition is from himself alone, and that if any one despair or cease to hope, it must either be, that he refuses to do his best, or that he violates the doctrine of faith, and accuses God of injustice. Hope gives peace to the mind, not by imparting a certainty of future happiness, which even the apostle himself declares he did not possess, but by inspiring a firm yet humble confidence in the promises, the mercy, and the merits of Christ.

But what is Charity, that first, that greatest, that most essential of all the Christian virtues ? Is it synonymous with benevolence to the poor ? Does it consist merely in relieving the distressed, comforting the sorrowful, clothing the naked, and similar works of brotherly kindness ? No, for St. Paul says, "*If I distribute my goods to the poor, and give my body to the flames, and have not charity it profiteth me nothing.*" (1 Cor. xiii. 3.)

Charity, then, is something more than benevolence. What is it ? It is a virtue which regards God as well as man. It would be a partial and imperfect virtue, indeed, if it excluded God, the most perfect, the most amiable, the only adorable being, the first of benefactors, the best of friends, the most tender and loving of parents. It teaches us to love God above all things, to prefer his law and will before every consideration, to make them the rule, guide and criterion of our thoughts, our words, and our conduct. It prepares us at any moment to sacrifice whatever we value most in life, rather than violate the allegiance we owe to our sovereign Lord. It teaches us to worship him in the manner he requires, and consequently to follow the religion which we sincerely believe to have been established by Him. For should any man say to God, "I love thee, O God, but I will not worship thee in the manner which thou hast commanded, but in a manner which I consider as good or better," would he not offer an affront to God ? Would he not be considered as a rebel against the Divine majesty ? Would not his selfish homage be rejected with disdain ?

And here, my brethren, it follows, as an immediate consequence, that human governments ought not to interfere between God and his creatures, and compel, by pains and

penalties, a form of worship which the conscience of man does not approve. Not that man is always justified who follows his conscience. That conscience may be, and often is, wilfully perverted, and, in this case, it becomes a perverse and deceitful guide. But, though man is not always justified in following his own conscience, he can never be justified in acting against it; and as God alone knows the secrets of the human heart, it is not for man to force his own convictions upon others, and compel them to follow his conscience instead of their own. Surely, if liberty is ever valuable, ever sacred, ever an inalienable right, it is in the intercourse of man with God, who requires not the officious aid of tyrants to render to every one according to his works; who can well distinguish the hypocrite from the sincere adorer; who alone can determine how far ignorance may excuse error, or sincerity supply the place of truth. Hence it follows that all those civil enactments which *compel* the conscience in its quiet and simple intercourse with God, by whomsoever or against whomsoever directed, are equally repugnant to the law of nature and to the virtue of Christian charity.

This sacred virtue teaches us, in the next place, to love every neighbour as ourselves in thought, in word, and in deed. It forbids us to think unkindly, or to judge rashly of any human being; it commands us to put the best construction on his conduct, to excuse it when we can, and palliate it when it will not admit of excuse, and this, even though our judgments be confined to the secrets of our own breasts.

Still more does it require that our words be regulated by the same principles; that nothing escape our lips which can injure our neighbour's reputation, or disturb his peace of mind; that when occasion offers, we undertake his defence, excuse his defects, extenuate his errors, and proclaim his merits. It teaches us to assist him in his distress, comfort him in his sorrows, advise him in his doubts, correct his errors, and, as far as lies in our power, promote all his temporal and spiritual interests.

And here, my Christian brethren, I cannot refrain from offering a few remarks upon what is usually called proselytism. This word is become odious, and all men seem eager to disclaim its import, as if it were a crime. Yet what is meant by proselytism? If it means converting others to the true religion, what were the apostles themselves but the makers of proselytes? What did Jesus Christ give them in charge to do when he bade them "*go and teach all nations*," (Matt. xxviii. 19.) but every where to make proselytes? For what were the apostles persecuted, put to death, and crowned with the glory of martyrdom, but for making proselytes? What successor of the apostles would do his duty, if he did not labour, like them, to make proselytes? What Christian could lay claim to the rewards of charity, who, convinced of the truth of his religion, and of the inestimable blessings it imparts, refused or neglected to make others partakers of it; concealed his treasure from the objects of distress, and covered "*under a bushel*," the light which was wanted to guide the steps of his benighted fellow-traveller?

But, if by *proselytism* is meant the seducing of men from truth to error, or what we believe to be such; if it imply the use of any means that are unfair, unhandsome, dishonourable, or uncharitable; of violence, bribery, false arguments, or any other means whatsoever than such as are dictated by the strictest truth and animated by pure benevolence, then, indeed, is *proselytism* as odious as it is unchristian: then, far be its practice from every Catholic and from every Christian. Be it hated and detested by every lover of honesty, of truth, and of charity.

Such is that virtue of charity which the apostle declares to be the first, the best, the most essential of Christian virtues. I rejoice, my Christian brethren, that it is so: for it is the one respecting which we are all happily agreed. However we may differ on other points, on this there is no difference amongst us. Would to God the agreement between us was as perfect on all points which the apostle pronounces necessary for our future welfare: but as differences do exist, I am glad that they regard the less, rather than the greater virtue. I am glad that the virtue which makes man most like to God, without which all other virtues can be of no avail, with which every necessary virtue may be hoped for, should be common, my Christian brethren, of all religious persuasions, to you, to me, and to us all. It is not, I grant, a perfect union, but can that union be deemed unimportant which is cemented by the ties of love, even such a love as he who died for love brought from heaven, and bequeathed as the greatest of blessings to man?

Charity, then, is an universal virtue. It admits of no exception. It extends to God and to our fellow-creatures of every country, of every colour, of every disposition, of every opinion, of every sect. The man who should exclude from his universal charity one single child of Adam, be his country, his conduct, his religion whatever it may, transgresses this first of the divine commands, and "*becomes guilty of all*." (James, ii. 10.) With men of blood and the workers of iniquity will be his portion.

But some of you may object that St. John, the apostle of Charity, himself admits an exception, when he tells us that if a man come to us, who brings with him certain errors of doctrine, we are not "*to receive him into our houses, nor say to him, God speed you; for he that saith unto him God speed you, communicateth with his wicked works.*"—(2 John, i. 10, 11.) I acknowledge that such are the words of the apostle, and that the passage is liable to misconstruction; and, therefore, in many of the Catholic translations of the Scripture, a note is added, informing the reader, that the intention of St. John is merely to caution the faithful against the danger which may arise from a familiarity with those who have prevaricated from the true faith, and become the teachers of false doctrine; but that he does not mean to restrain the limits of fraternal charity, which requires us to wish well and pray for *all*, even our enemies. Indeed, every one may perceive that cases may occur, in which charity requires us to discountenance the teachers of error, and the seducers of the people. Thus, if in the midst of a united and peaceful flock an innovator should start up, broaching new doctrines, seducing the people from their faith, and causing divisions, it might be a duty of charity to show our abhorrence of his conduct, by shunning all familiarity with him and keeping him at a distance. But should even he be in temporal or spiritual distress, the same charity, which before bad us to shun him, now commands us to fly to his aid, and forgetting his errors and his crimes, judge of him mildly, speak of him kindly, and afford him every temporal and spiritual assistance in our power. This I am taught by the Catholic Church, and this I believe to be the undoubted meaning of the apostle. Thus the lovely virtue of charity remains unrestrained by a single exception, and embraces every human being for whom the Redeemer of all shed his sacred blood.

But methinks I hear you reply, "*That some of the doctrines of Catholics are of so absurd and pernicious a character, as to stamp their professors as the enemies of God and men.*"—Truly, my Christian brethren, when I consider the misrepresentations of the Catholic religion, which so universally prevail in this country, I am filled with astonishment, and had I not a precedent in the first three centuries of Christianity, I should be at a loss to account for so extraordinary a fact. During those primitive ages, the religion of Christ is admitted by all to have been in its greatest practical purity; yet we find that at no period was it ever more calumniated. There is no absurdity, which was not charged upon its doctrines; no atrocity, which was not imputed to its morality. The most degrading idolatry, the most unnatural crimes, even murder itself, were asserted to be sanctioned by the holy religion of Christ. In their public assemblies, his sainted followers were accused of offering infants in sacrifice, and feasting upon the flesh and blood of their innocent victims! Did not these marvellous calumnies against the primitive Christians stand recorded in the undoubted page of history, I should almost disbelieve my senses, when they testify to me the existence of a similar combination, prevailing so long and so extensively against the same religion in this country. Where is the book, from the paltry penny tract to the learned and costly volume; where the pulpit, from the meeting-house to the cathedral, that has not misrepresented as cruelly, as unjustly, and as unaccountably, the ancient religion of this country. Oh! did the Catholic religion even distantly resemble the hideous portraits drawn of it by our adversaries: were its tenets even remotely like those which are ascribed to it, there is no one here who would hate and abhor it more than myself! I would fly from it as a pestilence. I would not continue a member of it a single day. Let us, my brethren, in a few instances, compare the portraits with the originals. I shall not now attempt to *demonstrate* the Catholic doctrines, but merely to *state them*; my present object being not to convince you that these doctrines are true, but merely that they furnish no ground for excluding Catholics from a share in the common charities of Christians.

What are the leading doctrines of the Catholic Church? In the first place, the Catholic Church holds, as the foundation of all religion, that there is but one supreme, self-existent, eternal Deity, infinite in wisdom, in goodness, in every perfection; by whom all things were made, in whom all that exist, "*live, move, and have their being.*" (Acts, xvii. 28.) It teaches that our first duty is, to love God, and adore him alone; that the worst of treasons and the greatest of crimes is, to give his homage to any creature whatsoever. It teaches that in this one God, there are three divine persons, perfectly distinct in *personality*, perfectly one in *nature*; that the second person descended from heaven, became man, and died upon a cross for the salvation of all mankind: that through his blood all may be saved, and that there is "*no other name under heaven given to men, in which any one can*" obtain salvation:—(Acts, iv. 12.)—that all spiritual graces and blessings actually bestowed in this life, or hoped for in the next, must be derived originally from the sufferings and merits of the divine Redeemer alone.

So far, my dissenting brethren, I trust that all or most of you agree with the Catholic Church. You are, therefore, agreed with her not only in charity, but in the profession of the primary and most essential doctrines of faith. Beyond these primary articles, you are not, I believe, very rigid in exacting agreement from each other. Other points you consider as of smaller moment, and allow on them a great latitude of opinion. Allow the same privilege to your Catholic brethren, which you allow to each other. This is just, and this, I think, I have a right to claim at your hands.

But you have been told that "*Catholics worship images, as did the pagans of old; and that, like them, they give the glory of the eternal God to the works of men's hands.*" I know how common these accusations are, and how *otherwise* respectable are the sources from whence they spring, or I should fear to insult your understandings by supposing that any of you are capable of believing them. For is it possible, that in an age and country which claims to be so learned and so enlightened, men should be found capable of believing that the majority of the Christian world, the great, the good, the learned of almost every civilized nation under heaven, are so ignorant, so debased, so stupid, so wicked as to give divine honours to a lifeless and senseless image? Is it possible that any of you should persuade yourselves that the most ignorant Catholic here present should be capable of adoring, for instance, the ivory image, which you see upon that altar?

"*But why, if the image is not worshiped, is it there?*" Ah! my Christian brethren, look at that image, and tell me, what impression does it make on your minds? It represents your Redeemer nailed to the cross, and dying for your sins. Can you behold such an object unmoved? Can you fix upon it a vacant eye? Can you gaze upon it, and not reflect how great was his goodness, who thus suffered; how criminal those sins which caused such sufferings; how sincere ought to be your sorrow in having participated in the commission of them? It is to excite such emotions that the image is placed there, and let me ask you, *could* a more appropriate object stand upon a Christian altar, or be placed before the eyes of a Christian assembly, when they meet to pay their worship to their divine Redeemer, when every mind should be impressed, and every heart penetrated with the remembrance of his sufferings, the source of all our happiness and all our hope?

Really, my Christian brethren, I blush to think it should be necessary to say that Catholics, as well as you, know the folly, and detest as much as you, the impiety of giving divine honours to a lifeless piece of wood or ivory, however skilfully the sculptor may have fashioned it, or whatever object it may present to the imagination.

"*But do we not worship and pray to the saints?*" We worship no creature *whatsoever*, and therefore not the saints. "*But at least we pray to them?*" Yes, my Christian brethren, just as St. Paul prayed to his own converts, or I pray to you. I say to you, and with all sincerity I say it, "pray for me, my brethren; obtain for me from God, those blessings which I may myself be unable or unworthy to obtain." I say the same to the blessed Mother of Jesus Christ, to St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Augustin, St. Jerom, or any other of those holy persons, whose acknowledged sanctity has procured for them, through the grace and merits of Christ, the friendship of God, and the happiness of heaven. Surely there is nothing wrong or unreasonable in this. The earthly trials of these holy persons are past, the veil of mortality is removed from their eyes, they behold God face to face, and enjoy without reserve, his friendship and his love. May I not reasonably hope that their prayers will be more efficacious than my own, or those of my friends? Under this persuasion, I say to them as I just now said to you, "holy Mary, holy Peter, holy Paul, pray for me."—What is there in reason or revelation to forbid me to do so? A child has been deprived by the death of a parent, who through life offered for him the most fervent supplications. Is it likely that the anxiety of a parent for the welfare of a beloved child wholly ceases in death? should the child think not, and under this persuasion say, "Oh! my parent, think of me, love me, pray for me still. Forget not in your happy country your exiled child." Would *this* be impiety? Would *this* be robbing God of his glory, or Christ of his mediation? Would *this* be transferring to creatures, the honours and privileges due to God alone? Would *this* justify you in judging harshly, speaking contemptuously, or acting unkindly towards your Catholic brother? I shall, then, merely add in the words of St. Paul, in conformity with the repeated decisions of the Catholic Church, and in unison with the voice of every Catholic in the world, "*Anathema* to the man who worships an image as God, or gives to it divine honours, or believes it to possess any portion of divine power or virtue, or places his trust in it, or prays to it, or believes it to be anything more than a lifeless, senseless lump of matter. *Anathema* to the man who worships the saints as gods, attributes to them any divine power, believes them to be any more than mere creatures, wholly dependent upon God for every blessing which they possess themselves, or obtain from others, who

prays to them with any other view than that of obtaining their prayers, and as one creature may lawfully pray to another. *Anathema* to the man who gives the divine honour to any creature, whether in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or who adores as God, any but the one only true living and eternal God. And, my brethren, I will add without hesitation or fear, *Anathema* to myself, if the doctrine I have here explained to you is not the true and universally-received doctrine of the Catholic Church."

You have heard "*that the Catholic Priesthood usurps the divine power of forgiving sins; that for a sum of money any offender may obtain from the Priest pardon for the past, and permission for future crimes; that by this doctrine morality is relaxed, and the commission of every enormity encouraged.*" I blush to mention such accusations, and to suppose that any of you can have harboured, for a moment, such gross, such senseless, such incredible calumnies against the great majority of the Christian world. What is the real Catholic doctrine on this head?—Simply this:

Before his ascension into heaven, Christ breathed on his apostles, and said to them, "Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained."—(John, xx. 23.) He had before said to the same apostles, "*Whatsoever you shall bind on earth, it shall be bound also in heaven; and whatsoever you shall loose on earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven.*"—(Matt. xviii. 18.)—and to St. Peter he had said, that he gave to him "*the keys of the kingdom of heaven.*"—(Matt. xvi. 19.) Now from these texts we conclude, that Christ gave to his apostles and their successors in the ministry, the commission to remit, under certain conditions, the sins of his people. What are these conditions? In the first place, sincere sorrow for the offence committed, and a firm determination of mind never to commit it again. Without this condition, it is the doctrine of the Catholic Church, *universally received as an article of her faith*, that neither Priest, nor Bishop, nor Pope, nor the whole Church together, has power to forgive any sin whatever; and that should any Priest, or Bishop, or Pope presume to grant absolution to any sinner, who was not from his heart sorry for his sins, and fully determined not to commit them again, such absolution could have no effect, but to augment the sinner's guilt, and involve in a participation of it the rash minister who had presumed to absolve him.

And here, my brethren of various persuasions, let me ask what conditions do you require for the sinner's forgiveness? If he is truly sorry for his sins; if he is resolved to commit them no more; if he is determined to begin a new life, do you not believe that under such circumstances God forgives him his sins? So far, then, you agree with the Catholic Church in the conditions for divine forgiveness.

But these conditions, though all that most of you require, are not all that are required by the Catholic Church. She requires that the sinner confess his guilt to the minister of religion, in order that the latter may ascertain whether his penitent possesses the requisite dispositions, and that he may be enabled to prescribe the necessary reparations for the past, and precautions against future transgressions. Unless a sinner is ready to make this full and undisguised acknowledgment of his offences, however painful, however humbling it may be, the Catholic Church teaches, that her ministers have no authority to grant an absolution, and that should they presume to grant it, it would be of itself null and void.

Nor is even this all. The sinner must, moreover, submit to make such atonement to his offended God, by prayer, by fasting, by works of self-denial, and the like, as may be required of him, and if he has injured any neighbour in his good name, his property, or his person, he must, to the utmost of his ability, resolve to make full and ample satisfaction. Without such a resolution, no Catholic Priest in the world could or would consider himself authorized to give absolution to any penitent, and if he did presume to give it, his religion teaches, *as an article of faith*, that his absolution could be of no avail in the sight of God, but to add to the guilt both of the giver and the receiver.

Now, let me ask, is this a doctrine which relaxes the Christian morality, which encourages guilt, and facilitates the commission of crime? What, then, must those doctrines be which admit the sinner to reconciliation, upon the simple condition of repentance and a confession made to God alone?

But how can man forgive sins? Who "*can forgive sins but God alone*?" I might refer you to the answer which Jesus Christ himself gave to this question, when he cured the man sick of the palsy.—(Matt. ix. 6.)

But I ask, do not most of you acknowledge that sin is forgiven in baptism, through the agency of man? Now if the pouring of water and the invocation of the adorable Trinity, by the minister of Christ, occasion the forgiveness of sin,—(John, iii. 5)—why may not the words of absolution pronounced by the same minister, in the name and by the authority of the same adorable Trinity, equally occasion it? In other words,

if God can enable his ministers to forgive sins by baptism, why not by penance and absolution? On this point, indeed, the Church of England agrees with us, as appears by the directions given in the common prayer-book for the visitation of the sick.

And who will limit the divine power, and say that whilst an earthly monarch can grant to a viceroy or a general the exercise of the royal prerogative of mercy, the King of heaven cannot grant the same prerogative to the ministers and rulers of his spiritual kingdom on earth? And on the supposition that he wished to grant it, what plainer, stronger, or less equivocal words could he employ than these, "*Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven—and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained.*"—(John, xx. 23.) At all events, if any of you, my dissenting brethren, think yourselves at liberty to give some figurative interpretation of your own to these plain words of Scripture, surely you will not refuse to your Catholic brethren the privilege of understanding them, with the great body of Christians in every age, in their literal and obvious sense? Why should not we be allowed to explain Scripture for ourselves as well as you?

As to the charge of forgiving sins for money, or allowing the commission of future sins on any condition whatever, it is a simple calumny. The Catholic Church expressly forbids her Clergy to receive money for absolution from sin, and would condemn as guilty of simony any Priest who committed such a crime. Accounts to the contrary, with which the sermons and tracts of this country abound, will always be found to be given without the names of persons or places, and like other similar charges, are fabricated for purposes best known to the authors.

"*But do not Catholics believe that there is a place called Purgatory, and that the Priest can liberate souls from it, upon payment of a sum of money?*" Again, my Christian brethren, I ought to apologize to you for answering an objection which, though often made in the gross way I have stated it, your own good sense must convince you is an incredible misrepresentation. Can you possibly suppose that the wise, the learned, and the good of so many polished nations, should be capable of upholding a superstition so gross as is here imputed? Do you really think, that it requires essentially a Protestant intellect to discover that such a power, as is here ascribed to the Priest, is unfounded equally in religion and reason? A simple explanation of the Catholic doctrine will satisfy you on this head.

It is the belief of the Catholic Church, and the same, I presume, is yours, that all sins are not equal in malice and guilt; that a passing angry feeling is not so great a crime as murder, nor an idle word as blasphemy. Hence we believe that God does not *punish* all sins equally, but "*renders to every one according to his works*;" (Matt. xvi. 27.) that whilst he punishes the wilful, deliberate and mortal offender with the extremity of severity, even with everlasting fire, he inflicts upon the minor and more venial sinner chastisements less severe, and of limited duration. Is this belief unreasonable? Let us consult human laws, which claim reason for their basis. The laws of England, for instance, are justly deemed a reasonable code. It is, indeed, generally thought that these laws are of rather too sanguinary a character; that they too often inflict the punishment of death. Still even the laws of England do not punish all offences with death. There are in them gradations of punishment, corresponding with the gradations of crime. There is banishment for life, for fourteen years, for seven years; there is imprisonment for different periods of time; there are fines of various amounts. We should call the law unjust, or the king a tyrant, who punished equally with death the child who had pilfered an apple and the wretch who had murdered his father. Are the laws of God alone unjust? Has he alone the privilege of punishing without discrimination? The Scripture expressly declares, that before the divine tribunal "*men shall give an account of every idle word.*" (Matt. xii. 36.) Let us, then, make a supposition. A child arrived at the full use of reason, and knowing that every lie is a sin, to escape punishment, tells an untruth in a matter of trivial moment. There is not a doubt that a sin has been committed. Before the child has time to repent, an accident deprives him of life. What reception shall he meet with at the bar of eternal justice? Will he be sentenced with the parricide to eternal flames? I need not give the answer. Reason revolts at the idea. He must then be punished for a time, and when he has atoned for his fault, be admitted to reconciliation. Such is the belief of the Catholic Church.

But if a temporary state of punishment be admitted, prayer for the dead must follow of course; as on the other hand, if heaven and hell are believed to be the only alternatives in the moment of death, prayer for the dead is vain; for in heaven relief is not wanted, and, "*from hell there is no redemption.*" Hence, when our friends are taken from us by death, and we have reason to hope (and when will not affection hope?) that those offences may not deserve the extremity of eternal punishment, we entreat the divine goodness to shorten or alleviate their sufferings. Is this unreasonable? Is

this superstitious? Is this unscriptural? I am sure it is not uncharitable, and charity is the first of virtues. But let us again make a supposition. An affectionate child has been deprived by death of a beloved parent. That parent had not been without his faults; though virtuous, his virtues had not been unaccompanied by imperfections; he had sinned, but not grievously. At all events, the afflicted orphan trusts that this was the case. If in such moments, and under such impressions, he pours forth his fervent prayer, "O God, have mercy on the soul of my beloved parent, and if he be doomed to suffer, and those sufferings admit of alleviation, for the sake of Jesus Christ, hear my prayer; alleviate and shorten his pains." Is he guilty of impiety, superstition, or folly? Against what precept does he offend? What text of Scripture forbids the act? But what do I say? The act required no sanction of revelation; it was dictated by nature! the prayer came spontaneously to his lips; it appears to me it must have come so to your own. Tell me, if it had, would you have thought yourselves bound to repress it? Would you have rebuked the voice of nature, and said, "Tempt me not, I cannot utter a prayer for my parent; he is already either in hell or in heaven; it is unlawful, it is criminal to pray for him." I thank God that such are not the doctrines of the Catholic Church; for I should find it difficult to believe them, and still more painful to practise them.

"But the Scripture does not command us to pray for the dead." Neither does it forbid us: why, then, may not the voice of nature, the dictates of reason, and the usages of antiquity, be allowed to govern our conduct? Is nothing lawful but what Scripture expressly commands or expressly prescribes? Then why bury your dead in consecrated ground? Why read passages from the Scripture, and, strangely enough, pray over their graves for every one but them? My Christian brethren, when I read the history of these religious changes, and find that prayer for the dead was not condemned in England till the rapacious ministers of Edward the Sixth had seized upon the rich foundations which our pious forefathers had established, to obtain the prayers of the living, I cannot persuade myself that reason or Scripture had anything to do with forbidding such prayers; I feel convinced that if reason and Scripture had alone been consulted, you would have felt as little scruple as I do in praying for the souls of our departed friends. At all events, if the Catholic do not think the practice repugnant to Scripture, as he certainly does not, why should you condemn him? Has not he as much right as you to judge of the meaning of Scripture? And if his interpretation be fortified by the constant belief of the Catholic Church, by the practice of all his ancestors, by the dictates of nature, and the best feelings of the human heart, is he not abundantly justified in preferring his own firm persuasion to your opinion?

With respect to the assertion so often made by the enemies of the Catholic religion, "*That, for a sum of money, its ministers claim the power of releasing souls from Purgatory.*" I need not, I am sure, add, that it is another of those strange misrepresentations which, though a thousand times proved to be groundless, is as often repeated. The Catholic Priest claims no authority or jurisdiction over the dead. All he can do is to apply to the mercy of God in their behalf; but, like other men, he must ever remain uncertain respecting the efficacy of his prayers. He has, indeed, one advantage peculiar to the Priesthood. He can offer sacrifice; and sacrifice under the new law, as well as under the old, has always been considered the most powerful means of moving God to mercy. Hence, if any one, in addition to his own private prayers, wish to have sacrifice offered for the souls of his departed friends, there is no doubt he must apply to the ministry of the Priests; and if *They who serve the altar are entitled to live by the altar*, (1 Cor. ix. 13.) no one, I presume, will deny that the Priest is entitled to a remuneration for the expense he incurs, and the labour he performs, in complying with the pious wishes of others. Every day he is obliged to pray, without remuneration, for the souls of the departed in general, and on certain days he is obliged to offer for all, the holy sacrifice, equally without remuneration; and there is no Priest charged with the care of souls, who fails to comply with this duty of charity. But if, not content with these general prayers and sacrifices, individuals wish for their friends' special and peculiar services, surely he who performs them may, without reproach, receive a remuneration. Do not those who make the above-mentioned charges against the Catholic Church themselves receive fees for the burial service which they perform for the dead; nay, even for the administration of baptism, and for preaching the Gospel? Would a Catholic be justified in saying, on this account, that for a sum of money these clergymen claim a power of remitting sin, and opening to their followers the gates of life?

I fear to exhaust your patience with these explanations; but as you are about to assist at the holy sacrifice of the new law, and as there is no subject more misrepresented than this, I must add upon it a few words. The mass, (to use the phrase of

the Church of England) is the communion service of the Catholic Church. In it, the bread and wine are solemnly consecrated, and when so consecrated, solemnly offered to God in the way of oblation or sacrifice, and for the various ends for which, from the beginning of the world, sacrifice has been offered. But what are the consecrated bread and wine? How often, my Protestant brethren, have not you been told that the doctrine of the Catholic Church on this head is the height of absurdity, folly, and impiety? How often have you been told that Catholics, like the Jews of Capernaum, understand the words of Christ in a gross and carnal sense: that they believe his sacred body to be present in the sacrament, in a *crude, natural, and mortal state*? Now, were such really the doctrine of the Catholic Church, there would be some ground for the outcries of her adversaries; for surely our senses testify clearly enough that, *in such a state*, the body of Christ is not present. What, then, is the real doctrine of the Catholic Church? She teaches, that by the words of consecration, a real change is wrought in the bread and wine, not, indeed, in external properties, but in internal substance: that now the body and blood of Christ are, *in substance, truly and really present*, though not perceptible to our senses. This is her doctrine. With respect to the *manner or state* in which Christ is present, she has not decided anything, except that (as our senses testify) he is not present in the gross, natural state of a mortal body, but in some supernatural and ineffable manner suited to the object of his presence. (See Conc. Trident. Sess. xxii. cap. 1 and 2.)

Now, my brethren, what is the absurdity or impiety of this doctrine? Is it absurd to believe that a body may be *truly, really, and substantially* present, though not in its *usual natural state*? Or that the same body may be present in different states? I grant that in mere mortal bodies these things are not naturally possible; but the question is here not of a mere mortal, but of a glorified body, and not of the glorified body of a mere man, but of a man God. May not such a Being be present in more states than one? "*Consult the Scriptures,*" and you will find that he has been present in several. Behold him now present as an infant in the stable, now as a malefactor on the cross; now, risen from the dead, he assumes the united properties of a spirit and a body. He enters the room when the doors are shut, and is found solid and tangible to the hands of Thomas; to Magdalene he appears as a gardener, to two of his disciples as a stranger; now he eats with them as a mortal body, now he vanishes, and becomes invisible as a pure spirit. (Luke xxiv. 31.) For every varying purpose he assumed a varied form, and is present, as occasion requires, in a different state. Did he exhaust his powers? Are there no other states than these, in which he can be present? If it be his pleasure to perpetuate, in an unbloody manner, the sacrifice of the cross, and become our daily victim, and our daily spiritual food, can he not accomplish his pleasure? Will any one dare thus to circumscribe Omnipotence, and say, "So far thou canst go, but no farther? Thou canst not be present, all glorified and immortal as thou art, but I must behold thee; thou canst not communicate thyself to me, but I must taste thee." He must be an ignorant as well as presumptuous man who argues thus.

The question, then, is not whether Jesus Christ *can*, but whether he *has* performed for us these prodigies. The Catholic Church believes that he has, and, as far as I can judge, for the most powerful reasons. "*This is my body, this is my blood,*" (Matt. xxvi. 26; Mark, xiv. 22; Luke, xxii. 19.) are the unqualified assertions of three evangelists: the fourth asserts, "*Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, you shall have no life in you; for my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed.*" (John, vi. 54.) St. Paul repeats the declaration of the three evangelists: "*This is my body, this is my blood,*" (1 Cor. xi. 24.) and concludes from it, that, "*He who eateth, and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment to himself, not discerning the body of the Lord.*" (Ibid 29.) The belief of the Catholic Church, spread throughout the world, is unanimous on this head, and has ever been so from the earliest ages. The same is the belief of the various divisions of the Greek Church, separated as she has been from the Catholic Church, for a thousand years; the same is the belief of the remnants of some smaller Oriental sects, which left the communion of the Catholic Church at a still earlier period. If the belief is an error, at what period, by whom, and in what manner, was it introduced? Was the faith of the whole church corrupted *before* the schisms of Eutyches and Nestorius? How short then was the reign of truth? How early did the Redeemer and the promised Spirit of Truth forsake the Church? Was the alteration made *after* the establishment of the Eutychian and Nestorian heresies? Then how came they to adopt a change in union with the Church they had forsaken? What general infatuation seized mankind, that all should unite, the orthodox and heterodox, the Catholics and the Sectaries, in abjuring the *same truth* and adopting the *same error*? And ah! my brethren, how mysterious, indeed, must the providence of God have been, to suffer the original truth

to be banished from the world for a thousand years, and then discover it at last in the sixteenth century to a few Englishmen and Germans! But I am unintentionally entering into controversy, where explanation is my object. I trust, I have said sufficient on this subject to convince you that the Catholic faith has been grievously misrepresented to you; that if, like the doctrine of the Trinity and the Incarnation, it is mysterious and incomprehensible, it is not on that account to be rejected, much less blasphemed; that whether you believe it or not, you ought to respect it as the sincere and conscientious belief of the great majority of the Christian world; that neither your belief nor mine alters the mystery which Christ has established, at which you are about to assist, and to which, as the institution of Christ, I request your respectful attendance.

But why is it performed in an unknown tongue? and why all this parade of richly-attired priests and attendants at the altar? The former, you have been told, is to keep the people in ignorance, the latter to impose upon the senses. How severe, my brethren, is your treatment of your mother Church! The reasons why, in the celebration of the mass, the Latin language is used, are simply these: First, the Latin and Greek were the languages most generally used, and almost the only written languages in the principal countries where the Christian religion was first promulgated. In these languages, therefore, the liturgy of the Church was originally composed, nearly in its present form. When several centuries afterwards, the languages of modern Europe began to be formed, the Church did not think proper to alter the languages she has ever used in celebration of the holy sacrifice. For if, on the one hand, these languages, by becoming dead, ceased to be understood by the unlearned, on the other, they became, like a body raised from death, immortal, unchangeable; and on this account the better adapted for preserving unaltered the awful doctrines and mysteries committed to their care. Would *prudence* have justified the setting aside the pure, the dignified, the immutable languages of the primitive Church, languages which, though no longer spoken by the unlettered, were still, as they are to this day, the universal languages of the learned in every country, and the adoption in their stead of the numberless barbarous, half-formed and daily changing languages of modern Europe? Would it have been respectful, would it have been secure, would it have been practicable to commit to these rude and uncertain vehicles the sacred deposit of the faith and hope of Christians? For the use of the people, translations have been made, and abound in every Catholic country: but at the altar the priest continues to commune with God in the original languages, reciting the more sacred parts of the sacrificial rite in a low voice, which breaks not the awful silence, nor disturbs the deep recollections of the surrounding adorners.

Had the Catholic Church wished to keep the people in ignorance, she would have commanded the clergy to *give instructions* and to *preach* in unknown languages; I should not now have been explaining to you in the plainest English I can command, the doctrines of the Catholic religion; but I should have been exciting your just ridicule by the delivering of a Latin oration.

With respect to ceremonies and vestments, they should be viewed with the eye of antiquity. They are venerable relics of primitive times, and, though ill adapted to the youthful religions of modern times, well become that hoary religion, which bears the weight of so many ages. The ceremonies employed in the Christian sacrifice, as well as the sacerdotal vestments, have their model in the book of Leviticus, and, as nearly as the difference of the old and new law permits, closely resemble those instituted by God himself. The Catholic Church deems them useful. They give a peculiar dignity to the sacred mysteries of religion; they raise the mind of the beholder to heavenly things by their various and appropriate import; they instruct the ignorant and keep alive attention; they give the ministers of religion a respect for themselves, and for the awful rites in which they officiate; but neither the ceremonies nor the vestments belong to the essence of religion. The Church established them in the first ages. She could, if she deemed it advisable, set them aside any day, and the sacrifice would be equally holy, though not equally impressive, if offered by the priest in a plain white surplice, or the ordinary costume of the day.

I shall detain you no longer on the explanation of the doctrines and practices of the Catholic Church. I trust I have satisfied you that they are not what they have been usually represented to you, and that they are at least deserving of your respect. Still, many of you will say, "*Why adhere to them with such pertinacity in a country, where the great majority of the nation has abjured them, and where they are obnoxious to the people and punishable by the laws?*" I grant that if man were as justified before God, as he is before men, in choosing his religion, as he does his house or his coat, the objection would be unanswerable; for to adhere to the Catholic religion in England, the laws of God permitting us to forsake it, would be folly indeed. But it is the firm

conviction of all Catholics, that, however numerous may be the religions which *men* institute or adopt, and, however little right one man may have to interfere with another in the choice of his faith, there is only one religion instituted by Christ, only one system of doctrine taught by the eternal truth; only one sheepfold appointed by the one Shepherd; only one society inheriting the powers and promises which the Redeemer of the world received from his Father, and left to his apostles and their successors. Hence, without presuming to decide upon the future acceptance of those who have lived in ignorance of the truth, and who, labouring with sincerity and earnestness to find it, have failed in their endeavours, the Catholic firmly believes that for himself, who has been blessed with a knowledge of the truth, who is conscientiously convinced that his religion is the one religion established by Christ, there is no choice left. To himself he believes that the words of Christ are strictly applicable: "*He that shall deny me before men, I will also deny him before my Father who is in heaven:*" (Matt. x. 32.) and those of St. Paul, "*It is impossible for those who were once enlightened, have tasted also the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, have, moreover, tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, and are fallen away, to be renewed again unto penance, crucifying to themselves the Son of God, and making a mockery of him.*"—(Heb. vi. 4, 5, 6.)

To state all the reasons which Catholics have for this conviction, would far exceed the limits of a discourse; to state a few of the principal ones will require little time.

When the divine Author of the Christian religion had given all necessary instructions to his apostles, and communicated to them the Holy Spirit, to assist and direct them, he assembled them together on Mount Olivet, and thus addressed them: "*All power is given to me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations: baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, behold, I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world.*" (Matt. xxviii. 18, 19, 20.) In another of the Gospels, the same commission is given in somewhat different terms: "*Go ye into the whole world, and preach the Gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptised, shall be saved: but he that believeth not, shall be condemned.*" (Mark xvi. 15, 16.) In your version, my Protestant brethren, the words are, "*he who believeth not shall be damned.*"

On another occasion, Christ had said to Peter, "*Thou art Peter,*" (which name signifies a rock,) "*and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, &c.*" (Matt. xvi. 18, 19.) The conclusions we draw from these texts are—

1st. That as Christ commissioned his apostles to *teach all the doctrines of his religion* to mankind, so he required mankind to *receive* these doctrines, and this under the severest penalty; "*Go ye,*" my apostles, *go ye, and teach mankind, "to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you."* "*He that believeth not shall be condemned.*" Therefore we are not at liberty to believe what we please, but our salvation is attached to the belief of the *very doctrines taught by the apostles.*

And here, my Protestant brethren, I am led to the consideration of a point which forms the great fundamental difference between the Catholic Church and you. You maintain that all the doctrines which a Christian is required to believe, are contained in the *Bible*, and that each individual has a right to explain the meaning of the *Bible* for himself, and believe accordingly.

The Catholic Church, on the other hand, maintains that there are doctrines of essential importance not contained in the *Bible*: as, for example, the lawfulness and obligation of keeping holy the *Sunday* instead of the *Saturday*—the real *scriptural* Sabbath; and moreover, that even if all the doctrines of religion were actually contained in the *Bible*, still that the rule of our belief would not be the Scriptures explained by private interpretation, but the teaching of the apostles and their successors.

With respect to the apostles themselves, you will readily admit that there was an obligation of believing *their* doctrines. Would any of you have ventured to contradict St. Paul to his face, to tell him that you did not understand the Bible in the sense he taught, and that you had a right to explain its meaning for yourselves? would he have acquiesced in your claims? would he not rather have pronounced upon you the *anathema* which he declared he would pronounce even upon an angel from heaven, who should teach doctrines different from those which he had *preached*? (Galatians i. 8.) Would he not have said to you, as he said to the Corinthians, "*Keep my ordinances as I have delivered them to you: but if any man seem to be contentious, we have no such custom, nor the Church of God.*" (1 Cor. xi. 2—16.)

But why, let me ask, should the apostles be entitled to an obedience which is refused to their successors? The apostles had no power but such as they received from Christ; no security against error but such as they derived from his guidance and protection. Now the same powers, the same guidance and protection, were promised to the successors of the apostles, as were promised to the apostles themselves. Christ did not send to the apostles the "*Spirit of truth*," to "*teach them all truth*" (John xvi. 13,) only for a limited time, but "*for ever*." (John xiv. 16.) He did not promise to be himself with his apostles merely during their short lives, but "*all days, even to the consummation of the world*." (Matt. xviii. 20.) The Catholic Church, therefore, believes that the same submission is due to the lawful successors of the apostles in the first, the second, and the nineteenth century of Christianity, as was due to the apostles themselves. Where does *Scripture* teach that the doctrines of the apostles should be received, and those of their successors rejected? Where does it teach that, after the death of the apostles, the commission to teach mankind should be transferred from the living pastors of the Church, to the dead letter of the Bible? Where does it recall the solemn denunciation pronounced against those who refuse to "*hear the Church*?" (Matt. xviii. 17.) Where does it retract the promised guidance of the Spirit and the pledged protection of Christ? In what age of Christianity did the great body of believers adopt the modern principle of private interpretation? Most of the apostles were dead before the whole of the New Testament was written; near four hundred years had elapsed before its different books were collected together, and fully authenticated: the Gospel had been preached, and Christianity planted in many nations, before a single copy of the New Testament had reached them; more than fourteen centuries had passed over the Christian Church, before the invention of printing rendered it possible for one Christian in a thousand to possess a copy of the Scriptures, or one in ten thousand of the people to read it. Could Christ intend that men should follow a rule of faith to which they could not obtain access? to read a book which was not written, or could not be obtained? to explain a book which, if they possessed, they could not read? Could he require that the ignorant and unlettered should understand a book, which the wisest and the most learned cannot always comprehend? Could he require, as a condition of salvation, that the peasant, the day-labourer, the woman, the child, unacquainted with the languages, the history, the usages of antiquity, should fathom the depths of the most ancient, the most profound, and the most mysterious volume that ever was penned; a volume in which the great St. Augustin declared he found more which he could not, than which he could comprehend; the contents of which he could never have brought himself to believe, "if the authority of the Catholic Church had not moved him to it?"—(Contra ep. Fundam.) Whilst a human legislator would deem it the height of folly to write his laws, and leave them without authorized living expositors, can we suppose that the Divine Legislator would be guilty of such an inconsistency? Whilst the generality of men are acknowledged to require the aid of living teachers in every science, in every art, in almost every mechanical trade, can we believe that the wisdom and goodness of God would leave them without this assistance in religion, the most difficult and the most important of all sciences? Could Christ require, under pain of damnation, that all men should believe the *same* doctrines, and yet require them to find these doctrines in a book, which is capable, as fatal experience too clearly proves, of being understood in a thousand different senses, and which perhaps no two unassisted men ever understood in the *same*? Tertullian, a learned writer of the second century, tells us, "That whenever any refractory Christian, in those days, refused to submit to the doctrines of the Catholic Church, he claimed a right to explain Scripture for himself, and to make it teach whatever doctrines he chose to adopt."—(Lib. de præscriptionibus.) The same has been the refuge of all subsequent innovators. There is no error, extravagance, or impiety, which private interpretation has not maintained to be the infallible word of God. Hence the Catholic Church continues to adhere to the ancient rule which guided the faithful in the days of the apostles, and which has preserved unity of faith amongst their successors through every age.

But should you, my dissentient brethren, deem these reasons insufficient to justify our submission to the decisions of the church, and insist that every principle of religion shall rest on the private interpretation of Scripture, we have no objection, in the present instance, to comply with your demand. What does the Scripture say on this head? "*If he will not hear the church, let him be to thee as the heathen and the publican*."—(Matt. xviii. 17.) "*Into whatever city you (my apostles) enter, and they receive you not—I say to you, it shall be more tolerable at the day of judgment for Sodom, than for that city—He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me*." (Luke x. 10, 12, 16.) "*He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be condemned*."—(Mark xvi. 16.) "*Remem-*

her your prelates who have spoken to you the word of God: whose faith follow—Obey your prelates, and be subject to them, for they watch, being to render an account of your souls.”—(Hebrews xiii. 7, 17.)

These and many other similar texts are sincerely understood by every Catholic to require submission to the church in matters of faith and morality, and consequently to forbid all opposite interpretation of Scripture. And will you refuse the Catholic an equal right with yourselves to judge of the sense of Scripture? If *he* understand the Scripture to teach submission to the church, why should you object to his following the convictions of his conscience? You claim a right to explain Scripture differently from him: why should you refuse him the privilege of explaining it differently from you? He calls not for your approval of his opinions; he objects not (on his own account) to your dissent. He is willing to abide the decision of the all-seeing Judge, and to incur the threatened condemnation, if his faith be erroneous. By the same tribunal will your faith be tried. Be satisfied with this, and do not expect that your Catholic brethren should prefer your opinions to their own convictions. Allow to others the liberty you claim for yourselves. *As you would that men should do to you, do you also to them in like manner.*”—(Luke vi. 31.)

But I fancy I hear some of you ask, why, upon the supposition that the lawful successors of the apostles are authorized teachers of religion, and expositors of Scripture, does the Catholic assume that the pastors of his church are the lawful successors of the apostles, and the Catholic Church the only church of Christ? The reasons will be best given by recurring to the different texts of Scripture already cited. From those texts I have before inferred, first, that certain revealed doctrines are essentially required to be believed. *“He who believeth not shall be condemned.”*—(Mark xvi. 16.)

I infer, in the second place, from the commission of Christ, *“Go teach ALL NATIONS,”*—(Matt. xxvii.)—*Go PREACH the Gospel to EVERY CREATURE.*” (Mark xvi.)—that the religion of Christ must be a *universal*, not a *national* or *merely local* religion. Now the Catholic is the only universal religion. It is morally *universal as to place*; for it exists in every known country of the world. In many countries it is the only religion; in most, its numbers greatly predominate; in every country where Christianity exists in any form, there the Catholic religion is found. It is comparatively *universal as to numbers*, being infinitely more numerous than any other sect or denomination of Christians, and perhaps than all other sects and denominations put together. All other religions or sects are confined to comparatively narrow limits. They are *national* or *local* establishments. They are the Church of *England*, the Church of *Scotland*, the Church of *Geneva*, the *Greek*, or the *Russian* Church, existing in the particular countries which give them their names, and scarcely known in other parts of the world. Not one of them has the slightest pretensions to be the church of *“all nations.”* Hence we conclude that none of them can be the Church which Christ commanded his apostles to found for the benefit of the world at large, into which the prophet had predicted *“all nations should flow.”*—(Isaiah ii. 2.)

3rdly. The doctrines which the apostles were commanded to teach, were those, and only those, which they had learned from Christ: *“teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.”*—(Matt. xxviii.) Therefore the doctrines of the true and universal Church of Christ must be in all places the same; for where there is difference of doctrine, there must necessarily be deviation from the doctrines of Christ. Now this unity of doctrine exists in the great Catholic Church, and in it alone. Though spread through every nation of the known world, though professed by so many *“peoples, and tribes, and tongues,”* differing from each other in manners, in customs, in language, in interest, the doctrines of the Catholic religion are everywhere the same. Not a difference will be found on any single *article of faith*, amongst all its countless millions. Make the experiment. Consult the first English bishop or priest you meet: ask the respectable pastor of this congregation what is the doctrine of the Catholic Church on any given *article of faith*, and carefully note his reply. Put the same question to the bishop or priest of France, of Italy, of Germany, of Spain, of America, of Hindostan, of China, and I am sure you will receive from all and every one the same answer. One and all will unhesitatingly tell you, *“Such is the doctrine of the Catholic Church, such is my sincere belief.”* This, you will acknowledge my brethren, is as it ought to be. Unity like this is indispensable in any Church which claims to teach the uniform and unchangeable doctrines of Christ.

Need I add that you will in vain seek for it in any other communion or sect? Look back at the history of the different sects now in England. It is but three hundred years since the most ancient of them arose, and it was the first that England had ever known. For near a thousand years the Catholic religion had prevailed in England, and no schism had divided its followers. Every inhabitant of the island believed the

same doctrines, obeyed the same pastors, adored at the same altars. What is the case now? Alas! imagination sickens at the view. Who now can number our religious divisions? Who can enumerate our discordant sects? In vain has the arm of flesh been employed to coerce the licentious spread of schism; in vain have penalties, privations, and persecutions been inflicted upon Dissenters from the national creed. In spite of every effort, divisions still continue to multiply, and the eternal Truth is asserted to have taught as many different systems of faith, as there are different exponents of the *Bible*.

Such has ever been the case in former ages. Hundreds of sects, now no more, have at different periods arrayed themselves against the Catholic Church. From the moment of their separation, unity fled from them; they became a house divided against itself, and they fell. This the Catholic well knew, and, therefore when the modern churches arose, proclaimed their divine origin, and solicited his confidence, he declined to give it to them, and remained attached to the original church. Was he not justified in so doing? Did not common prudence require that he should say, "Gentlemen, allow me to delay my assent at least for a while, and see whether you will be able to settle amongst yourselves that unity of faith, which all your predecessors in reformation have failed to establish. Permit me to retain my ancient belief, till you have agreed amongst yourselves what other I shall substitute in its room." Alas! he must still wait; for there is yet no prospect of such agreement.

My Protestant brethren, you were never placed in our situation. Your ancestors forsook; they were compelled, by penal laws, to forsake the Catholic religion, and you have been born in a state of separation. Had not this been the case, and still more, could you have foreseen the lamentable disunion to which England has been brought, you would have reasoned as we reason, and acted as we act. Be candid then, and if you choose not to return to the ancient church, let Catholics be excused from adopting a *new* church. If you claim the right of adopting a *new* religion because you imagine it to be true, surely a Catholic may be excused for adhering to the *old* one upon a similar conviction.

4thly. When Christ bade his apostles "*go teach all nations*," he promised to assist them in the work; "*And lo!*" (he said,) "*I am with you*;" and as this great work was not to be finally accomplished till the end of time,—(Matt. xxiv. 14.) he promised to continue the same assistance "*even to the consummation of the world*,"—(Matt. xviii. 20.) This assistance of Christ was indispensable, the conversion of nations being a *supernatural work*, which the unassisted powers of man could never accomplish. Hence Catholics conclude that the Church which has converted "*all the nations*" that have been converted, and which still enjoys the exclusive privilege of converting nations, must be the Church of Christ. Now it is a certain fact, that every nation which has at any time become Christian, was originally converted by the Catholic Church. There is no country of any considerable extent, where a different religion now prevails, which was not previously a Catholic country. But does the Catholic Church *still* possess the power of converting nations? Take a map of the globe, and see what she has done *since the Reformation*. Before that period, the Church of Christ comprised but three quarters of the globe. Since that time a fourth has been added to it. America was discovered at the moment when England and some of the northern countries of Europe were preparing to abandon the ancient faith; and America has since embraced with joy the faith which they forsook. *The whole of South America* is now Catholic, and, with the exception of some European settlers, *nearly the whole of North America*. Many vast countries and islands of the east, to which the faith of Christ had not before been carried, are now added to the Catholic fold. Scarcely were the first three centuries of Christianity so successful in the conversion of pagan nations as the last three have been. Is it then possible that Christ can have forsaken his Catholic Church? or can he trust with his richest graces, and employ in his greatest works, a Church which has forsaken him? Catholics are persuaded not.

But have not the English sects made many converts of late years? My brethren we have heard much of foreign missions. We have seen enormous sums of money collected, and numerous missionaries sent out by several different sects. I have read their reports; I have looked in vain for their success. I do not assert that *nothing* has been done. But I say that the money which has been expended, ought, without any supernatural aid, to have done much more than I have found done. A few individuals may be brought to an exterior conformity with any form of worship; and a school, a village, a town, or a small island may be fashioned to any religion. This is all natural. But whole nations and continents cannot be thus converted. The wealth of kingdoms would not supply sufficient means, nor the duration of the world sufficient time for the conversion of its pagan inhabitants. To bring the nations "to the obe-

dience of faith," to make them inwardly and sincerely Christians, is the work only of divine grace, and the accomplishment of it the privilege of the Church of Christ alone. Let any other sect which claims to have converted nations, point on the map of the globe where those nations lie, and the inefficacy of their labours will at once appear. I know that we are constantly told, "that prospects are brightening, that the harvest is ready for the sickle, and that great conversions are on the point of being made." Let them first be made, and then we will believe; let them rival, or even distantly resemble the conversions of the Catholic Church, and then we will deliberate about a change of religion. But till then, we will remain with the Church with which the promises of Christ remain. Is this unreasonable?

5thly. It appears by the declaration of Christ to Peter, "*thou art Peter, (that is, a rock) and on this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it,* (Matt. xvi.) First, that the Church of Christ should always be built on Peter; Secondly, that it should never be overthrown.

What our Saviour meant by saying that his Church should be built on Peter seems clearly explained by the words immediately following, "*I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, &c.*" (Matt. xvi.) The delivery of keys has always implied the conferring of superiority or chief command, and the "*kingdom of heaven*," in this and many other passages, seems primarily to designate the Church on earth. Christ, therefore, promised to constitute Peter the permanent head of his Church. Now the Catholic Church has ever been united in faith, and has ever acknowledged a superiority of spiritual power in the successors of St. Peter; whilst all other sects have invariably broken this connexion, and have consequently ceased to answer the scriptural description of the Church of Christ.

Again, the Catholic Church has ever preserved the stability of character designated by the "*rock against which the powers of hell were never to prevail*." There is no human institution which, in this respect, resembles it. States and empires have risen and fallen, and every thing on earth, that is the work of man, has yielded in its turn, to change, destruction, and decay, during the eighteen centuries which form the era of the Christian Church. Numberless sects of Christians have, during this period, arisen, and like other human institutions, have long since ceased to be. No sooner did they quit the rock of Peter, than they became the sport of every wind and wave. They altered, they divided, they separated, and they disappeared. Only the original Church continues undiminished, undivided, and unchanged. The nineteenth century beholds her as strong, as vigorous, as united and more universal than the ninth. Who would not hesitate to forsake such a Church?

Were you, my Protestant brethren, to behold upon a stormy sea a fleet of many sail, bound to some distant shore, whither you were obliged to go; if all these vessels, save one, were of smaller dimensions; if you beheld all save one, labouring with the winds and waves, and successively dashed upon some rock or shoal, and wrecked, whilst others thronged to succeed them, and to share by turns the same hapless fate; if the one vessel I have mentioned were of infinitely greater magnitude; if it pursued its steady course, unaffected by the winds that blew, and the waves that broke against it; if it had been long known to convey to the wished-for shore myriads of happy passengers; if on some one of these vessels a heaven-directed pilot was known to sail, where could you hope to find him? And if you must embark on one or other of these vessels, which would you select? Ah! there would be no difference of choice amongst you. You would all embark on the same goodly ship; and should you behold any passenger of that ship quitting it to risk his life on one of its frail attendants, you would all equally conclude that he had lost his senses.

Put yourselves, my Protestant brethren, in the situation of the Catholic. Imagine yourselves to have been born and educated in the Catholic religion, the religion of your ancestors for ages, the religion with which, from the dawn of reason, had been associated your most pleasing recollections, and on which reposed all your future hopes: should the advocate of some new creed invite you to forsake your ancient faith and adopt his novel doctrines, telling you that he had authority from God to alter the faith of the universal Church, and to restore it to what he calls its primitive state, would you listen to him? Would you not say, "Did not Christ promise for ever to remain with his Church, and does not history testify that he has kept his promise? Where are now the numberless sects which assailed her in former ages, as you do now? and what security can you give that you will be more fortunate than they? Is not the head of my Church the undoubted successor of St. Peter, on whom Christ promised '*to build his Church, against which the gates of hell should never prevail*'"—(Matt. xvi.) Is not my Church the same universal Church originally founded by the apostle, and is there any other Church of all nations, but mine? Have not all Christians been converted by it? Has any nation ever willingly forsaken it? Has it not been the fruitful parent of

numberless virtuous men in every country and in every age, and particularly of all those eminently holy men, who are denominated saints? Wide as is its extent, is not its faith, its worship, its government, every where the same? Does it not bind together the jarring nations of the earth in peace, and make all its children brethren? Where is *your* apostolical descent? where *your* commission to reform the Church, with which Christ promised *for ever to remain*? where are the nations which *you* have converted, where the unity of religion; where the steadiness of faith; where the bonds of peace, where *the rock of Peter*, where the "*one sheepfold and the one shepherd*?"—(John, x. 16.) Is there one of you, my brethren, who would not reason thus? Is there one who would, under such circumstances, change his religion? And should the members of the new creeds abuse, or the government of the country punish you for your refusal, would you not deem it a grievous oppression, and ask to what distant region Christian charity was fled? "*As you would that men should do to you, do you also to them in like manner.*"—(Luke, vi. 31.)

I trust I have said sufficient to attain, with most of you, the object I had in view, namely, the conciliating of your *charity* and *good will* towards your Catholic brethren. I have not attempted to *demonstrate* the doctrines we profess, but to *explain* them fairly, and to convince you that they are constantly misrepresented even by our most respectable adversaries. This will show you the necessity, on all occasions, of learning the real doctrines of Catholics from themselves. I have glanced at a few of the reasons which, in the midst of so great a national defection, keep the Catholic true, under every obloquy, privation, and persecution, to the faith of his fathers. I have no expectation that the arguments I have touched upon will induce you to become Catholics, but I do trust they will convince you that reasonable and good men may belong to the Catholic Church, and that Catholics are as honestly and as sincerely convinced of the truth of their doctrines as you can be of yours. The inference is clear. Catholics, like others, are entitled to your charity; that is, to your kind feelings, your best wishes, your friendly remarks, your benevolent and brotherly treatment. If you deem their faith erroneous, pray for them, and by every *fair argument and kind persuasion*, endeavour to withdraw them from their supposed errors. To this we have not, we *cannot* have the smallest objection. But do not misrepresent our doctrines; do not "*speak all manner of evil untruly against us*;" do not call upon temporal governments to persecute and oppress us. This is all we demand.

And you, my Catholic brethren, act in like manner towards your brethren of every religious persuasion. Love them all as your fellow creatures, created by God to be the objects of your kindness and affection in this life; and your eternal companions in the next. Wish them well, pray for them, instruct them, speak kindly of them, and to the best of your power, administer to all their spiritual and temporal wants. *This*, you have been taught from your infancy, is your bounden duty; the duty of *charity*, without which, your *faith* can avail you nothing.

How beautiful, my brethren of every religious persuasion, would Christianity still appear, notwithstanding the unhappy divisions which prevail amongst us in *faith*, if we were all united in the *practice*, as we are in the *profession*, of true Christian charity. May God in his goodness bring about this happy union! Nothing can so effectually contribute to bring us to an entire agreement here, and to a common fellowship of bliss hereafter; *blessings, I sincerely wish you all, in the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.*

FINIS.

TRACT 3.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE CATHOLIC
INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN.]

THE WIDOW WOOLFREY VERSUS THE VICAR OF CARISBROOKE ; OR, **Prayer for the Dead.**

A TRACT FOR THE TIMES.

*"It is a holy and wholesome thought to pray for the dead, that they may be
loosed from their sins."—2 Maccab. xii.*



[Stereotyped for the Catholic Institute of Great Britain.]

LONDON :

Sold by all Catholic and other Booksellers in town and country,
price one penny, or five shillings per hundred for
gratuitous distribution.

PRINTED BY C. RICHARDS, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, CHANCERY CROSS.

CATHOLIC INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN,

14, SOHO SQUARE, LONDON.

Established July 9, 1838.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Reader cannot be ignorant of the recent controversy between the Vicar of Caribroke and the Widow Woolfrey, nor of the elaborate judgment pronounced in the cause by Sir H. Jenner. The object of the following pages is to show that on the whole the Widow was far the best theologian of the three.

PRAYER FOR THE DEAD.

L

"One thing I have to beg of you, that you make remembrance of me at the altar of the Lord."—*St. Aug. Conf.* ix. 11.

It was in the spring of the year 387, that a party of travellers arrived at Ostia, a sea-port, near the mouth of the Tiber, in expectation of meeting with a ship to convey them to the coast of Africa, on their way to Tagaste. They were, Augustine, afterwards the sainted bishop of Hippo, Monica, his mother, his brother Navigius, his son Adeodatus, and his friends Evodius and Alipius. Whilst they stayed at Ostia, Monica fell sick, a fever ensued, and on the ninth day she expired.

Some short time before her death, she overheard from her bed, Navigius expressing his concern to Augustine, that their mother should die in a foreign land, and be buried among strangers. Checking him with a look of displeasure, she said to them, "Lay this body of mine anywhere. Do not trouble yourselves about that: one thing only I have to beg of you, that wheresoever you may be, you make remembrance of your mother at the altar of the Lord."—*S. Aug. Conf.* ix. 11.

"Poor benighted woman!" some of my readers will exclaim, "why, she must surely have been a papist, to have thought of prayers for her soul after her death."

It is true: Monica was a papist; so were Augustine and his companions; and so were the inhabitants of Ostia. Hence it happened, that at her burial, she had no beautiful service, like that of the present Church of England, (a service so affecting to the feelings of the living, but so utterly useless to the dead) ^{papist} read over her remains. The funeral, from the beginning to the end, was a popish ceremony. According to the custom of the country, the body was placed by the side of the grave; the mass 'the sacrifice of man's redemption,' was offered to God for her, and all joined in earnest supplication for the soul of their departed sister. (*Id.* ix. 12.) What can we think? Assuredly these men believed, as the Widow Woolfrey believed, maugre the Vicar of Carisbrooke, that '*it is a holy and wholesome thought to pray for the dead.*'

But the mere service of the day did not satisfy the piety of Augustine. He never forgot the request of his dying mother.

He continued to pray for her himself: he solicited for her the prayers of others. Monica, indeed, had lived a pattern of Christian virtues, and by her example had drawn others to imitate her conduct. But her son was fully aware that no child of Adam is perfect in the sight of infinite Holiness; and therefore, setting aside the consideration of her virtues, which he acknowledged to have been the gift of God, and for which he rendered thanks to the Almighty Giver, he applied himself to implore pardon for those failings into which she might occasionally have been betrayed, through the frailty of human nature.

"Hear me," he cried, "thou God of my heart, hear me through him who once hung upon the tree, a cure for our wounds, and who now sitteth at thy right hand to make intercession for us. She, I know, was merciful; from her heart she forgave the debts of others to her; do thou forgive her debts to thee, if it be that she has contracted any during the many years which she lived, after she had been washed with the water of salvation. Forgive her, O Lord, and enter not into judgment with her. Mercy thou hast promised to the merciful; and 'mercy thou wilt have on those on whom thou wilt have mercy.' I trust, indeed, that thou hast already granted that mercy which I ask; yet even so, these my petitions will not be unaccepted by thee.

"For she, when the hour of dissolution was at hand, thought not of sumptuous clothing for her corpse, nor of the manner in which it should be embalmed, nor of a goodly monument to her memory, nor of a grave in her own country. These were not the objects of her commands to us, but only that we should be mindful of her at Thine altar—that altar at which she never failed to attend daily, and from which, she knew, was dispensed that holy victim, who has cancelled the handwriting that stood against us. The price of our redemption was paid by him, and to the sacrament of that price did thy handmaid make fast her soul with the blood of faith.

"Let no one then separate her from thy protection. Let not the lion and the dragon interpose between her and Thee. She will not plead that she owes no debt, for then she might be convicted: but she will plead that her debts have been discharged by him, who, being no debtor himself, laid down for us that which no one can repay. May she then rest in peace, in company with her husband, before whom, and after whom, she was known to no man: and whom she served with dutifulness, bringing forth fruit in patience, that she might thereby bring him to thee.

"Inspire, moreover, O Lord my God, thy ministers, who are my brethren, thy children who are my masters, to whose service I devote my voice, and heart, and pen, those among them at least who may read these lines, to be mindful at thine altar of Monica, thy handmaid, and of Patric, her husband, through whom it pleased Thee to bring me into life. They were my parents, inasmuch as they introduced me into this transitory life; my brethren, inasmuch as they had the same Catholic mother, under Thee, our common father; and my fellow-citizens, inasmuch as they were of that everlasting Jerusalem, to which thy whole people here aspire from the beginning to the end of their pilgrim-

mage. May then the piety of my readers lead them to be mindful of these two, so that the last request of my mother may be more abundantly fulfilled, by the supplications of others procured through these my confessions and prayers."—*Id.* ix 13.

If the reader has been taught to consider death as removing the parent whom we venerate, the friend whom we love, far beyond the reach of all human agency, as irrevocably consigning them to a state of endless happiness or endless misery, in which no interference on our part can be of avail—if such be the cold and cheerless creed in which he has been educated, he will probably look upon this impassioned prayer of Augustine for his mother as an idle and superstitious effusion. But if he hath been in the habit of commending, with the Christians of ancient days, the souls of those whom he loved in life, to the mercy of God after death, he will be able, from his own recollection, to appreciate the consolatory emotions with which the son of Monica discharged this filial and most Christian duty. For the Catholic knows the value of prayer for the dead, even to the survivor, particularly in those dark and dreary moments, when the heart is plunged in grief for the recent loss of some beloved object torn away by death. When every other resource fails, this comes to the relief of the mourner. By it we interest ourselves for the welfare of the deceased in his new state of existence; we are mindful of him at the altar of the Lord; we implore in his favour the mercy of our common father and God: and the very consciousness that we are thus employing ourselves for his service, tends to sooth the bitterness of our grief, and to support us under the weight of our loss.

Such we find to have been the feelings with which our fathers prayed for the dead. Of the two Emperors Valentinian, St. Ambrose says, at their death—

"Blessed shall both of you be, if my prayers may be of avail. No day shall pass in which you shall be forgotten: no prayer shall escape my lips in which mention shall not be made of you: no night shall come in which you shall not have a part in my supplications: no sacrifice will I offer without remembering you."*

And of the Emperor Theodosius,—

"Give, O Lord, rest, perfect rest, to thy servant Theodosius. May his soul go to that place whence it came; where it cannot feel the sting of death, and where it will learn that death is the termination, not of nature, but of sin. I loved him; therefore will I follow him into the land of the living; nor will I leave him, till by my prayers and lamentations he shall be admitted to the holy mount of God, to which his deserts call him."—*S. Amb. in obit. Valent.* v. 116; *Theod.* 117.

II

"It was not without reason ordained by the Apostles that during the awful mysteries, remembrance should be made of the dead—great to them is the gain, great the benefit."—*St. Chrys. xi. 217.*

In the preceding section we have seen that Monica requested that 'remembrance should be made of her at the altar of the Lord, from which she knew that the holy victim was dispensed;' and that at her burial 'the sacrifice of our redemption was offered for her soul.'

To some readers these modes of expression will undoubtedly sound new and extraordinary, inasmuch as they are modes of expression never to be heard from the mouths, nor to be found in the writings, of Protestant divines. But it should be borne in mind, that Monica and Augustine lived more than a thousand years before the Reformation, and cannot be supposed to have any notion of the doctrinal improvements which would be introduced at that period: of course they were necessitated to speak on religious subjects in the customary language of their Christian contemporaries, and, therefore, believing with them that at the celebration of the Eucharist the body and blood of Christ, actually present on the altar, were offered in sacrifice to God, they described that form of religious worship in terms according with their belief. Hence it will be easy to discover the object of Monica's request, that the sacrifice of the mass should be offered for her soul, and that her name should be remembered in that part of the service, called the commemoration of the dead. She expired at Ostia, where the Roman liturgy was in use; and in that liturgy the commemoration of the dead ran then, as it runs now, in the following words:

"Be mindful, O Lord, of thy servants, and of thy handmaids who have gone before us with the sign of faith, and sleep in the sleep of peace,"—(Here the priest recites the name or names of those, for whom he offers the sacrifice, and then proceeds)—"To these, O Lord, and to all that repose in Christ, grant, we beseech thee, a place of refreshment, light and peace, through the same Christ our Lord."

Had Monica died in Africa, her own country, or in any other part of the Latin Church, the like commemoration of her would have been made. For such it is found in all the liturgies of the West, the same in substance, if not exactly in words, in the Roman, Ambrosian, Gallican, African, and Mozarabic forms of offering the Eucharistic sacrifice.

But how would it have been, had her lot been cast in the East? Exactly the same. Of this we may be assured from the testimony of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, who, about forty years

before the death of Monia, composed his catechetical instructions, and in his explanation of the canon of the mass after the consecration, says :

“Then we make remembrance of those who have died before us ; first of the patriarchs, prophets, apostles and martyrs, that God through their prayers and intercession may receive our supplication ; and next of the holy fathers and bishops who are dead, and in short of all the departed among us, believing that very great will be the benefit to the souls of those for whom supplication is offered, whilst the holy and most awful victim lyeth present. . . . Thus we make supplication for the dead, though they may be sinners, offering Christ sacrificed for our sins, and rendering that God, who is the lover of man, propitious to them and to ourselves.”—*Catech. Mystag.* v. No. vi.

This testimony of St. Cyril is fully borne out by all the ancient liturgies of the East, which are still extant. Thus in the liturgy of Constantinople, the priest, having offered “this reasonable worship for the first fathers, patriarchs, &c.” proceeds :

“And for the repose and deliverance of the soul of thy servant”—here he mentions the name—“that he may dwell in that place of light, where there is no suffering nor wailing, and that thou, O Lord our God, mayest grant to him rest there, where he may see around him the light of thy countenance.”

Thus also in the liturgy of St. James, after the commemoration of the saints :

“Be mindful, O Lord our God, of all those souls, of whom we have made or have not made remembrance, of all who have departed in the true faith since the righteous Abel to the present day : grant to them rest in the land of the living, in the happiness of Paradise, in the bosom of our holy fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, where there is no pain, nor wailing, nor sorrow, and where the light of thine all-seeing countenance shineth throughout.”*

Thus also in the liturgy preserved among the Apostolical institutions, an authority of great antiquity, we read :

“Let us pray for our brethren who repose in Christ, that God the lover of man, who has received the soul of the dead, may forgive him all his sins voluntary or involuntary, and of his pity and mercy may place him in the abode of the pious, who rest in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with all who from the beginning have pleased God, and have done his will ; from which abode are banished pain, and sorrow, and wailing.” Then the bishop shall say : “O God, immortal and eternal, God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with whom the souls of all men live, and in whose hand the souls of the just are, pardon him if he have sinned voluntarily or involuntarily ; send to him thy friendly

* The reader will observe in the language of this prayer strong indications of its origin, and of the Church for which it was composed. The author must have been a Jew, or of Jewish extraction, and probably have composed it for the Christian Church of Judea.

angels, and conduct him to the bosom of the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, where there is no pain, nor sorrow, nor wailing," &c.—*Cotell.* ii. 418.

Out of the several other liturgies two instances may suffice : one from that of the Armenians, the other from that of the Nestorians. From the first :

"Be mindful, O Lord, and have mercy, and be propitious to the souls of the dead, and particularly of him for whom we offer this sacrifice."

From the liturgy of the Nestorians :

"Be mindful, O Lord, of all our brethren in Christ, who have departed this life in the true faith, whose names thou knowest, loosing and forgiving to them whatever they may have sinned, and all that in which they may have offended thee."

Thus it is in every ancient liturgy of the West and the East, of the orthodox and the heterodox : everywhere, and in every tongue, we meet with prayer for the dead. There is no trace in Christian antiquity of the existence of a Church without it. There can then be no reason to wonder why Monica was so desirous that remembrance should be made of her at the altar of the Lord, but, on the other hand, there is great reason to wonder that the Widow Woolfrey should be brought as a criminal before an ecclesiastical court, because she had solicited prayers for the soul of her husband.

It may, indeed, be said, that the Vicar of Carisbrooke, the prosecutor, has no concern with the practices of ancient Christianity : he is a presbyter of the new Church of England, and it is his duty to maintain her doctrines, and to enforce her prohibitions, without regard to the creed or customs of former ages. But is it certain that she has prohibited prayer for the dead ? There was at least a time, when, robed in the purity of recent reform, she not only did not prohibit, she even enjoined it. In the first edition of the Book of Common Prayer, a book compiled under the eyes of Archbishop Cranmer, sanctioned by Kings, Lords, and Commons, and "concluded and set forth," if we may believe the act of Parliament (2 & 3 Ed. VI. c. i.), "with the aid of the Holy Ghost," even in that book, besides several other prayers for the dead in the service of burial, we read as follows, after the second lesson, "Lord, have mercy upon us," &c.

Pr. Enter not, O Lord, into judgment with thy servant.

Ans. For in thy sight no living creature shall be justified.

Pr. From the gates of hell,

Ans. Deliver their souls, O Lord.

Pr. I believe to see the goodness of the Lord,

Ans. In the land of the living.

Pr. O Lord, graciously hear my prayer.

Ans. And let my cry come to thee.

"The Prayer.

"O, Lord, with whom do live the spirits of them that are dead, and in whom the souls of them that be elected, after they be delivered from the burden of the flesh, be in joy and felicity, grant unto this thy servant that the sins which he committed in this world be not imputed unto him, but that he, escaping the gates of hell, and the pains of eternal darkness, may ever dwell in the regions of light, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the place where is no weeping, sorrow, nor heaviness; and, when that dreadful day of the resurrection shall come, make him to rise also with the just and righteous, and receive this body again to glory, then made pure and incorruptible. Set him on the right hand of thy son Jesus Christ, among thy holy and elect, that there he may hear with them these most sweet and comfortable words, Come to me, ye blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom which has been prepared for you from the beginning of the world. Grant this, we beseech thee, O merciful Father, through Jesus Christ, our mediator and redeemer. Amen." *

Thus did the present Church of England originally pray for her dead. But this prayer, so redolent of Christian antiquity, suited not the reformed taste of two foreign schoolmasters, Bucer and Peter Martyr. They lectured, so we are told, the archbishop, who suffered himself to be persuaded or overruled. But did then the new Church acknowledge herself to have been in error, and *forbid* the use of prayer for the dead? No: the case was disposed of in a more ingenious manner. A new edition of the book was published, and the obnoxious prayers were allowed to slip unnoticed out of the text. They disappeared, and left not a wreck behind. Not a vestige remained

* This prayer was taken from two prayers in the old English ritual, beginning, 'Deus cui omnia vivunt,' and 'Deus, apud quem spiritus mortuorum vivunt,' with a few alterations suggested by the spirit of reform. The parallel passages in the Catholic prayers run thus: "O God, with whom do live the spirits of the dead, and in whom the souls of the elect, when they have deposited the burden of the flesh, do rejoice in perfect happiness, we humbly beseech thee, that whatever of vice contrary to thy will this thy servant may have contracted, through the wiles of the devil and his own wickedness and frailty, thou of thy pity and mercy wouldst indulgently wash away; [altered, according to the new doctrine, into 'not to be imputed to him'] and wouldst order his soul to be taken in the hands of thy holy angels, and conveyed into the bosom of thy patriarchs, of Abraham thy friend, and Isaac thy chosen one, and Jacob thy beloved; from which are banished pain, and sadness, and wailing, and where the souls of the faithful possess joy and felicity: and wouldst command, in the last day of the great judgment, that he inherit a portion of that everlasting glory which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived, which thou hast prepared for those that love thee, through Christ our Lord. Amen." If the reader compare this prayer with the extract from the liturgy in the apostolical institutions in a preceding page, he will be surprised at the conformity of the language in both.

to shew that they had ever existed; the people were not told that prayer for the dead was unlawful, but they were deprived of the means of practising such prayer, or of knowing that it ever had been practised.

It is the opinion of some writers, that the reason which moved the archbishop to consent to the suppression of prayer for the dead, was this: that he found it impossible—and that was no great wonder—to persuade the laity that there could be any use in such prayer, if it were true that there is no purgatory, no place of temporary suffering after death. Now it was a doctrine of the Reformed creed, that there is not: it looked extremely awkward that the liturgy should prescribe that which the twenty-second article seemed to proscribe; and therefore it became expedient, since purgatory had been swept out of the next world, to sweep also prayer for the dead out of this.

However that may be, it seemed good to Cranmer, Bucer, and Peter Martyr, that the one should follow the fate of the other. Prayer for the dead was very adroitly smuggled out of the Service Book; and from that moment it has ceased in the Reformed Church of England to be a *holy and wholesome thought to pray for the dead*.

III.

“This has been handed down by the Fathers, and is observed by the whole Church.”—St. Aug. Serm. xxxii. de Verb. Apost.

This suppression of prayer for the dead in the liturgy of the Church of England, has not escaped censure from many among her ministers, eminent for their learning, and talents, and piety. Believing that the more early Christians had as good opportunities of becoming acquainted with the real doctrine of the Apostles as any men who live now, or have lived in the three last centuries, they lament that they are not allowed, like their brethren of former times, to recommend in prayer the souls of their relatives and friends to the mercy of the Almighty. Comparatively, however, they form but an inconsiderable number. The great majority of Church-of-England divines condemn the practice, as unlawful and superstitious; and several of them have come boldly forward, to support that condemnation by argument—with what success, it remains for the reader to investigate and determine.

1st. They object that it has no warrant from Scripture.

The Catholic will reply that it has such warrant; and will appeal, in the first place, to that passage in the 12th chapter of the second book of Maccabees which so deeply offended the orthodoxy of the Vicar of Carisbrooke, when he read it engraven

on a tombstone in his church-yard: *It is a holy and wholesome thought to pray for the dead, that they may be loosed from their sins*; and will maintain that the book from which it is taken is canonical Scripture; though in the Reformed Bibles—perhaps to get rid of this very text—it has been removed to the Apocrypha. In the second place he will appeal to the prayer of St. Paul for Onesiphorus (2 *Tim.* i. 18.) For that Onesiphorus was no longer living at Ephesus, though his family still lived there, is plain from the salutation of the Apostle to that family, without any notice of the master (2 *Tim.* iv. 19); and that he was actually dead, would seem to follow from the difference of the language adopted by the Apostle, when he prays for them, and when he prays for him. For them his prayer is: *The Lord give mercy unto the house of Onesiphorus* (*ib.* i. 16); but for him: *The Lord grant unto him that he find mercy of the Lord on that day* (*ib.* i. 18); a form so appropriate, in the opinion of the ancient Christians, to the souls of the departed, that they took it for a model in many of their prayers for the dead.

But even in the supposition that this practice have no warrant from Scripture, does it therefore follow that it must be rejected as unlawful or superstitious? Most certainly not. Such a conclusion can be drawn only by men who have persuaded themselves that on every occasion we must resort for information to the Scriptures; that they, particularly the Christian Scriptures for Christian practices, are a complete code of doctrine and discipline, embodying in themselves all that Christ and his apostles taught and commanded. But this is an opinion so groundless, an illusion so gross, that it seems difficult to account for its adoption by any thinking mind. The Christian Scriptures are a collection of unconnected and occasional tracts, written, indeed, by men under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, and therefore entitled to our veneration and submission; but written by them without previous concert, without any common object, and on different subjects suggested at the moment by local or personal occurrences. Who can pretend to say that such a collection contains all that was taught by our Lord and his apostles; or that nothing can be lawful or truly Christian, unless it be inculcated or commanded in them? Look only at the conduct of those who condemn prayer for the dead, and you will be convinced that they hold no such opinion.

They inculcate the obligation of keeping the Sunday, yet the obligation of keeping the Sunday is nowhere to be found in Scripture.

They are in the habit of baptizing infants, yet the baptism of infants has no warrant from Scripture.

They read the office of burial at the interment of the dead, yet there is no trace of any such office in Scripture.

They celebrate the Lord's Supper before dinner, without any warrant from Scripture.

If then they will be consistent with themselves, let them cease to condemn prayer for the dead on the irrelevant plea that it has no warrant from Scripture.

2. Their next objection, is, the absence of all direct evidence that it is of Apostolical institution.

But it should be remembered, that the absence of such evidence equally applies to the baptism of infants, and to several other ecclesiastical institutions, which are not rejected on that account. The fact is, that we have but very few documents written immediately after the death of the apostles, none in which we could expect to meet with mention of the subject. But where direct evidence is not in existence, we must be content with the best secondary evidence, and it fortunately happens, that in the present instance, the secondary evidence is most cogent and satisfactory.

1st. The reader has already seen that the ancient liturgies bear testimony to the practice of praying for the dead, as often as the eucharistic sacrifice was offered. Had such testimony been supplied by only one or two of these liturgies, it might have been inferred, that the practice itself was a novelty, introduced, we know not when or how, into some particular Churches. But it is found in all. There is no exception. The Greek and Roman Christians, the Syrian and Egyptian, the sects that anathematized each other as heretics, and therefore cannot have borrowed religious observances from one another, all equally prayed for the dead. Whence could have arisen this wonderful uniformity, if it were not that they all derived the practice from one common source? And what can that common source be, but the doctrine of the Apostles, or the immediate disciples of the Apostles, the founders of the principal Churches?

2d. The testimony of the Liturgies is fully borne out by the concurrent testimony of ecclesiastical writers, in the fourth, the third, and even the second century, not so very long after the Apostles themselves. That prayer for the dead prevailed in the fourth century, is so evident from the history of Monica, the prayers of St. Ambrose, and the catechetical instruction of St. Cyril, all of which have been already recited in these pages, that one more passage from St. Chrysostome may suffice. In his third homily on the Epistle to the Philippians, (xi. 217) he says,—

“It was not without reason ordained by the Apostles, that during the awful mysteries remembrance should be made of the departed. They know that great to them is the gain, great the benefit. Will not God be propitious when he looks down on the whole assembly of the people raising their hands to him, on the venerable choir of the oriests, and on the sacred victim lying on the altar?”

Thus it was in the fourth, how was it in the third century? St.

Cyprian, in a letter written by him about the year 257, describes to us a singular regulation, which at his succession to the see of Carthage he found established in his Church. It appears that lay Christians had formerly been wont to appoint clergymen the executors to their wills; who, by accepting the office, were withdrawn from the service of the altar, and employed in the administration of secular affairs. This by some of Cyprian's predecessors was considered an evil; and, to prevent it for the future, a regulation was made, that if any brother appointed a clergyman his executor, "there should be no offering for him—no sacrifice celebrated at his departure—no meeting in the Church to pray on his account." Now this is a most valuable testimony. The regulation was not St. Cyprian's, but more ancient, for it was made by the bishops his predecessors; and it was made by them as a punishment, the fear of which might enforce obedience to their prohibition. But where would have been the punishment, had not prayer for the dead been at that early age an ancient institution, and highly prized by the people? It is plain from this, that it must have existed in the Church of Carthage long before St. Cyprian became bishop, and probably from the very first preaching of Christianity in that city.—*St. Cyp. Ep.* 66.

From the third we may go back to the second century, to Tertullian, who was born about the year 132, and consequently not so very long after the decease of St. John the Evangelist. It may perhaps be doubted, whether the Widow Woolfrey was conversant with the writings of Tertullian; but it must be admitted, that she practised diligently the lessons which he inculcated. For he informs us, that in his time it was considered the duty of a Christian widow "to pray for her husband, to beg from time to time for comfort for him, and on the anniversaries of his death to offer," that is, in the language of Monica, to have remembrance of him made at the altar of the Lord. (*De Monog.* 531.) In another place (*De Corona*, 102) he tells us that this custom of "offering on the anniversaries of the dead," was derived by tradition from the Apostles. As others kept the birthdays, so Christians kept the death days of their friends.* There was, he adds, no warrant for it from Scripture; but it was known to be of apostolic institution. "Tradition avouched it, custom sanctioned it, and faith observed it."

It is confidently submitted to the judgment of the reader, whether these ancient testimonies, coupled with the additional testimony of every ancient liturgy, do not satisfactorily prove that prayer for the dead has been practised among Christians from the time of the Apostles, and must have been taught and sanctioned by them?

* *Pro natalitiis.* Some understand by these words, that the day of death was looked upon as a birth-day to another life. But in whatever way they may be understood, the reasoning is the same.

IV.

"God will render to every man according to his works."

Rom. ii. 6.

We now proceed to an objection of a different kind, that prayer for the dead necessarily implies the existence of Purgatory. Hence it was, that the tombstone erected by the Widow Woolfrey assumed so formidable an appearance. The churchyard was desecrated; the vicar was alarmed; the whole Isle of Wight was frightened from its propriety.

If in the other world there be no pardon of sin, or of the punishment of sin; no state of temporary suffering from which relief can be obtained; no kind of benefit which may be granted to the deceased at the request of the living, it will be difficult to discover any reasonable object in prayer for the dead. Hence it will readily be admitted, that such prayer necessarily implies a belief in the existence of purgatory; and the question will be asked, what harm can there be in that?

It is answered, that a belief in purgatory is anti-scriptural, because the Scriptures acknowledge but two places only, Heaven and Hell, for the dead.

That the Scriptures acknowledge the existence only of Heaven and Hell after the last judgment, is true: but the question regards the state of souls, not during the eternity which will follow, but during the time which will precede, the Last Judgment. If you confine the souls of the dead to those two places before that day, you must fix a certain point in the scale of human morality, and say, that all who ascend above it, are admitted to the happiness of Heaven, and all who descend below it, are condemned to the misery of Hell. But this would be to outrage the clearest principles of justice, and to contradict the numerous testimonies of Scripture, that God will render to every man, good or evil, according to his works in the body. (*Matt. xvi. 27: Rom. ii. 6.*) For it is evident that there can be but a very slight difference between the moral and Christian work of the man, who rises just above, and of the man who falls just below, that point; and yet you make an immense difference in the doom allotted to them by God; happiness without end to the one, misery without end to the other. Can this be retributive justice? Is this to render to every one according to his works? Most certainly it is not. Reason requires, that if enormous offences lead to everlasting punishment, lesser offences should only subject to temporary punishment: and if every man is to receive according to his works, both rewards and punishments must vary in degree, in proportion to the merits and demerits of such works.

It was this belief, that God would render to every man according to his works, which induced the Christians of former days to

divide the dead into three classes; the very good, already in possession of the happiness of Heaven, and consequently in no want of prayer; the very evil, already condemned to everlasting punishment, and therefore beyond the reach of human intercession; and the great multitude of those who occupied the intermediate station between the other two classes, neither so good as the one, nor so evil as the other; and for these they were accustomed to pray, and offer sacrifice, and give alms, in the hope that the Lord would be induced "*to deal with them more mercifully than their sins deserved.*" (*S. Aug. Enchir. ad Laur. et de Verb. Apost. xxxii.*) They prayed, indeed, for all the faithful departed, without exception, for they could have no knowledge of the particular doom of individuals, and consequently were aware, that with respect to many, their prayers could be of no avail; still it was a consolation to them, and would not, they believed, be displeasing to God, that they had done all that Christian charity could suggest.—*Id. Enchirid. ad Lauren.*

But where, it is asked, in the writings of the more ancient Fathers, do you find any mention of purgatory coupled with the mention of prayers for the dead?

It is true that the word purgatory is not to be found there. How, in fact, can it be, in writings composed before it was admitted into the Latin vocabulary? But, what alone is of consequence, the thing signified by the word is to be found there. We meet in those writings with mention of sufferings in the next life which are only temporary, and may be mitigated or abridged at the prayer of the living; we meet with mention of souls in a middle state between everlasting happiness and everlasting misery, and whose admission to the former depends on the good pleasure of the Almighty; we meet with figurative descriptions of the state of such souls, descriptions allusive to passages of holy writ, which can apply to nothing else but that which has since been called purgatory.

Thus Origen, in the third century, tells us, that when we quit this life, we shall be both punished for our sins and rewarded for our virtues; that the light materials of our building, the wood, hay, and stubble, shall be consumed with fire: but the gold, and silver, and precious stones, shall remain, and receive their reward. *Origen, Hom. vi. in Jerem.* In the writings of the next age, may be observed a nearer approach to the word purgatory. St. Gregory of Nyssa says, that the soul, after it is separated from the body, cannot approach the Divinity till the stains with which it is infected, have been taken away by purgatorial fire. (*Orat. de Defunct. ii. 1068.*) St. Ambrose, or Hilarius, distinguishes the pain of purgatorial fire from the punishment of everlasting fire. (*Tom. ii. in App. 122.*) St. Augustine frequently speaks of the emendatory fire, the purgatorial fire, and the purgatorial sufferings. (*In Ps. xxxvii. et de Civ. Dei, xx. 25.*) From these phrase-

The next step was the formation of the word *purgatory*. For so it always happens in the progress of language; men, for the sake of brevity and convenience, substitute, in the course of time, a single word to express that which they had previously been accustomed to express with the aid of metaphor or circumlocution.

It has been already observed, that there is a certain class of English divines, who disapprove the abolition of prayer for the dead, and still recommend its restoration. This they maintain that they have a right to do, without incurring the reproach of disobedience; because, though prayer for the dead was so mysteriously conjured out of the Service Book, still it was never expressly condemned by their Church. But, say their opponents, *purgatory* was expressly condemned, and you cannot advocate the one without admitting the other. But this inference they deny, and it was also denied by Sir H. Jenner, when he gave judgment in the cause between the Vicar of Carisbrooke and the Widow Woolfrey. Prayer for the dead, he tells us, is not contrary to the Articles or Canons of the Church of England; and was generally practised by the Christians of the more early ages; but they had no idea of *purgatory*; they prayed that the souls of the dead "may have rest and quiet in the interval between death and the resurrection, and that at the last day they may receive the perfect consummation of bliss." This is in exact conformity with the opinion of the divines before-mentioned. But is it possible that such an explanation can satisfy any thinking being? Is it not manifestly a covert admission of the very thing which it pretends to deny? To pray for a place of rest, implies that there is a place without rest; a place of suffering. You certainly would not pray that these souls might be at rest, unless you thought it also possible that they might be where they could not enjoy rest. They cannot be in hell, for they are sure, though waiting for it, "of the perfect consummation of bliss." There remains then but one other place in which you may suppose them to be, and that is what is generally called *purgatory*, or a middle state, in which the less perfect Christian may suffer a temporary punishment for the failings of his past life. It can be no other than freedom from this punishment that you pray for, when you pray that they may be at rest.

Reader, thou art now in possession of the real state of the case. Say, then, was the Widow Woolfrey so much in the wrong, when, with the inspired author of the book of Maccabees, she maintained, that *it is a holy and wholesome thought to pray for the dead*, and to pray for them "*that they may be loosed from their sins?*"

Tract 4.

No. 1.

[PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE CATHOLIC INSTITUTE
OF GREAT BRITAIN.]

LETTERS

ON

THE RULE OF FAITH;

OR THE METHOD OF FINDING OUT

The True Religion.

FROM THE

"END OF RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY."

BY THE

RIGHT REV. JOHN MILNER, D.D. F.S.A



Stereotyped for the Catholic Institute of Great Britain.

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**SOLD BY ALL CATHOLIC BOOKSELLERS FOR ONE PENNY HALFPENNY, OR
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1838.

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John Forristall	And. Loughnan	William Rogers	James Youngs

LETTERS, &c.

LETTER I.

METHOD OF FINDING OUT THE TRUE RELIGION.

To JAMES BROWN, Esq.

DEAR SIR.—It is obvious to common sense, that, in order to find out any hidden thing, or to do any difficult thing, we must first discover and then follow, the proper method for such purpose. If we do not take the right road to any distant place, it cannot be expected that we should arrive at it. If we get hold of a wrong clue, we shall never extricate ourselves from a labyrinth. Some persons choose their religion, as they do their clothes, by fancy. They are pleased, for example, with the talents of a preacher, when presently they adopt his creed. Many adhere to their religious system merely because they were educated in it, and because it was that of their parents and family; which, if it were a reasonable motive for their resolution, would equally excuse Jews, Turks, and Pagans, for persisting in their respective impieties, and would impeach the preaching of Christ and his apostles. Others glory in their religion, because it is the one established in this their country, so renowned for science, literature, and arms: not reflecting that the polished and conquering nations of antiquity, the Egyptians, Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, were left, by the inscrutable judgments of God, *in darkness and the shadow of death*, while a poor oppressed and despised people, on the banks of the Jordan, were the only depositary of divine truth and the sole truly enlightened nation. But far the greater part even of Christians, of every denomination, make the business of eternity subservient to that of time, and profess the religion which suits best with their interest, their reputation, and their convenience. I trust that none of your respectable society fall under any of these descriptions. They all have, or fancy they have, a rational method of discovering religious truth; in other words, an adequate *Rule of Faith*. Before I enter into any disquisition on this all-important controversy concerning the *right Rule of Faith*, on which the determination of every other depends, I will lay down three fundamental maxims, the truth of which, I believe, no rational Christian will dispute.

First, *Our Divine Master, Christ, in establishing a religion here on earth, to which all the nations of it were invited, (Matt. xxviii. 19.) left some RULE or Method, by which those persons who sincerely seek for it may certainly find it.*

Secondly, *This Rule or Method must be SECURE and never-failing; so as not to be ever liable to lead a rational, sincere inquirer into error, impiety, or immorality of any kind.*

Thirdly, *This Rule or Method must be UNIVERSAL, that is to say, adapted to the abilities and other circumstances of all those persons for whom the religion itself was intended; namely, the great bulk of mankind*

By adhering to these undeniable maxims, we shall quickly and clearly discover, dear Sir, the method appointed by Christ for arriving at the knowledge of the truths which he has taught; in other words, at *the right Rule of Faith*. Being possessed of this Rule, we shall, of course, have nothing else to do than to make use of it, for securely, and, I trust, amicably settling all our controversies. This is the short and satisfactory method of composing religious differences, which I alluded to in my above-mentioned letter to Dr. Sturges. To discuss them all separately is an endless task, whereas this method reduces them to a single question.

I am, &c.

J. M.

LETTER II.

THE FIRST FALLACIOUS RULE OF FAITH.

To JAMES BROWN, Esq.

DEAR SIR,— Among serious Christians, who profess to make the discovery and practice of religion their first and earnest care, three different methods or rules have been adopted for this purpose. The first consists in a supposed *Private Inspiration*, or an immediate light and motion of God's Spirit, communicated to the individual. This was the rule of faith and conduct formerly professed by the Montanists, the Anabaptists, the Family of Love, and is now professed by the Quakers, the Moravians, and different classes of the Methodists. The second of these rules is, the *Written Word of God*, or **THE BIBLE**, according as it is understood by each particular reader or hearer of it. This is the professed rule of the more regular sects of Protestants, such as the Lutherans, the Calvinists, the Socinians, and the Church-of-England-men. The third rule is, **THE WORD OF GOD at large**, whether written in the Bible or handed down from the apostles in continued succession by the Catholic Church, and as it is understood and explained by this Church. To speak more accurately, besides their rule of faith, which is *Scripture and Tradition*, Catholics acknowledge an *unerring judge of controversy*, or sure guide in all matters relating to salvation;—namely, **THE CHURCH**. I shall now proceed to shew that the first-mentioned rule, namely, a supposed *private inspiration*, is quite fallacious, in as much as it is liable to conduct, and has conducted, many into acknowledged errors and impiety.

About the middle of the second age of Christianity, Montanus, Maximilla, and Priscilla, with their followers, by adopting this enthusiastical rule, rushed into the excess of folly and blasphemy. They taught that the Holy Spirit, having failed to save mankind, by Moses, and afterwards by Christ, had enlightened and sanctified them to

accomplish this great work. The strictness of their precepts, and the apparent sanctity of their lives, deceived many; till at length, the two former proved what spirit they were guided by in hanging themselves. (1) Several other heretics became dupes of the same principles in the primitive and the middle ages; but it was reserved for the time of religious licentiousness, improperly called the *Reformation*, to display the full extent of its absurdity and impiety. In less than five years after Luther had sounded the trumpet of evangelical liberty, the sect of Anabaptists arose in Germany and the Low Countries. They professed to hold immediate communication with God, and to be ordered by him to despoil and kill all the wicked, and to establish a kingdom of the just, (2) who, to become such, were all to be rebaptized. Carlos-tad, Luther's first disciple of note, embraced this *ultra-Reformation*; but its acknowledged head, during his reign, was John Bockhold, a tailor of Leyden, who proclaimed himself king of Sion, and who, during a certain time, was really sovereign of Munster, in Lower Germany, where he committed the greatest imaginable excesses, marrying eleven wives at a time, and putting them and numberless other of his subjects to death, at the motion of his supposed interior spirit. (3) He declared that God had made him a present of Amsterdam and other cities, which he sent parties of his disciples to take possession of. These ran naked through the streets, howling out, "Wo to Babylon; wo to the wicked;" and when they were apprehended, and on the point of being executed, for their seditions and murders, they sang and danced on the scaffold, exulting in the imaginary light of their spirit. (4) Herman, another Anabaptist, was moved by his spirit to declare himself the Messiah, and thus to evangelize the people, his hearers: "Kill the priests, kill all the magistrates in the world. Repent: your redemption is at hand." (5) One of their chief and most accredited preachers, David George, persuaded a numerous sect of them, that "the doctrine both of the Old and the New Testament was imperfect, but that his own was perfect, and that he was the *true Son of God*." (6) I do not notice these impieties and other crimes for their singularity or their atrociousness, but because they were committed *upon the principle and under a full conviction of an individual and uncontrollable inspiration* on the part of their dupes and perpetrators.

Nor has our country been more free from this enthusiastic principle than Germany and Holland. Nicholas, a disciple of the above-mentioned David George, came over to England with a supposed commission from God, to teach men that the essence of religion consists in the feelings of divine love, and that all other things relating either to faith or worship are of no moment. (7) He extended this maxim even to

(1) Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. v. c. 15.

(2) "Cum Deo colloquium esse et mandatum habere se dicebant, ut, impiis omnibus interfectis, novum constituerent mundum, in quo pii solum et innocentes viveret et rerum potirentur."—Sleidan. De Stat. Rel. et Reip. Comment. l. iii. p. 45.

(3) Hist. Abreg. de la Reform. par Gerard Brandt, tom. i. p. 46. Mosheim, Eccles. Hist. by MacLaine, vol. iv. p. 452.

(4) Brandt, p. 49, &c.

(5) Idem. p. 51.

(6) Mosheim, vol. iv. p. 484.

(7) Ibid. Brandt.

the fundamental precepts of morality, professing to continue in *sin* that grace might abound. His followers, under the name of the *Familiists*, or *The Family of Love*, were very numerous at the end of the sixteenth century, about which time, Hacket, a Calvinist, giving way to the same spirit of delusion, became deeply persuaded that the Spirit of the Messiah had descended upon him; and, having made several proselytes, he sent two of them, Arthington and Coppinger, to proclaim, through the streets of London, that Christ was come thither with his fan in his hand. This spirit, instead of being repressed, became still more ungovernable at the sight of the scaffold and the gibbet, prepared in Cheapside for his execution. Accordingly he continued, till the last, exclaiming: "Jehova, Jehova; don't you see the heavens open, and Jesus coming to deliver me?" &c. (1) Who has not heard of Venner, and his Fifth Monarchy-men? who, guided by the same private spirit of inspiration, rushed from their meeting-house in Coleman-street, proclaiming that they would "acknowledge no sovereign but king Jesus, and that they would not sheath their swords till they had made Babylon (that is monarchy) a hissing and a curse, not only in England, but also throughout foreign countries; having an assurance that one of them would put a thousand enemies to flight, and two of them ten thousand." Venner, being taken and led to execution, with several of his followers, protested it was not he but Jesus who had acted as their leader. (2) I pass over the unexampled follies, and the horrors of the grand rebellion, having detailed many of them elsewhere. (3) It is enough to remark, that, while many of these were committed from the licentiousness of private interpretation of scripture, many others originated in the enthusiastic opinion which I am now combatting, that of an immediate individual *inspiration*, equal, if not superior, to that of the scriptures themselves. (4)

It was in the midst of these religious and civil commotions that the most extraordinary people, of all those who have adopted the fallacious rule of private inspiration, started up at the call of George Fox, a shoemaker in Leicestershire. His fundamental propositions, as laid down by the most able of his followers, (5) are, that "*the scriptures are not the adequate primary rule of faith and manners,—but a secondary rule, subordinate to the spirit*, from which they have their excellency and certainty:" (6) that "*the testimony of the spirit is that alone by which the true knowledge of God hath been, is, and can be revealed:*" (7) and that "*all true and acceptable worship of God is offered in the inward and immediate moving and drawing of his own Spirit, which is neither limited to places, times, nor persons.*" (8) Such are

(1) Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 113. Stow's Annals, A. D. 1597.

(2) Echard's Hist. of Eng. &c. (3) Letters to a Prebendary. Reign of Chas. I,

(4) See the remarkable history of the military preachers at Kingston. Ibid.

(5) Robert Barclay's Apology for the Quakers.

(6) Propos. III. In defending this proposition, Barclay cites some of the Friends, who, being unable to read the scriptures, even in the vulgar language, and being pressed by their adversaries with passages from it, *boldly denied, from the manifestation of truth in their own hearts that such passages were contained in the scriptures*, p. 82.

(7) Propos. II.

(8) Propos. XI.

the avowed principles of the people called Quakers: let us now see some of the fruits of those principles, as recorded by themselves in their founder and first apostles.

George Fox tells of himself, that at the beginning of his mission he was "moved to go to several courts and steeple houses (churches) at Mansfield and other places, to warn them to leave off oppression and oaths, and to turn from deceit, and to turn to the Lord." (1) On these occasions the language and behaviour of *his* spirit, was very far from the meekness and respect for constituted authorities of the gospel spirit, as appears from different passages in his Journal. (2) He tells us of one of his disciples, William Sympson, who was "moved of the Lord to go, at several times, for three years, naked and barefoot before them, as a sign unto them, in markets, courts, towns, cities, to priests' houses, and to great men's houses, telling them: *so should they all be stripped naked.*" Another friend, one Robert Huntingdon, was moved of the Lord to go into Carlisle steeple-house with a white sheet about him" (3) We are told of a female friend who went "stark-naked, in the midst of public worship, into Whitehall Chapel, when Cromwell was there;" and of another woman, who "came into the parliament-house with a trencher in her hand, which she broke in pieces, saying, '*Thus shall he be broke in pieces.*'" One came to the door of the parliament-house with a drawn sword, and wounded several, saying: "*he was inspired by the Holy Spirit to kill every man that sat in that house.*" (4) But on no one occasion have the friends, with George Fox himself, been so embarrassed to save their *rule of faith*, as they have been to reconcile with it the conduct of James Naylor, (5) When certain low and disorderly people, in Hampshire, disgraced their society and became obnoxious to the laws, George Fox disowned them, (6) but, when a Friend of James Naylor's character and services (7) became the laughing-stock of the nation, for his presumption and blasphemy, there was no other way for the society to separate his cause from their own, but by abandoning their fundamental principle, which leaves every man to *follow the spirit within him, as he himself feels it.* The fact is, James Naylor, like so many other dupes of a supposed private spirit, fancied himself to be the Messiah, and in this character rode into Bristol, his disciples spreading their garments before him and crying,

(1) See the Journal of George Fox, written by himself, and published by his disciple, Penn, son of Admiral Penn, folio, p. 17.

(2) I shall satisfy myself with citing part of his letter, written in 1660, to Charles II. — "King Charles, thou camest not into this nation by sword nor by victory of war, but by the power of the Lord. And if thou dost bear the sword in vain, and let drunkenness, oaths, plays, May-games, with fiddlers, drums, and trumpets to play at them, with such like abominations and vanities be encouraged, or go unpunished, as setting up of May-poles, with the image of the crown a-top of them, the nation will quickly turn, like Sodom and Gomorrah, and be as bad as the old world, who grieved the Lord, till he overthrew them: and so he will you, if these things be not suddenly prevented, &c."—G. F.'s Journal, p. 225.

(3) Journal, p. 239.

(4) MacLaine's note on Mosheim, vol. v. p. 470.

(5) See History of the Quakers, by Wm. Sewel, folio, p. 138. Journal of G. Fox, p. 220.

(6) Journal of G. Fox, p. 320.

(7) Ibid. p. 220. Sewel's Hist. of Quakers, p. 14

Holy, holy, holy, Hosanna in the highest; and when he had been scourged, by order of parliament, for his impiety, he permitted the fascinated women who followed him to kiss his feet and his wounds, and to hail him "the prince of peace, the rose of Sharon, the fairest of ten thousand," &c. (1)

I pass over many sects of less note, as the Muggletonians, the Labbadists, &c., who, by pursuing the meteor of a supposed inward light, were led into the most impious and immoral practices. Allied to these are the Moravian brethren, or Hernhutters, so called from Hernhuth, in Moravia, where their apostle, Count Zinzendorf, made an establishment for them. They are now spread over England, with ministers and bishops appointed by others resident at Hernhuth. Their rule of faith, as laid down by Zinzendorf, is an imaginary inward light, against which the true believer cannot sin. This they are taught to wait for in quiet, omitting prayer, reading of the scriptures, and other works. (2) They deny that even the moral law contained in the scriptures is a rule of life for believers. Having considered this system in all its bearings, we are the less surprised at the disgusting obscenity, mingled with blasphemy, which is to be met with in the theological tracts of the German Count. (3)

The next system of delusion which I shall mention, as proceeding from the fatal principle of an *interior rule of faith*, was also, though framed in England, the work of a foreign nobleman, the Baron Swedenborg. His first supposed revelation was at an eating-house in London, about the year 1745. "After I had dined," says he, "a man appeared to me sitting in the corner of the room, who cried out to me, with a terrible voice: *Don't eat so much*. The following night the same man appeared to me shining with light, and said to me: *I am the Lord, your Creator and Redeemer: I have chosen you to explain to men the interior and spiritual sense of the scriptures: I will dictate to you what you are to write*." (4) His imaginary communications with God and the angels were as frequent and familiar as those of Mahomed, and his conceptions

(1) Echard's Hist. Maclaine's Mosheim. Neal's Hist. of Puritans. In closing this account of the Quakers, we may remark that there is no appearance yet of the fulfilment of the confident prophecy with which Barclay concludes his Apology: "That little spark (Quakerism) that hath appeared, shall grow to the consuming of whatsoever shall stand up to oppose it. The mouth of the Lord hath spoken it! Yea, he that hath risen in a small remnant, shall arise and go on by the same arm of power in his spiritual manifestation, until he hath conquered all his enemies: until all the kingdoms of the earth become the kingdom of Jesus Christ."

(2) Wesley, in a letter which he inscribes, "To the church of God at Hernhuth," says, "There are many whom your brethren have advised, though not in their public preaching, not to use the ordinances—reading the scripture, praying, communicating; as the doing these things is *seeking salvation by works*. Some of our English brethren (Moravians) say, '*you will never have faith till you leave off the church and sacraments: as many go to hell by praying as by thieving*.'" Journal, 1740. John Nelson, in his own journal, tells us, that the Moravians call their religion *The Liberty*, and the *Poor Sinnership*; adding, that they "sell their prayer-books and leave off reading and praying to follow the Lamb."

(3) See Maclaine, Hist. vol. vi. p. 23, and Bishop Warburton's *Doctrine of Grace*, quoted by him.

(4) Baruel's Hist. du Jacobinisme, tom. iv. p. 118.

of heavenly things were as gross and incoherent as those of the Arabian imposter. Suffice it to say, that his *God* is a mere *man*, his *angels* are *male* and *female*, who marry together and follow various *trades and professions*. Finally, his *New Jerusalem*, which is to be spread over the whole earth, is so little different from this sublunary world, that the entrance into it is *imperceptible*. (1) So far is true, that the New Jerusalemites are spread throughout England, and have chapels in most of its principal towns. (2)

I am sorry to be obliged to enter upon the same list with these enthusiasts a numerous class, many of them very respectable, of modern religionists, called Methodists; yet, since their avowed system of faith is, that this consists in an *instantaneous illapse of God's Spirit into the souls of certain persons*, by which they are *convinced of their justification and salvation*, without reference to Scripture or any thing else, they cannot be placed, as to their *rule of faith*, under any other denomination. This, according to their founder's doctrine, is the only *article of faith*; all other articles he terms *opinions*, of which he says, "the Methodists do not lay any stress on them, whether right or wrong." (3) He continues: "I am sick of opinions; I am weary to bear them. my soul loathes this frothy food." (4) Conformably to this latitudinarian system, Wesley opens heaven indiscriminately to Churchmen, Presbyterians, Independants, Quakers, and even to Catholics. (5) Addressing the last named, he exclaims: "O that God would write in your hearts the rules of self-denial and love laid down by Thomas à Kempis; or that you would follow in this and in good works, the burning and shining light of your own church, the Marquis of Renty. (6) Then would all who know and love the truth, rejoice to acknowledge you as the church of the living God." (7)

At the first rise of Methodism in Oxford, A. D. 1729, John Wesley

(1) Baruel's Hist. du Jacobinisme, tom. iv. p. 118.

(2) Since the above letter was written, another sect, the Joannites, or disciples of Joanna Southcote, have risen to notice by their number and the singularity of their tenets. This female apostle has been led by her spirit to believe herself to be the woman of Genesis, destined to crush the head of the infernal serpent, with whom she supposes herself to have had daily battles, to the effusion of his blood. She believes herself to be likewise the woman of the Revelations crowned with twelve stars, which are so many ministers of the Established Church. In fact, one of these, a richly benefited rector and of a noble family, acts as her secretary in writing and sealing passports to heaven, which she supposes herself authorized to issue, to the number of 144,000, at a very moderate price. One of these passports in due form is in the writer's possession. It is sealed with three seals. The first exhibits two stars, namely, the morning star, to represent Christ, the evening star, to represent herself. The second seal exhibits the lion of Juda, supposed to allude to the insane prophet, Richard Brothers. The third shews the face of Joanna herself. Of late her inspiration has taken a new turn; she believes herself to be pregnant of the Messiah, and her followers have prepared silver vessels of various sorts for his use, when he is born.

(3) Wesley's Appeal, P. iii. p. 134.

(4) Ibid. p. 135.

(5) Appeal.

(6) His life is written in French, by Pere St. Jure, a Jesuit, and abridged in English by J. Wesley.

(7) In his *Papery Calmly Considered*, p. 20, Wesley writes, "I firmly believe that many members of the church of Rome have been holy men, and that many are so now." He elsewhere says, "several of them (Papists) have attained to as high a pitch of sanctity as human nature is capable of arriving at"

and his companions were plain, serious, church-of-England men, assiduous and *methodical* in praying, reading, fasting, and the like. What they practised themselves, they preached to others, both in England and in America, till, becoming intimate with the Moravian brethren, and particularly with Peter Bohler, one of their elders, John Wesley "became convinced of unbelief, namely, *a want of that faith whereby alone we are saved.*" (1) Speaking of his past life and ministry, he says: "I was fundamentally a Papist and knew it not." (2) Soon after this persuasion, namely, on May 24, 1739, "going into a society in Aldersgate-street," he says, "whilst a person was reading Luther's Preface to the Romans, about a quarter before nine, I felt my heart strangely warmed: I felt I did trust in Christ, in Christ alone, for salvation, and *an assurance was given me that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death.*" (3)

What were now the unavoidable consequences of a diffusion of this doctrine among the people at large? Let us hear them from Wesley's most able disciple and destined successor, Fletcher of Madeley, "Antinomian principles and practices," he says, "have spread like wildfire among our societies. Many persons, speaking in the most glorious manner of Christ and their interest in his complete salvation, have been found living in the greatest immoralities. How few of our societies, where cheating, extorting, or some other evil hath not broke out, and given such shakes to the ark of the gospel, that, had not the Lord interposed, it must have been overset!" (4) I have seen them, who pass for believers, follow the strain of corrupt nature; and when they should have exclaimed against Antinomianism, I have heard them cry out *against the legality of their wicked hearts*, which, they said, *still suggested that they were to do something for their salvation.* (5) How few of our celebrated pulpits, where more has not been said *for sin than against it!*" (6) The same candid writer, laying open the foulness of his former system, charges Sir Richard Hill, who persisted in it, with maintaining that, "even adultery and murder do not hurt the pleasant children, but rather work for their good. (7) ... God sees no sin in believers, whatever sin they commit. My sins might displease God; my person is always acceptable to him. Though I should outsin

(1) Whitehead's Life of John and Charles Wesley, vol. ii. p. 68.

(2) Journal, A.D. 1739.—Elsewhere Wesley says: "O what a work has God begun since Peter Bohler came to England! such a one as shall never come to an end till heaven and earth pass away."

(3) Vide Whitehead, vol. ii. p. 79. In a letter to his brother Samuel, John Wesley says: "By a Christian I mean one who so believes in Christ that death hath no dominion over him, and in this obvious sense of the word I was not a Christian till 24th May last year." Ibid. 105.

(4) Checks to Antinom. vol. ii. p. 22. (5) Ibid. p. 200. (6) Ibid. p. 215.

(7) Fletcher's Works, vol. iii. p. 50. Agricola, one of Luther's first disciples, is called the founder of the Antinomians. These hold that the faithful are bound by no law, either of God or man, and that good works of every kind are useless to salvation; while Amsdorf, Luther's pot-companion, taught that they are an impediment to salvation. Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. by Maclaine, vol. iv. P. 35, p. 328. Eaton, a Puritan, in his *Honeycomb of Justification*, says: "Believers ought not to mourn for sin, because it was pardoned before it was committed."

Manasses, I should not be less a pleasant child, because God always views me in Christ. Hence in the midst of adulteries, murders, and incests, he can address me with: "*Thou art all fair, my love, my undefiled, there is no spot in thee.*" (1)... It is a most pernicious error of the schoolmen to distinguish sins according to the *fact*, and not according to the *person*... Though I blame those who say, *let us sin that grace may abound*, yet adultery, incest, and murder, shall, upon the whole, make me *holier on earth and merrier in heaven.*" (2)

These doctrines and practices, casting great disgrace on Methodism, alarmed its founder. He therefore held a synod of his chief preachers under the title of *A Conference*, in which he and they unanimously abandoned their past *fundamental principles* in the following confession which they made:—" *Quest. 17. Have we not unawares leaned too much to Calvinism? Ans. We are afraid we have. Ques. 18. Have we not also leaned too much to Antinomianism? Ans. We are afraid we have. Ques. 20. What are the main pillars of it? Ans. 1. That Christ abolished the moral law. 2. That Christians therefore are not obliged to observe it. 3. That one branch of Christian liberty is liberty from observing the commandments of God,*" &c. (3) The publication of this retraction, in 1770, raised the indignation of the more rigid Methodists, namely, the Whitfieldites, Jumpers, &c., all of whom were under the particular patronage of Lady Huntingdon; accordingly, her chaplain, the Hon. and Rev. Walter Shirley, issued a circular letter by her direction, calling a general meeting of her *connexion*, as it is called at Bristol, to censure this "*dreadful heresy*," which, as Shirley affirmed, "*injured the very fundamentals of Christianity.*" (4)

Having exhibited this imperfect sketch of the errors, contradictions, absurdities, impieties, and immoralities, into which numberless Christians, most of them, no doubt, sincere in their belief, have fallen, by pursuing phantoms of their imagination for Divine Illuminations, and adopting a supposed immediate and personal revelation as the *rule of their faith and conduct*, I would request any one of your respectable society, who may still adhere to it, to re-consider the self evident maxim laid down in the beginning of this letter; namely, *that cannot be the rule of faith and conduct which is liable to lead us, and has led very many well-meaning persons, into error and impiety*: I would remind him of his frequent mistakes and illusions respecting things of a temporary nature; then, painting to his mind the all-importance of ETERNITY, that is, of happiness or misery inconceivable and everlasting, I would address him in the words of St. Augustin: "What is it you are trusting to, poor weak soul, and blinded with the mists of the flesh. what is it you are trusting to?" J. M.

(1) Fletcher's Works, vol. iv. p. 97.

(2) Quoted by Fletcher. See also Daubeny's Guide to the Church, p. 82.

(3) Apud Whitehead, p. 213. Benson's Apology, p. 208.

(4) Fletcher's Works, vol. ii v. 5. Whitehead. Nightingale's Portrait of Methodism, p. 463.

LETTER III.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

To JAMES BROWN. Esq. &c.

DEAR SIR,—I have just received a letter from friend Rankin, of Wenlock, written much in the style of George Fox, and another from Mr. Ebenezer Topham, of Broseley. They both consist of objections to my last letter to you, which they had perused at New Cottage, and the writers of them both request that I would address whatever answer I might give them to your villa.

Friend Rankin is sententious, yet civil: he asks, 1st, "Whether Friends at this day and in past times, and even the faithful servant of Christ, George Fox, have not condemned the vain imaginations of James Naylor, Thomas Bushel, John Perot, and the sinful doings of many others, through whom the word of life was blasphemed in their day among the ungodly?" He asks, 2dly, Whether "numberless follies, blasphemies, and crimes have not risen up in the Roman Catholic as well as in other churches?" He asks, 3dly, Whether "learned Robert Barclay, in his glorious Apology, hath not shewn forth that *the testimony of the spirit is that alone by which the true knowledge of God hath been, is, and can be revealed* and confirmed, and this not only by the outward testimony of Scripture, but also by that of Tertullian, Hierom, Augustin, Gregory the Great, Bernard, yea also by Thomas à Kempis, F. Pacificus Baker, (1) and many others of the Popish communion, who (says Robert Barclay) have known and tasted the love of God, and felt the power and virtue of God's Spirit working within them for their salvation?" (2)

I will first consider the arguments of friend Rankin. I grant him, then, that his founder, George Fox, does blame certain extravagancies of Naylor, Perrot, and others, his followers, at the same time that he *boasts* of several committed by himself, by Simpson, and others. (3) But how does he confute them, and guard others against them? Why, he calls their authors *Ranters*, and charges them with *running out!* (4) Now, what kind of an argument is this in the mouth of G. Fox against any fanatic, however furious, when he himself has taught him, that he is *to listen to the Spirit of God within himself, in preference to the authority of any man and of all men, and even of the gospel!* G. Fox was not more strongly moved to believe that he was the *Messenger of Christ*, than J. Naylor was, to believe that *he himself was Christ*: nor had he a firmer conviction that the Lord forbade *hat-worship*, as it is called, *out of prayer*, than J. Perrot (5) and his company had that they

(1) An English Benedictine Monk, author of *Sancta Sophia*, which is quoted at length by Barclay. (2) Apology, p. 351. (3) See Journal of G. Fox, *passim*.

(4) Speaking of James Naylor, he says: "I spake with him, for I saw *he was out and wrong*—he slighted what I said, and was *dark and much out.*" Journ. p. 220.

(5) Journ. p. 310. This and another Friend, John Love, went on a mission to Rome, to convert the pope to Quakerism; but his holiness not understanding English, when they addressed him with some coarse English epithets in St. Peter's church, they had

were forbidden to use it *in prayer*. (1) 2dly, With respect to the excesses and crimes committed by many Catholics of different ranks, as well as by other men, in all ages, I answer, that these have been committed, *not in virtue of their rule of faith and conduct*, but *in direct opposition to it*; as will be more fully seen when we come to treat of that rule: whereas the extravagances of the Quakers were the *immediate dictates of the imaginary spirit*, which they followed as their *guide*. Lastly, when the doctors of the Catholic Church teach us, after the inspired writers, *not to extinguish*, but *to walk in the Spirit* of God; they tell us, at the same time, that this Holy Spirit invariably and necessarily leads us to hear the Church, and to practice that humility, obedience, and those other virtues which she constantly inculcates: so that, if it were possible for *an angel from heaven to preach another gospel than what we have received*, he ought to be rejected as a spirit of *darkness*. Even Luther, when the Anabaptists first broached many of the leading tenets of the Quakers, required them to demonstrate their pretended commission from God, by incontestible miracles, (2) or submit to be guided by his appointed ministers.

I have now to notice the letter of Mr. Topham. (3) Some of his objections have already been answered in my remarks on Mr. Rankin's letter. What I find particular in the former is the following passage:

Is it possible to go against conviction and facts? namely, the experience that very many serious Christians feel, in *this day of God's power*, that they are made partakers of Christ and of the Holy Ghost? Of very many that hear him saying to the melting heart, with his still small yet penetrating and renovating voice: *Thy sins are forgiven thee: Be thou clean: Thy faith hath made thee whole!* If an exterior proof were wanting to shew the certainty of this interior conviction, I might refer to the conversion and holy life of those who have experienced it." To this I answer, that the facts and the conviction, which your friend talks of, amount to nothing more than a certain strength of *imagination*, and warmth of *sentiment*, which may be *natural*, or may be produced by that *lying spirit*, whom God sometimes permits to *go forth*, and to *persuade* the presumptuous to their destruction. III *Kings*, xxii. 22. I presume Mr. Topham will allow that no experience he has felt or witnessed, exceeds that of Bockhold, or Hackett, or Naylor, mentioned above; who, nevertheless, were confessedly betrayed by it into most horrible blasphemies and atrocious crimes. The virtue most necessary for enthusiasts, because the most remote from them, is

no better success than a female Friend, Mary Fisher, had, who went into Greece to convert the Great Turk. See Sewel's Hist.

(1) "Now he (Fox) found also that the Lord forbade him to put off his hat to any men high or low; and he required to *thou and thee* every man and woman without distinction, and not to bid people, *good-morrow*, or *good-evening*; neither might he bow, or scrape with his leg." Sewel's Hist. p. 18. See there a Dissertation on *Hat-worship*.

(2) Sleidan.

(3) It was originally intended to insert these and the other letters of the same description: but as this would have rendered the work too bulky, and, as the whole of the objections may be gathered from the answers to them, that intention has been abandoned.

an humble diffidence in themselves. When Oliver Cromwell was on his death-bed, Dr. Godwin, being present among other ministers, prophesied that the protector would recover. Death, however, almost immediately ensuing, the Puritan, instead of acknowledging his error, cast the blame upon Almighty God, exclaiming: "Lord thou hast deceived us; and we have been deceived!" (1) With respect to the alleged purity of Antinomian saints, I would refer to the history of the lives and deaths of many of our English regicides, and to the gross immoralities of numberless *justified Methodists*, described by Fletcher in his *Checks to Antinomianism*. (2) I am, &c. J. M

LETTER IV.

SECOND FALLACIOUS RULE.

To JAMES BROWN, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—I take it for granted that my answers to Messrs. Rankin and Topham have been communicated to you, and I hope that, in conjunction with my preceding letters, they have convinced those gentlemen, of what you, dear sir, have all along been convinced, namely, the inconsistency and fanaticism of every pretension on the part of individuals, now-a-day's, to a new and particular inspiration, as a *rule of faith*. The question which remains for our inquiry is, whether the rule or method prescribed by the Church of England and other more rational classes of Protestants, or that prescribed by the Catholic Church, is the one designed by our Saviour Christ for finding out his true religion. You say that the whole of this is comprised in the *written word of God, or the bible*, and that *every individual is a judge* for himself of the *sense of the bible*. Hence in every religious controversy, more especially since the last change of the inconstant Chillingworth, (3) Catholics have been stunned with the cries of jarring Protestant sects and individuals, proclaiming that *the bible, the bible alone is their religion*: and hence, more particularly at the present day, bibles are distributed by hundreds of thousands, throughout the empire and the four quarters of the globe, as the adequate means of

(1) See Birch's Life of Archbishop Tillotson, p. 17.

(2) This candid and able writer says: "The Puritans and first Quakers soon got over the hedge of internal activity into the smooth and easy path of Laodicean formality. Most of us, called Methodists, have already followed them. We fall asleep under the bewitching power; we dream strange dreams; our salvation is finished; we have got above legality; we have attained Christian liberty; we have nothing to do; our covenant is sure." Vol. ii. p. 233. He refers to several instances of the most flagitious conduct which human nature is capable of, in persons who had attained to what they call *finished salvation*.

(3) Chillingworth was first a Protestant of the Establishment: he next became a Catholic, and studied in one of our seminaries. He then returned, in part, to his former creed: and last of all he gave into Socinianism, which his writings greatly promoted.

uniting and reforming Christians, and of converting infidels. On the other hand, we Catholics hold that *the word of God in general, both written and unwritten*, in other words, *the bible and tradition, taken together, constitute the rule of faith, or method appointed by Christ for finding out the true religion*: and that, *besides the rule itself, he has provided in his holy Church, a living, speaking judge, to watch over it and explain it in all matters of controversy*. That the latter, and not the former, is the *true rule*, I trust I shall be able to prove, as clearly as I have proved that *private inspiration* does not constitute it: and this I shall prove by means of the two maxims I have, on that occasion, made use of; namely, *the rule of faith appointed by Christ must be CERTAIN and UNERRING*, that is to say, *it must be one which is not liable to lead any rational and sincere inquirer into inconsistency or error*: Secondly, this Rule must be *UNIVERSAL*; that is to say, *it must be proportioned to the abilities and circumstances of the great bulk of mankind*.

1. If Christ had intended that all mankind should learn his religion from a *book*, namely, *the New Testament*, he himself would have written that book, and would have enjoined the obligation of learning to read it, as the first and fundamental precept of his religion; whereas, he never wrote any thing at all, unless perhaps the sins of the Pharisees with his finger upon the dust, *John*, viii. 6. (1) It does not even appear that he gave his apostles any command to *write* the gospel; though he repeatedly and emphatically commanded them to *preach* it *Matt.* x., and that to all the nations of the earth, *Matt.* xxviii. 19. In this ministry they *all of them* spent their lives *preaching* the religion of Christ in every country from Judea to Spain, in one direction, and to India in another; every where establishing churches, and *commending their doctrine to faithful men who should be fit to teach others also*. 2 *Tim.* ii. 2. Only a *part* of them *wrote* any thing, and what these did write was, for the most part, addressed to particular persons or congregations, and on particular occasions. The ancient fathers tell us that St. Matthew wrote his gospel at the particular request of the Christians of Palestine, (2) and that St. Mark composed his at the desire of those at Rome. (3) St. Luke addressed his gospel to an *individual*, Theophilus, having *written* it, says the holy evangelist, because *it seemed good to him to do so*. *Luke*, i. 3. St. John wrote the last of the gospels in compliance with the petition of the clergy and people of Lesser Asia, (4) to prove, in particular, the divinity of Jesus Christ, which Cerinthus, Ebion and other heretics began then to deny. No doubt the evangelists were moved by the Holy Ghost, to listen to the requests of the faithful, in writing their respective gospels; nevertheless, there is nothing in these occasions, nor in the gospels themselves, which indicates that any one of them, or all of them together, contain an *entire*, detailed, and *clear* exposition of the *whole* religion of Jesus Christ.

(1) It is agreed upon among the learned, that the supposed letter of Christ to Abgarus, king of Edessa, quoted by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* l. i. is spurious.

(2) Euseb. l. 3, *Hist. Eccl.* Chrysos. in *Matt. Hom.* I. *Iren.* l. 3, c. 1. Hieron de *Vir. Illust.* (3) Euseb. l. 2, c. 15, *Hist. Eccl.* Epiph. Hieron. de *Vir. Illust.*

(4) Euseb, l. 6. *Hist. Eccl.* Hieron.

The Canonical Epistles in the New Testament shew the particular occasions on which they were written, and prove, as the bishop of Lincoln observes, that "they are not to be considered as regular treatises on the Christian religion." (1)

II. In supposing our Saviour to have appointed his bare written word for the rule of our faith, without any authorized judge to decide on the unavoidable controversies growing out of it, you would suppose that he has acted differently from what common sense has dictated to all other legislators. For where do we read of a legislator, who after dictating a code of laws, neglected to appoint judges and magistrates to decide on their meaning, and to enforce obedience to such decisions? You, dear sir, have the means of knowing what would be the consequence of leaving any act of parliament, concerning taxes, or inclosures, or any other temporal concerns, to the interpretation of the individuals whom it regards. Alluding to the Protestant rule, the illustrious Fenelon has said: "It is better to live without any law, than to have laws which all men are left to interpret according to their several opinions and interests." (2) The bishop of London (Dr. Porteus) appears sensible of this truth, as far as regards temporal affairs, where he writes: "In matters of property indeed, some decision, right or wrong, must be made: society could not subsist without it." (3) just as if peace and unity were less necessary in the *one sheepfold of the one Shepherd*, the Church of Christ, than they are in civil society!

III. The fact is: this method of determining religious questions by scripture only, according to each individual's interpretation, has always produced, whenever and wherever it has been adopted, endless and incurable dissensions, and of course *errors*; because truth is one, while errors are numberless. The ancient fathers of the Church reproached the sects of heretics and schismatics with their endless internal divisions. "See," says St. Augustin, "into how many morsels those are divided, who have divided themselves from the unity of the Church!" (4) Another father writes; "It is natural for error to be ever changing. The disciples have the same right in this matter that their masters had." (5)

To speak now of the Protestant reformers. No sooner had their progenitor, Martin Luther, set up the tribunal of his private judgment on the sense of scripture, in opposition to the authority of the Church, ancient and modern, (6) than his disciples, proceeding on his principle, undertook to prove, from plain texts of the bible, that his own doctrine was erroneous, and that the Reformation itself wanted reforming. Carlostad, (7) Zuinglius, (8) Œcolompadius, (9)

(1) Elem. of Chris. Rel. vol. i. p. 277. (2) Life of Archbp. Fenelon, by Ramsay.

(3) Brief Confut. p. 18

(4) St. Aug.

(5) Tertul, de Præscrip.

(6) This happened in June 1520, on his doctrine being censured by the pope. Till this time he had submitted to the judgment of the holy see.

(7) He was Luther's first disciple of distinction, being archdeacon of Wittenberg. He declared against Luther in 1521.

(8) Zuinglius began the Reformation in Switzerland some time after Luther began it in Germany, but taught such doctrine, that the latter termed him a Pagan, and said he despaired of his salvation.

(9) Œcolompadius was a Brigittine friar in the monastery of St. Lawrence, near Augsburg; but soon quitted the cloister, married, and adopted the sentiments of

Muncer, (1) and a hundred more of his followers, wrote and preached against him and against each other, with the utmost virulence, still each of them professing to ground his doctrine and conduct on the *written word of God alone*. In vain did Luther claim a superiority over them; in vain did he denounce hell fire against them; (2) in vain did he threaten to return back to the Catholic religion; (3) he had put the bible into each man's hand to explain it for *himself*, and this his followers continued to do in open defiance of him; (4) till their mutual contradictions and discords became so numerous and scandalous, as to overwhelm the thinking part of them with grief and confusion. (5)

To point out some few of the particular variations alluded to; for to enumerate them all would require a work vastly more voluminous than that of Bossuet on this subject; it is well known that Luther's *fundamental* principle was that of *imputed justice*, to the exclusion of all acts of virtue and good works whatsoever. His favourite disciple and bottle companion, Amsdorf, carried this principle so far as to maintain, that *good works are a hindrance to salvation*. (6) In vindication of his fundamental tenet, Luther vaunts as follows: "This article shall remain, in spite of all the world: it is I, Martin Luther, evangelist, who say it: let no one, therefore, attempt to infringe it, neither the emperor of the Romans, nor the Turks, nor the Tartars; neither the pope, nor the monks, nor the nuns, nor the kings, nor the princes, nor all the devils in hell. If they attempt it, may the infernal flames be their recompense.

Zuinglius, respecting the Real Presence, in preference to those of Luther. His death was sudden, and by Luther it is asserted, that he was strangled by the devil.

(1) Muncer was the disciple of Luther, and founder of the Anabaptists, who, in quality of the *just*, maintained that the property of the *wicked* belonged to them, quoting the second beatitude: *Blessed are the meek, for they shall possess the land*. Muncer wrote to the several princes of Germany to give up their possessions to him, and, at the head of 40,000 of his followers, marched to enforce this requisition.

(2) He says to them: "I can defend you against the pope,—but when the devil shall urge against you (the heads of these changes) at your death this passage of scripture; *they ran, and I did not send them, how shall you withstand him!* He will plunge you headlong into hell." Oper. tom. vii. folio 274.

(3) "If you continue in these measures of your common deliberations, I will recant whatever I have written or said, and leave you. Mind what I say."—Oper. tom. vii. folio 276, edit. Wittemb.

(4) See the curious challenge of Luther to Carlstadt to write a book against the *Real Presence*, when one wishes the other to *break his neck*, and the other retorts: *may I see thee broken on the wheel*—Variat. b. ii. n. 12.

(5) Capito, minister of Strasburg, writing to Farel, pastor of Geneva, thus complains to him: "God has given me to understand the mischief we have done by our precipitancy in breaking with the pope, &c. The people say to us: I know enough of the gospel. I can read it for myself. I have no need of you." Inter. Epist. Calvini. In the same tone Dudith writes to his friend Beza: "Our people are carried away with every wind of doctrine. If you know what their religion is to-day, you cannot tell what it will be to-morrow. In what single point are those churches which have declared war against the pope agreed amongst themselves? There is not one point which is not held by some of them as an article of faith, and by others as an impiety." In the same sentiment Calvin, writing to Melancthon, says: "It is of great importance that the divisions which subsist among us should not be known to future ages: for nothing can be more ridiculous than that we, who have broken off from the whole world, should have agreed so ill among ourselves from the very beginning of the Reformation."

(6) Mosheim Hist. by Maclaine, vol. iv. p. 328, ed. 1790.

What I say here is to be taken for an inspiration of the Holy Ghost." (1) Notwithstanding, however, these terrible threats and imprecations of their master, Melancthon, with the rest of the Lutherans, abandoned this article immediately after his death, and went over to the opposite extreme of Semipelagianism; not only admitting the necessity of good works, but also teaching that these are prior to God's grace. Still on this single subject Osiander, a Lutheran, says, "there are twenty several opinions, *all drawn from the scripture*, and held by different members of the Augsburg, or Lutheran Confession." (2)

Nor has the unbounded license of explaining scripture, each one in his own way, which Protestants claim, been confined to mere errors and dissensions. It has also caused mutual persecution and bloodshed: (3) it has produced tumults, rebellions, and anarchy beyond recounting. Dr. Hey asserts, that "the misinterpretation of scripture brought on the miseries of the civil war;" (4) and lord Clarendon, Madox, and other writers, shew that there was not a crime committed by the Puritan rebels, in the course of it, which they did not profess to justify by texts and instances drawn from the sacred volumes. (5) Leland, Bergier, Baruel, Robison, and Kett, abundantly prove that the poisonous plant of infidelity, which has produced such dreadful effects of late years on the continent, was transplanted thither from this Protestant island, and that it was produced, nourished, and increased to its enormous growth by that principle of private judgment in matters of religion, which is the very foundation of the Reformation. Let us hear the two last-mentioned authors, both of them Protestant clergymen, on this important subject. "The spirit of free inquiry," says Kett, quoting Robison, "was the great boast of the Protestants, and their only support against the Catholics; securing them both in their civil and religious rights. It was therefore encouraged by their governments, and sometimes indulged to excess. In the progress of this contest their own confessions did not escape censure; and it was asserted, that the Reformation, which these confessions express, was not complete. Further reformation was proposed. The scriptures, the foundation of their faith, were examined by clergymen of very different capacities, dispositions, and views, till, by explaining, correcting, allegorizing, and otherwise twisting the bible, men's minds had hardly any thing to rest on, as a doctrine of revealed religion. This encouraged others to go further, and to say that revelation was a solecism, as plainly appears by the irreconcilable differences among the enlighteners of the public, so they were called; and that man had nothing to trust to but the dictates of natural reason. Another set of writers, proceeding from this as from a point settled, proscribed all religion whatever, and openly taught the doctrines of Materialism and Atheism. *Most of*

(1) Visit. Saxon. (2) Archdeacon Blackburn's Confessional, p. 16.

(3) See Letters to a Prebendary, chapter, Persecution. Numberless other proofs of Protestants persecuting, not only Catholics, but also their fellow-Protestants to death, on account of their religious opinions, can be adduced.

(4) Dr. Hey's Theological Lectures, vol. i, p. 77. (5) Hist. of Civ. War.—Examin. of Neal's Hist. of Puritans.

these innovations were the work of Protestant divines, from the causes that I have mentioned. But the progress of infidelity was much accelerated by the establishment of a Philanthropine, or Academy of general education, in the principality of Anhalt-Dessau. The professed object of this institution was to unite the three Christian communions of Germany, and to make it possible for the members of them all, not only to live amicably and to worship God in the same church, but even to communicate together. This attempt gave rise to much speculation and refinement; and the proposal for the amendment of the formulas and the instructions from the pulpit were prosecuted with so much keenness, that the groundwork of Christianity was refined and refined till it vanished altogether, leaving Deism, or natural or, as it was called, philosophical religion in its place. The Lutherans and Calvinists, prepared by the causes before-mentioned to become dupes to this masterpiece of art, were enticed by the specious liberality of the scheme, and the particular attention which it promised to the morals of youth: but not one Roman Catholic could Basedow allure to his seminary of practical ethics" (1)

IV. You have seen, dear sir, to what endless errors and impieties the principle of private interpretation of scripture, no less than that of private inspiration of faith, has conducted men, and of course is ever liable to conduct them; which circumstance therefore proves, according to the self-evident maxim stated above, that it cannot be the rule which is to bring us to religious truths. Nor is it to be imagined that, previously to the formation of the different national churches and other religious associations, which took place in several parts of Europe at what is called "the Reformation," the scriptures had been diligently consulted by the founders of the new sects; or that the ancient system of religion was exploded, or the new systems adopted, in conformity with the apparent sense of the sacred text, as Protestant controvertists would have you believe. No, sir, princes and statesmen had a great deal more to do with these changes than theologians; and most of the parties concerned in them were evidently pushed on by very different motives from those of religion. As to Martin Luther, he testifies, and calls God to witness the truth of his testimony, that it was *not willingly* (that is, not from a previous discovery of the falsehood of his religion) but *from accident* (namely, a quarrel with the Dominican friars, and afterwards with the pope), that he fell into his broils about religion. (2) With respect to the Reformation in our own country, we

(1) Robison's Proofs of a Conspiracy against all Religions, &c. Kett's History the Interpreter of Prophecy, vol. ii. p. 158.

(2) "Casu non voluntate in has turmas incidi: Deum testor."—The Protestant historian, Mosheim, with whom Hume agrees, admits that several "of the principal agents in this revolution were actuated more by the impulse of passions, and views of interests, than by a zeal for true religion." Maclaine, vol. iv. p. 135. He had before acknowledged that king Gustavus introduced Lutheranism into Sweden, in opposition to the clergy and bishops, "not only as agreeable to the genius and spirit of the gospel, but also as favourable to the temporal state and political constitution of the Swedish dominions," pp. 79, 80. He adds, that Christiern, who introduced the Reformation into Denmark, was animated by no other motives than those of ambition and

all know that Henry VIII., who took the first step towards it, was, at the beginning of his reign, so zealous against it, that he wrote a book, which he dedicated to pope Leo X. in opposition to it, and in return obtained from this pontiff for himself and successors, the title of *Defender of the Faith*. Becoming afterwards enamoured of Anna Boleyn, one of the maids of honour to the queen, and the reigning pope having refused to sanction an adulterous marriage with her, he caused a statute to be passed, abrogating the pope's supremacy, and declaring himself *Supreme Head of the Church of England*. (1) Thus he plunged the nation into schism, and opened a way for every kind of heresy and impiety. In short, nothing is more evident than that the king's inordinate passion, and not the word of God, was the rule followed in this first important change of our national religion.—The unprincipled duke of Somerset, who next succeeded to supreme power in the church and state, under the shadow of his youthful nephew, Edward VI., pushed on the Reformation, so called, much further than it had yet been carried, with a view to the gratification of his own ambitious and avaricious purposes. He suppressed the remaining colleges and hospitals, which the profligacy of Henry had spared, converting their revenues to his own and his associates' uses. He forced Cranmer and other bishops to take out fresh commissions for governing their dioceses during his nephew's, that is to say, his own *good pleasure*. (2) He made a great number of important changes in the public worship by his own authority or that of his visitors; (3) and, when he employed certain bishops and divines in forming fresh articles and a new liturgy, he punished them with imprisonment if they were not obsequious to his orders. (4) He even took upon himself to alter their work, when sanctioned by parliament, in compliment to the church's greatest enemy, Calvin. (5)

avarice. p. 82. Grotius, another Protestant, testifies that it was "sedition and violence which gave birth to the Reformation in his country," Holland. Append. de Antichristo. The same was the case in France, Geneva, and Scotland. It is to be observed, that in all these countries the Reformers, as soon as they got the upper hand, became violent persecutors of the Catholics. Bergier defies Protestants to name so much as a town or village in which, when they became masters of it, they tolerated a single Catholic.

(1) Archbishop Parker records, that the bishops, assembled in synod in 1531, offered to sign this new title, with the following salvo: "*In quantum per Christi leges licet*;" but that the king would admit of no such modification. Antiq. Brit. p. 325. In the end they surrendered the whole of their spiritual jurisdiction to him (all except the religious bishop of Rochester, Fisher, who was put to death for his refusal), and were content to publish *Articles of Religion, devised by the king's highness*. Heylin Hist. of Reform. Collier, &c.

(2) "*Licentiam concedimus ad nostrum beneplacitum dumtaxat duraturam*."—Burnet Hist. Ref. Rec. p. II. b. i. n. 2.

(3) See the Injunctions of the Council to Preachers, published before the parliament met, concerning the mass in the Latin language, prayers for the dead, &c. See also the order sent to the primate against palms, ashes, &c. in Heylin, Burnet, and Collier. The boy Edward VI., just thirteen years old, was taught by his uncle to proclaim as follows: "We would not have our subjects so much to mistake our judgment, &c. as though we could not discern what is to be done, &c. God be praised, we know what, by his word, is fit to be redressed," &c. Collier, vol. ii. p. 246.

(4) The bishops Heath and Gardiner were both imprisoned for non-compliance.

(5) Heylin complains bitterly of Calvin's pragmatical spirit in quarrelling with the

Afterwards, when Elizabeth came to the throne, a new Reformation, different in its articles and liturgy from that of Edward VI., was set on foot, and moulded, not according to scripture, but to her orders. She deposed all the bishops except one, "*the calamity of his see*," as he was called; (1) and required the new ones, whom she appointed, to renounce certain exercises, which they declared to be *agreeable to the word of God*, (2) but which she found not to agree with her system of politics. She even in full parliament threatened to depose them all, if they did not act conformably to her views. (3)

V. The more strictly the subject is examined, the more clearly it will appear, that it was not in consequence of any investigation of the scriptures, either public or private, that the ancient Catholic religion was abolished, and one or other of the new Protestant religions set up in the different northern kingdoms and states of Europe, but in consequence of the politics of princes and statesmen, the avarice of the nobility and gentry, and the irreligion and licentiousness of the people. I will even advance a step further, and affirm that there is no appearance of any individual Protestant, to whatever sect he belongs, having formed his creed by the rule of *scripture alone*. For do you, sir, really believe that those persons of your communion, whom you see the most diligent and devout in turning over their bibles, have really found out in them the thirty-nine articles, or any other creed which they happen to profess? To judge more certainly of this matter, I wish those gentlemen who are the most zealous and active in distributing bibles among the Indians and Africans in their different countries, would procure from some half dozen of the most intelligent and serious of their proselytes, who have heard nothing of the Christian faith by any other means than their bibles, a summary of what they respectively understand to be the doctrine and the morality taught in that sacred volume. What inconsistent and nonsensical symbols should we not witness! The truth is, Protestants are tutored from their infancy, by the help of *catechisms* and *creeds*, in the systems of their respective sects; they are guided by their *parents* and *masters*, and are influenced by the *opinions* and *example* of those with whom they live and converse. Some particular texts of scripture are strongly impressed upon their minds, and others of an *apparently* different meaning are kept out of their view, or glossed over; and above all, it is constantly *inculcated* to them, that their religion is built upon scripture alone. Hence, when they actually read the scriptures, they fancy they *see there* what they have been otherwise taught to believe; the Lutheran, for example, that Christ is really present in the sacrament; the Calvinist, that he is as far distant from it "as heaven is from earth;" the Churchman, that

English liturgy, and soliciting the Protector to alter it. Preface to Hist. of Reform. His letters to Somerset on the subject may be seen in *For's Acts and Monum*

(1) Anthony Kitchin, so called by Godwin. de Præsul, and Camden.

(2) This took place with respect to what was termed *prophecying*, then practised by many Protestants, and defended by archbishop Grindall and the other bishops, as *agreeable to God's word*: nevertheless, the queen obliged them to suppress it. Col. Eccl. Hist. P. II. p. 554, &c.

(3) See her curious speech in parliament, March 25, 1585, in Stow's Annals.

baptism is necessary for infants; the Baptist, that it is an impiety to confer it upon them; and so of all the other forty sects of Protestants enumerated by Evans in his *Sketch of the different Denominations of Christians*, and of twice forty other sects whom he omits to mention.

When I remarked that our blessed Master, Jesus Christ, wrote no part of the New Testament himself, and gave no orders to his apostles to write it, I ought to have added, that if he had intended it to be, together with the Old Testament, the *sole* rule of religion, he would have provided means for their being able to follow it; knowing, as he certainly did, that 99 in every 100, or rather 999 in every 1000, in *different ages and countries*, would not be able to read at all, and much less to comprehend a page of the sacred writings. Yet no such means were provided by him; nor has he so much as enjoined it to his followers in general to study letters.

Another observation on this subject, and a very obvious one, is, that among those Christians who profess that the bible alone is the rule of their religion, there ought to be no articles, no catechisms, no sermons, nor other instructions. True it is, that the abolition of these, however incompatible they are with the rule itself, would quickly undermine the established church, as its clergy now begin to understand, and, if universally carried into effect, would, in the end, efface the whole doctrine and morality of the gospel: (1) but this consequence (which is inevitable) only shews more clearly the falsehood of this exclusive rule. In fact, the most enlightened Protestants find themselves here in a dilemma, and are obliged to say and unsay to the amusement of some persons and the pity of others. (2) They cannot abandon the rule of *the bible alone*, as explained by each one for himself, without proclaiming their guilt in refusing to hear the Church; and they cannot adhere to it, without opening the flood-gates to all the impiety and immorality of the age upon their own communion. I shall have occasion hereafter to notice the claims of the established church to *authority*, in determining the *sense* of scripture, as well as in other religious controversies: in the mean time I cannot but observe, that her most able defenders are frequently obliged to abandon their own and adopt the Catholic rule of faith. The judicious Hooker, in his *Defence of the Church of England*, writes thus: "Of this we are right sure, that nature, scripture, and experience itself have taught the world to seek for the ending of

(1) The Protestant writers, Kett and Robison, have shewn in the passage above quoted, how the principle of private judgment tends to undermine Christianity at large; and archdeacon Hook, in his late charge, shews, by an exact statement of capital convictions in different years, that the increase of immorality has kept pace with that of the bible societies.

(2) One of the latest instances of the distress in question is exhibited by the Right Rev. Dr. Marsh. In his publication, *The Inquiry*, p. 4, he says very truly, that "the poor (who constitute the bulk of mankind) cannot without assistance understand the scriptures;" being congratulated on this important yet unavoidable concession by the Rev. Mr. Gandolphy, he tacks about in a public letter to that gentleman, and says, that what he wrote in his *Inquiry* concerning the necessity of a further rule than mere scripture, only regards the *establishment* of religion, not the *truth* of it: just as if that rule were sufficient to conduct the people to the *truth* of religion, while he expressly says they cannot understand it!

contentions by submitting to some judicial and definite sentence, whereunto neither parties that contendeth, may, under any pretence or colour, refuse to stand. This must needs be effectual and strong. As for other means, without this, they seldom prevail." (1) Another most clear-headed writer and renowned defender of the establishment, whom I had the happiness of being acquainted with, Dr. Balguy, (2) thus expresses himself in a *Charge to the Clergy* of his archdeaconry: "The opinions of the people are and must be founded more on authority than reason. Their parents, their teachers, their governors, in a great measure, determine for them what they are to believe and what to practice. The same doctrines uniformly taught, the same rites constantly performed, make such an impression on their minds, that they hesitate as little in admitting the articles of their faith, as in receiving the most established maxims of common life." (3) With such testimonies before our eyes, can you, dear sir, imagine that the bulk of Protestants have formed their religion by the standard of scripture? He goes on to say, speaking of controverted points: "Would you have them (the people) think for themselves? Would you have them hear and decide the controversies of the learned? Would you have them enter into the depths of criticism, of logic, of scholastic divinity? You might as well expect them to compute an eclipse, or decide between the Cartesian and Newtonian philosophy. Nay, I will go farther: for I take upon myself to say, there are more men capable, in some competent degree, of understanding Newton's philosophy, than of forming any judgment at all concerning the abstruser questions in metaphysics and theology." Yet the persons of whom the doctor particularly speaks, were all furnished with bibles; and the abstruse questions, which he refers to, are: "Whether Christ did, or did not, come down from heaven?" Whether "he died, or did not, die for the sins of the world?" Whether "he sent his Holy Spirit to assist and comfort us, or whether he did not send him?" (4) The learned doctor elsewhere expresses himself still more explicitly on the subject of scripture without church authority. He is combatting the Dissenters, but his weapons are evidently as fatal to his own church as to theirs. "It has long been held among them that scripture alone is the rule and test of all religious ordinances; and that human authority is to be altogether excluded. Their ancestors, I believe, would have been not a little embarrassed with their own maxim, if they had not possessed a *singular talent of seeing every thing in scripture which they had a mind to see*. Almost every sect could find there its own peculiar form of church-government; and, *while they enforced only their own imaginations, they believed themselves to be executing the decrees of heaven.*" (5)

(1) Hooker's Eccles. Politic, Pref. art. 6.

(2) Discourses on various Subjects, by T. Balguy, D. D., archdeacon and prebendary of Winchester. Some of these discourses were preached at the consecration of bishops, and published by order of the archbishop; some in charges to the clergy. The whole of them is dedicated to the king, whom the writer thanks for naming him to a high dignity (the bishopric of Gloucester), and for permitting him to decline accepting of it.

(3) Ibid. p. 257

(4) Ibid

(5) Discourse VII. p. 126.

I conclude this long letter with a passage to the present purpose
from our admired theological poet :—

“As long as words a different sense will bear,
And each may be his own interpreter,
Our airy faith will no foundation find:
The word's a weathercock for every wind.” (1)

I am, dear sir, &c.

J. M

(1) Dryden's Hind and Panther, part I.

Tract No. 2

OF THIS SERIES CONTAINS :—

LETTER V.—SECOND FALSE RULE.

LETTER VI.—THE TRUE RULE.

Tract No. 3

OF THIS SERIES CONTAINS :—

LETTER VII.—THE TRUE RULE (continued.)

LETTER VIII.—OBJECTIONS ANSWERED

Tract 5.
No. 2.

[PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE CATHOLIC INSTITUTE
OF GREAT BRITAIN.]

LETTERS
ON
THE RULE OF FAITH;

OR THE METHOD OF FINDING OUT

The True Religion.

FROM THE

"END OF RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY."

BY THE

RIGHT REV. JOHN MILNER, D.D. F.S.A.



Stereotyped for the Catholic Institute of Great Britain.

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1839

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THE Reader cannot be ignorant of the recent controversy between the Vicar of Carisbrooke and the Widow Woolfrey, nor of the elaborate judgment pronounced in the cause by Sir H. Jenner. The object of the following pages is to show that on the whole the Widow was far the best theologian of the three.

LETTER VII.

THE TRUE RULE.

To JAMES BROWN, Esq., &c.

DEAR SIR,—The infinite importance of determining with ourselves which is the right rule or method of discovering religious truth, must be admitted by all thinking Christians: as it is evident that this rule alone can conduct them to truth, and that a false rule is capable of conducting them into all sorts of errors. It is equally clear why all those, who are bent upon deserting the Catholic Church, reject her rule, that of the *whole word of God*, together with her *living authority* in explaining it; for, while this rule and this authority are acknowledged, there can be no heresy nor schism among Christians; as whatever points of religion are not clear from scripture are supplied and illustrated by tradition, and as the pastors of the Church, who possess this authority, are always living, and ready to declare what is the sense of scripture, and what the tradition, on each contested point, which they have received in succession from the apostles. The only resource, therefore, of persons resolved to follow their own or their forefathers' particular opinions or practices, in matters of religion, with the exception of the enthusiast, has been in all times, both ancient and modern, to appeal to mere scripture, which, being a *dead letter* leaves them at liberty to explain it as they will.

I. And yet, with all their repugnance to tradition and church authority, Protestants have found themselves absolutely obliged, in many instances, to admit of them both. It has been demonstrated above, that they are obliged to admit of tradition in order to admit of scripture itself. Without this, they can neither know that there are any writings at all dictated by God's inspiration, nor which, in particular, these writings are, (1) nor what versions or publications of them are genuine. But as this matter has been sufficiently elucidated, I proceed to other points of religion, which Protestants receive either without the *authority* of scripture, or in opposition to the *letter* of it.

The first precept in the bible is that of sanctifying the seventh day. *God blessed the SEVENTH DAY, and sanctified it.* Gen. ii. 3. This precept was confirmed by God in the ten commandments: *Remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy. The SEVENTH DAY is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God.* Exod. xx. On the other hand, Christ declares that he is *not come to destroy the law, but to fulfil it.*

(1) Amongst all the learned Protestants of this age, Dr. Porteus is the only one who pretends to discern scripture, "partly on account of its own reasonableness, and the characters of divine wisdom in it." *Brief Confut.* p. 9. I could have wished to ask his lordship, whether it is by these *characters* — he has discovered the *Canticle or Song of Solomon* to be inspired scripture?

Matt. v. 17. He himself observed the Sabbath: *and, as his custom was, he went into the synagogue on the Sabbath-day* Luke, iv. 16 His disciples likewise observed it after his death. *They rested on the Sabbath-day, according to the commandment.* Luke, xxiii. 56. Yet, with all this weight of scripture authority for keeping the *Sabbath* or *Seventh-day* holy, Protestants of all denominations make this a *profane day*, and transfer the obligation of it to the *first day of the week*, or the *Sunday*. Now what authority have they for doing this? None whatever, except the *unwritten word*, or *tradition* of the Catholic Church, which declares that the apostles made the change in honour of Christ's resurrection and the descent of the Holy Ghost on that day of the week. Then, with respect to the manner of keeping that day holy, their universal doctrine and practice are no less at variance with the sacred text. The Almighty says: *From even unto even shall you celebrate your Sabbath*, Levit. xiii. 32, which is the practice of the Jews down to this present time; but not of any Protestants that ever I heard of. Again, it is declared in scripture to be unlawful to dress victuals on that day, *Exod. xvi. 23*, or even to make a fire *Exod. xxxv. 3*. Again, where is there a precept in the whole scripture more express than that against eating blood? God said to Noah: *Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat to you—but flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall you not eat.* Gen. ix. 4. This prohibition we know was confirmed by Moses, *Levit. xvii. 11. Dent. xii. 23*, and by the apostles, and was imposed upon the Gentiles who were converted to the faith. *Acts, xv. 20*. Nevertheless where is the religious Protestant who scruples to eat gravy with his meat, or puddings made of blood? At the same time if he be asked: *Upon what authority* do you act in contradiction to the express words of both the Old and New Testament? he can find no other answer than that he has learned, from the *tradition of the Church*, that the prohibition was only *temporary*. I will confine myself to one more instance of Protestants abandoning *their own rule*, that of scripture alone, to follow *ours*, of scripture explained by tradition. If an intelligent Pagan, who had carefully perused the New Testament, were asked, which of the ordinances mentioned in it is most explicitly and strictly enjoined? I make no doubt but he will answer, that it is *the washing of feet*. To convince yourself of this, be pleased to read the first seventeen verses of St. John, c. xiii. Observe the *motive* assigned for Christ's performing the ceremony there recorded; namely, his "love for his disciples:" next, *the time* of his performing it; namely, when he was about to depart out of this world: then observe *the stress* he lays upon it, in what he said to Peter: *if I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me*: finally, *his injunction*, at the conclusion of the ceremony: *If I, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet*. I now ask, on what pretence can those, who profess to make *scripture alone* the rule of their religion, totally disregard this institution and precept? Had this ceremony been observed in the Church, when Luther and the other first Protestants began to dogmatize, there is no doubt but they would have retained it: but having learned from her that it was only figurative,

they acquiesced in this decision, contrary to what appears to be the plain sense of scripture.

II. I asserted that Protestants find themselves obliged not only to adopt the rule of our Church on many the most important subject but also to *claim her authority*. It is true, as a late dignitary of the establishment observes, (1) that, "When Protestants first withdrew from the communion of the Church of Rome, the principles they went upon were such as these: Christ, by his gospel hath called all men to *this liberty*, the glorious liberty, *of the sons of God*, and restored them to the privilege of working out their own salvation by their own understanding and endeavours. For this work sufficient means are afforded in the scriptures, without having recourse to the doctrines and commandments of men. Consequently faith and conscience, having no dependence upon man's laws, are not to be compelled by man's authority." What now was the consequence of this fundamental rule of Protestantism? Why, that endless variety of doctrines, errors, and impieties, mentioned above; followed by those tumults, wars, rebellions, and that anarchy, with which the history of every country is filled, which embraced the new religion. It is readily supposed that the princes and other rulers of those countries, ecclesiastical as well as civil, however hostile they might be to the ancient Church, would wish to restrain these disorders and make their subjects adopt the same sentiments with themselves. Hence, in every Protestant state, articles of religion and confessions of faith, differing from one another, but each agreeing with the opinion of the princes and rulers of the state for the time being, were enacted by law, and enforced by excommunication, deprivation, exile, imprisonment, torture and death. These latter punishments indeed, however frequently they were exercised by Protestants against Protestants, as well as against Catholics, during the 16th and 17th centuries, (2) have not been resorted to during the last hundred years; but the terrible sentence of excommunication, which includes outlawry, even now hangs over the head of every Protestant bishop, as well as other clergyman in this country, (3) who shall interpret those passages of the gospel concerning Jesus Christ in the sense which, it appears from their writings, a number of them entertain; and none of them can take possession of a living, without subscribing the 39 articles, and publicly declaring his *unfeigned assent and consent* to them, and to *every thing contained in the book of Common Prayer*. (4) Thus, by adopting a false rule of religion, thinking Protestants are reduced to the cruel extremity of palpable contradiction! They cannot give up the "glorious liberty," as it is called above, of explaining the bible each one for himself, without at once giving up their cause to the Catholics;

(1) Archdeacon Blackburn in his celebrated Confessional, p. 1.

(2) See the Letter on the Reformation and on Persecution in *Letters to a Prebendary*. See also Neal's History of the Puritans, Delaune's Narrative, Sewel's History of the Quakers, &c.

(3) See many excommunicating canons, and particularly one A. D. 1640, against "the damnable and cursed heresy of Socinianism," as it is termed. See bishop Sparrow's Collection.

(4) 1st Eliz. cap. 2. 14 Car. II. c. 4. Item Canon 36 et 38.

and they cannot adhere to it, without many of the above mentioned fatal consequences, and without the speedy dissolution of their respective churches. Impatient of the constraint they are under, in being obliged to sign articles of faith which they do not believe, many able clergymen of the establishment have written strongly against them, and have even petitioned parliament to be relieved from the alleged *grievance* of subscribing to the professed doctrine of their own church. (1) On the other hand, the legislature, foreseeing the consequences which would result from the removal of the obligation, have always rejected their prayer; and the judges have even refused to admit the following *salvo* in addition to the subscription: "I assent and consent to the articles and the book, *as far as these are agreeable to the word of God.*" (2) In these straits, many of the most able, as well as the most respectable, of the established clergy have been reduced to such sophistry and casuistry, as to move the pity of their very opponents. One of these, the Norrisian professor of divinity at Cambridge, (3) as one way of excusing his brethren for subscribing to articles which they do not believe, cites the example of the divines at Geneva, where, he says, "a complete *tacit reformation* seems to have taken place. The Genevese have now, in fact, quitted their Calvinistic doctrines, though, *in form*, they retain them. When the minister is admitted, he takes an oath of assent to the scriptures, and professes to teach them *according to the catechism of Calvin*; but this last clause about Calvin *he makes a separate business*; speaking lower, or altering his posture, or speaking after a considerable interval." (4) Such a change of posture or tone of voice in the swearer, our learned professor considers as sufficient to excuse him from the guilt of prevarication, in swearing contrary to the plain meaning of his oath! It is not, however, intimated that the professor himself has recourse to this expedient: his particular system is, that "the church of England, like that of Geneva, has of late undergone a complete *tacit reformation* (5) and hence that the sense of its articles of faith is to be determined by *circumstances.*" (6) "Thus," he adds, (referring, I presume, to the statutes of King's college, Cambridge) "the oath, 'I will say so many masses for the soul of Henry VI.' may come to mean, I will perform the religious duties required of me!" (7) The celebrated moralist, Dr. Paley, justifies a departure from the original sense of the articles of religion subscribed, by an *INCONVENIENCE which is manifest and beyond all doubt!!* (8) Archdeacon Powell, master of St. John's college, defends the English clergy from the charge of subscribing to what they do not believe, because, he says, "The crime is impossible: as that cannot be the sense of the declaration which no one imagines to be its sense; nor

(1) There was such a petition signed by a great number of clergymen, and supported by many others in 1772. (2) See Confessional, p. 183.

(3) Lectures in Divinity, delivered in the University of Cambridge, by J. Hey, D.D. as Norrisian Professor, 1797, vol. ii. p. 57. (4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid. p. 48, (particularly in its approach to Socinianism, from which he signifies it is divided only by a few "unmeaning words.") (6) Ibid. p. 49. (7) P. 62.

(8) Moral and Polit. Philos. Not having this work, or Dr. Powell's Sermon at hand, I here quote from Overton's *True Churchman*, p. 337.

can that interpretation be erroneous which all have received!" (1) And yet such prelates as Secker, Horsley, Cleaver, Pretymen, with all the judges, strongly maintain that the literal meaning of the articles must be strictly adhered to!

I could cite many other dignitaries or leading clergymen of the establishment, and nearly the whole host of Dissenters, who have recourse to such quibbles and evasions, in order to get rid of the plain sense of the articles and creeds to which they have solemnly engaged themselves before the Creator, as I am convinced, they would not make use of in any contract with a fellow-creature: but I hasten to take in hand the admired discourses of my friend, Dr. Balguy. He was the champion, the very Achilles of those who defended the subscription of the Thirty-nine articles against the petitioners for the abrogation of it in 1772. And how, think you, dear sir, did he defend it? Not by vindicating the truth of the articles themselves; much less by any of the quibbles mentioned or alluded to above; but upon the principle that an exterior shew of uniformity in the ministers of religion is necessary for the support of it; and that, therefore, they ought to subscribe and teach the doctrine prescribed to them by the law, whatever they may inwardly think of it. Thus it was that he, and many of his friends, imagined it possible to unite religious liberty with ecclesiastical restrictions. But I will give you the archdeacon's own words, in one of his charges to the clergy. "The articles, we will say, are not exactly *what we might wish them to be*. Some of them are expressed in *doubtful terms*; others are *inaccurate*, perhaps *unphilosophical*, others again may chance to *mislead* an ignorant reader into some *erroneous opinions*: (2) but is there any one among them that leads to *immorality*? Is there one in the number that will make us revengeful or cruel?" &c. (3) On this principle you might in the eastern world conscientiously swear your assent and consent to the fables of the Koran or the Vedam!! But to proceed; he says, "Nothing is clearer than that the *uniform appearance* of religion is the cause of its general and easy reception. Destroy this uniformity, and you cannot but introduce doubt and perplexity into the minds of the people." (4) Again, he says, "I am far from wishing to discourage the clergy of the established church from thinking for themselves, or from speaking what they think, nor even from writing. I say nothing against the right of private judgment or speech, I only contend that men ought not to attack the church from those very pulpits in which they were placed for her defence." (5) What is this doctrine of the subscription-champion, dear sir, I appeal to you, but a defence of the most vile and sacrilegious hypocrisy that

(1) *Sermon on Subscript.*

(2) Which articles they are that the Doctor particularly objects to, we can easily gather from his general language concerning mysteries, the sacraments, and our redemption by Christ. On this last head, he seriously cautions us against "censuring or persecuting our brethren because their *nonsense* and our's wears a different dress." Charge ii. p. 192.

(3) Charge vi. p. 293.

(4) Charge v. p. 257.

(5) Disc. vii. p. 120. Discourses by Thomas Balguy, D. D. Archdeacon and Prebendary of Winchester, &c., dedicated to the King. Lockyer Davies, 1785.

an possibly be imagined? He leaves the clergy at liberty to *disbelieve in*, to *talk* and even to *write against the doctrine of their church*, but requires them *in the pulpit to defend it!* I agree with him, that contradictory doctrines, publicly maintained by ministers of the same religion, serve greatly to make the adherents of it renounce it entirely; but will not that effect more certainly follow from the people's discovering, as they must in the case supposed discover, that their clergy *do not themselves believe in the doctrines which they preach!*

But this system of deceiving the people is not peculiar to Dr. Balguy; it is avowed by his friend and master, bishop Hoadley, and represented by archdeacon Blackburn, from whom I take the following passage, as being very generally adopted. (1) "In all proposals and schemes to reduce to practice," the bishop says, "we must suppose the world to be *what it is, and not what it ought to be*. We must propose, not merely what is absolutely good in itself, but what is so with respect to the prejudices, tempers, and constitutions we know and are sure to be among us. It is represented that the world was never less disposed to be serious and reasonable than at this period. Religious reflection, we are informed, is not the *humour* of the times. We are therefore advised to keep our prudence and our patience a little longer; to wait till our people are in a better temper, and, in the mean time, to bear with their manners and disposition; *gently and gradually correcting their foolish notions and habits; but still taking care not to throw in more light upon them, at once, than the weak optics of men, so long used to sit in darkness are able to bear.*" His lordship's words are guarded, but perfectly intelligible. Bishop Hoadley had undermined the church he professed to support in her doctrine and discipline, as has been elsewhere demonstrated, (2) and he wished all the clergy to co-operate in diffusing his Socinian system; but he advised them to attempt this *gently and gradually*, bearing with the people's *foolish notions*, and *not throwing too much light upon them at once*: in other words continuing to subscribe the articles and preach them from the pulpit, being at the same time inwardly persuaded that they are not only *false*, but also *foolish!* I will add not only *foolish*, but also *impious* and idolatrous, namely, by worshipping Christ as *God*, whom the subscriber believes to be merely *man*. Thus, dear sir, you have seen the necessity to which the different Protestant societies have found themselves reduced, of occasionally appealing to tradition, and of assuming authority to dictate confessions and articles of religion, in direct violation of their boasted charter of private judgment; and you have seen that this inconsistency has rendered the *remedy worse than the disease*. These weapons not being natural to them, have been turned against them, and have mortally wounded them: and the "Church of England, in particular," as one of its principal defenders complains, "is like an oak cleft to shivers with one of the wedges made out of its own body." (3) You will now see with what ease and success the Catholic Church wields

(1) Confessional, pp. 375, 385.

(2) Letters to a Prebendary, Art. Hoadleyism

(3) Daubeny's Guide to the Church, Append.

these weapons; but first, I think it best to add something by way of confirming and elucidating this Catholic rule.

III. What has been said above in proof of the Catholic rule, namely, that Christ established it when he sent his apostles to preach the gospel, and that the apostles followed it, when they established churches throughout different nations, is so incontestible as not to be denied by any of our learned opponents: still less will they deny that the ancient fathers and the doctors of the Church in every age maintained this rule. Accordingly, one of the latest and most learned Protestant controvertists writes thus: "No one will deny that Jesus Christ laid the foundation of his church *by preaching*: nor can we deny that *the unwritten word was the first rule of Christianity*.(1) This being granted, it was incumbent on his lordship to demonstrate, and this by no less an authority than that which established the rule, at what precise period it was abrogated. Was it when this gospel or that gospel, when this epistle or that epistle, was written though known only to particular congregations or persons? Was it then that the pastors of the Church lost their authority of proclaiming, *So we have received from the apostles, or the disciples of the apostles: so all the other pastors of the Catholic Church believe and teach?* Or was this abrogation of the *first rule of Christianity* deferred till the canon of scripture was fixed at the end of the fourth century? So far from there being divine authority, there is not even a hint in ecclesiastical history on which to ground this pretended alteration in the rule of faith. His lordship's only foundation is his *own conjecture*: "It is extremely *improbable*," he says, "*that an all-wise Providence*, in imparting a new revelation to mankind, would suffer any doctrine or article of faith to be transmitted to posterity by so precarious a vehicle as that of oral tradition." (2) The bishop of London (3) had before said nearly the same thing, as well with respect to tradition being the *original rule*, as to the *improbability* of its continuing to be so, "considering," as he says, "how liable the easiest story, transmitted by word of mouth, is to be essentially altered in the course of one or two hundred years." But to the *opinions* of these learned prelates I oppose, in the first place, undeniable *facts*. It is then, certain that the whole doctrine and practice of religion, including the rites of sacrifice, and, indeed, the whole sacred history, was preserved by the patriarchs, in succession, from Adam down to Moses, during a space of 2,400 years, by means of tradition: and, when the law was written, many most important truths regarding a future life, the emblems and prophecies concerning the Messiah, and the inspiration and authenticity of the sacred books themselves, were preserved in the same way. Secondly, it is unwarrantable in these prelates, to compare the essential traditions of religion with ordinary stories. In the truth of these no one has an interest, and no means have been provided to preserve them from corruption; whereas, *the faith once delivered to the saints*, the Church has ever guarded as *the apple of her eye*; and all ecclesiastical history witnesses the extreme

(1) *Comparative View of the Churches*, p. 61, by Dr. (now Bishop) Marsh.

(2) P. 67.

(3) Dr. Porteus, *Brief. Conf.*

care and pains which in ancient times were taken by the pastors to instruct the faithful in the tenets and practices of their religion, previously to their being baptized. (1) The same are generally taken by their successors previously to the confirmation and first communion of their neophytes at the present day. Thirdly, when any fresh controversy arises in the Church, the fundamental maxims of the bishops and popes, to whom it belongs to decide upon it, is, not to consult their own private opinion or interpretation of scripture, but to inquire *what is, and ever has been the doctrine of the Church* concerning it. Hence their cry is and ever has been on such occasions, as well in council as out of it: *So we have received: so the universal Church believes: let there be no new doctrine: none but what has been delivered down to us by tradition.* (2) Fourthly, the tradition, of which we now treat, is *not a local* but an *universal* tradition, as widely spread as the Catholic Church itself is, and everywhere found the same. The maxim of the sententious Tertullian must be admitted: "Error," he says, "of course varies, but that doctrine which is one and the same among many, is not an error but a tradition." (3) However liable men, and particularly illiterate men, are to believe in fables; yet if, on the discovery of America, the inhabitants of it, from Hudson's Bay to Cape Horn, had been found to agree in the same account of their origin and general history, we should certainly give credit to them. But fifthly, in the present case, they are not the *Catholics* alone of different ages and nations who vouch for the traditions in question, I mean those rejected by Protestants, but all the subsisting heretics and schismatics of former ages without exception. The Nestorians and Eutychians, for example, deserted the Catholic Church in defence of opposite errors, near 1,400 years ago, and still form regular churches under bishops and patriarchs throughout the east: in like manner the Greek schismatics, properly so called, broke off from the Latin Church, for the last time, in the eleventh century. Theirs is well known to be the prevailing religion of Christians throughout the Turkish and Russian empires. Nevertheless, these and all the other Christian sectaries of ancient date, in every article in dispute between Catholics and Protestants (except that concerning the pope's supremacy) agree with the former, and condemn the latter. (4) Let Dr. Porteus and the other controvertists, who declaim against the alleged ignorance and vices of the Catholic clergy and laity during the five or six ages preceding the Reformation, and pretend to shew how the tenets which they object to might have been introduced into *our* Church, explain how precisely the same could have been quietly received by the Nestorians at Bagdad, the Eutychians at Alexandria, and the Russian Greeks at Moscow! All these, and particularly the last named, were ever ready to find fault with us upon subjects of

(1) See Fleury's *Mœurs de Chret.* Hartley in B. Watson's *Cor.* vol. v. p. 91.

(2) "Nil innotetur: nil nisi quod traditum est." Steph. Papa I.

(3) "Variasse deberet error, sed quod unum apud multos invenitur, non est erratum, sed traditum." Præscrip. advers. Hæret.

(4) See the proofs of this in the *Perpetuité de la Foi*, copied from the original documents in the French king's library.

comparatively small consequence, such as the use of unleavened bread in the sacrament, the days and manner of our fasting, and even the mode of shaving our beards; and yet, so far from objecting to the pretended novelties of prayers for the dead, addresses to the saints, the mass, the real presence, &c., they have always professed, and continue to profess, these doctrines and practices as zealously as we do.

Finally, by way of further answer to his lordship's shameful calumny, that the ancient "clergy and laity were so universally and monstrously ignorant and vicious, that nothing was too bad for them to do, or too absurd for them to believe," thereby insinuating that the former invented, and the latter were duped into, the belief of the articles on which the Catholic Church and the Church of England are divided; as also by way of further confirming the certainty of tradition, I maintain that it would have been much easier for the ancient clergy to corrupt the scriptures than the religious belief of the people. For, it is well known that the scriptures were chiefly in the hands of the clergy, and that, before the use of printing in the fifteenth century, the copies of them were renewed and multiplied in the monasteries by the labour of the monks, who, if they had been so wicked, might, with some prospect of success, have attempted to alter the New Testament in particular, as they pleased; whereas, the doctrines and practices of the church were in the hands of the people of all civilized nations, and therefore could not be altered without their knowledge and consent. Hence, wherever religious novelties were introduced, a violent opposition to them, and of course tumults and schisms, would have ensued. If they had been generally received in one country, as for example in France, this would have been the occasion of their being rejected with redoubled antipathy in a neighbouring hostile nation, as for instance England. Yet none of these disturbances or schisms do we read of, respecting any of the doctrines or practices of our religion objected to by Protestants, either in the same kingdom, or among the different states of Christianity. I said that the doctrines and practices of religion were in the hands of all "the people." In fact, they were all, in every part of the Church, obliged to receive the holy sacrament at Easter; now they could not do this without knowing whether they had been previously taught to consider this as *as bread and wine taken in memory of Christ*, or as the *real body and blood of Christ* himself. If they had originally held the former opinion, could they have been persuaded or dragooned into the latter, without violent opposition on their part and violent persecution on that of their clergy? Again, they could not assist at the religious services performed at the funerals of their relations, or on the festivals of the saints, without recollecting whether they had previously been instructed to *pray for* the former, and to *invoke the prayers* of the latter. If they had not been so instructed, would they, one and all, at the same time and in every country, have quietly yielded to the first impostors who preached up such supposed superstitions to them, as, in this case, we are sure they must have done? In a word, there is but one way of accounting for alleged alterations in the doctrines of the

Church; that mentioned by the learned Dr. Bailey; (1) which is to suppose that, on some one night, all the Christians of the world went to sleep sound Protestants and awoke the next morning rank Papists.

IV. I now come to consider the benefits derived from the Catholic rule or method of religion. The first part of this rule conducts us to the second part; that is to say, tradition conducts us to scripture. We have seen that Protestants, by their own confession, are obliged to build the latter upon the former, in doing which they act most inconsistently; whereas Catholics, in doing the same thing, act with perfect consistency. Again, Protestants in building scripture as they do upon tradition, as a mere human testimony, not as a *rule of faith*, can only form an act of *human faith*, that is to say, *an opinion* of its being inspired; (2) whereas Catholics, believing in the tradition of the Church as a *divine rule*, are enabled to believe, and do believe, in the scriptures with a *firm faith*, as the certain word of God. Hence the Catholic Church requires her pastors, who are to preach and expound the word of God, to study this second part of her rule, no less than the first part, with unremitting diligence; and she encourages those of her flock, who are properly qualified and disposed, to read it for their edification.

In perusing the books of the Old Testament, some of the most striking passages are those which regard the prerogatives of the future kingdom of the Messiah; namely, the extent, the visibility, and indefectibility of the Church: in examining the New Testament, we find in several of its clearest passages the strongest proofs of its being an *infallible guide* in the way of salvation. The texts alluded to have been already cited. Hence we look upon the Church with increased veneration, and listen to her decisions with redoubled confidence. But here I think it necessary to refute an objection which, I believe, was first started by Dr. Stillingfleet, and has since been adopted by many other controvertists. They say to us, *you argue in what logicians call a vicious circle, for you prove Scripture by your Church, and then your Church by Scripture. This is like John giving a character to Thomas, and Thomas a character to John.* True it is, that I prove the *inspiration* of scripture by the tradition of the Church, and that I prove the *infallibility* of the Church by the testimony of scripture, which are two distinct things: but you must take notice, that independently of, and prior to, the testimony of scripture, I knew from tradition, and the general arguments of the credibility of Christianity, that the Church is an illustrious society, instituted by Christ, and that its pastors have been appointed by him to guide me in the way of salvation. In a word, it is not every kind of mutual testimony which runs in a *vicious circle*; for the Baptist bore testimony to Christ, and Christ bore testimony to the Baptist.

(1) He was son of the bishop of Bangor, and becoming a convert to the Catholic Church, wrote several works in her defence: and, among the rest, one under the title of these letters, and another called *A Challenge*.

(2) Chillingworth, in his Religion of Protestants, chap. ii. expressly teaches, that "The books of scripture are not the objects of our faith," and that "a man may be saved, who should not believe them to be the word of God."

V. The *advantage*, and even *necessity*, of having a living speaking authority for preserving peace and order in every society, is too obvious to be called in question. The Catholic Church has such an authority; the different societies of Protestants, though they claim it, cannot effectually exercise it, as we have shewn, on account of their opposite fundamental principle of private judgment. Hence, when debates arise among Catholics concerning points of faith (for as to scholastic and other questions each one is left to defend his own opinion), the pastors of the Church, like judges in regard of civil contentions, fail not to examine them by the received rule of faith, and to pronounce an authoritative sentence upon them. The dispute is thus quashed, and peace is restored; for *if any party will not hear the Church, he is*, of course, regarded as *a heathen and a publican*. On the other hand, dissensions in any Protestant society, which adheres to its fundamental rule of religious liberty must be irremediable and endless.

VI. The same method which God has appointed to keep peace in his Church, he has also appointed to preserve it in the breasts of her several children. Hence, while other Christians, who have no rule of faith but their own fluctuating opinions, *are carried about by every wind of doctrine*, and are agitated by dreadful doubts and fears, as to the safety of the road they are in, Catholics, being moored to the rock of Christ's Church, never experience any apprehension whatsoever on this head. The truth of this may be ascertained by questioning pious Catholics, and particularly those who have been seriously converted from any species of Protestantism. Such persons are generally found to speak in raptures of the peace and security they enjoy in the communion of the Catholic Church, compared with the doubts and fears before they embraced it. Still the death-bed is evidently the best situation for making this inquiry. I have mentioned, in my former letter, that great numbers of Protestants, at the approach of death, seek to be reconciled to the Catholic Church. Many instances of this are notorious, though many more, for obvious reasons, are concealed from public notice. On the other hand, a challenge has been frequently made by Catholics (among the rest by Sir Toby Mathews, Dean Cressy, F. Walsingham, Molines dit Flechiere, and Ulric, Duke of Brunswick, all of them converts), to the whole world, to name a single Catholic, who, at the hour of death, expressed a wish to die in any other communion than his own!

I have now, dear sir, fully proved what I undertook to prove; that the rule of faith professed by rational Protestants, that of *scripture as interpreted by each person's private judgment*, is no less fallacious than the rule of fanatics, who imagine themselves to be directed by an *individual private inspiration*. I have shewn that this rule is evidently *unserviceable to infinitely the greater part of mankind*; that it is *liable to lead men into error*, and that it *has actually led vast numbers of them into endless errors and shocking impieties*. The proof of these points was sufficient, according to the principles I laid down at the beginning of our controversy, to disprove the rule itself: but I have, moreover, demonstrated, that our divine Master, Christ, did not

establish this rule, nor his apostles follow it;—that the Protestant churches, and that of England in particular, were not founded according to this rule;—that individual Protestants have not been guided by it in the choice of their religion;—and finally, that the adoption of it leads to uncertainty and uneasiness of mind in life, and more particularly at the hour of death. On the other hand, I have shewn that the Catholic rule, that of the *entire* Word of God, unwritten as well as written, together with the authority of the living pastors of the Church in explaining it, was appointed by Christ; was followed by the apostles; was maintained by the holy fathers; has been resorted to from necessity, in both particulars, by the Protestant congregations, though with the worst success, from the impossibility of uniting private judgment with it!—that tradition lays a firm ground for divine faith in scripture;—that these two, united together as one rule, and each bearing testimony to the *living speaking* authority of the Church in expounding that rule, the latter is preserved in peace and union through all ages and nations: (1)—and, in short, that Catholics, by adhering to this rule and authority, live and die in peace and security, as far as regards the truth of their religion.

It remains for you, dear sir, and your religious friends, who have called me into this field of controversy, to determine which of the two methods you will follow, in settling your religious concerns for time and FOR ETERNITY! Were it possible for me to err in following the Catholic method, with such a mass of evidence in its favour, methinks I could answer at the judgment-seat of Eternal Truth, with a pious writer of the middle ages: “Lord, if I have been deceived, thou art the author of my error.” (2) Whereas, should you be found to have mistaken the right way, by depending upon your own private opinion, contrary to the directions of your authorized guides, what would you be able to allege in excuse for such presumption? Think of this while you have time, and pray humbly and earnestly for God’s holy grace to enlighten and strengthen you. I am, dear sir, &c. J. M.



LETTER VIII

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

To JAMES BROWN. Esq. &c.

DEAR SIR,—I am not forgetful of the promise I made in my last letter but one, to answer the contents of those which I had then received from yourself, Mr. Topham, and Mr. Askew. Within these few days I have received other letters from yourself and Mr. Topham, which, equally with the former, call for my attention to their substance. However, as it would take up a great deal of time to write

(1) “*Domicilium pacis et unitatis.*”—S. Cyp. Ep. 46.

(2) Hugh of St. Victor.

separate answers to each of these letters, and as I know that they are arguments, and not formalities, which you expect from me, I shall make this letter a general reply to the several objections contained in them all, with the exception of such as have been answered in my last to you. Conceiving, also, that it will contribute to the brevity and perspicuity of my letter, if I arrange the several objections, from whomsoever they came, under their proper heads, and make use of the scholastic instead of the epistolary style, I shall on this occasion adopt both these methods. I must, however, remark, before I enter upon my task, that most of the objections appear to have been borrowed from the bishop of London's book, called a *Brief Confutation of the Errors of Popery*. This was extracted from archbishop Secker's Sermons on the same subject; which, themselves, were culled out of his predecessor Tillotson's *Pulpit Controversy*. Hence you may justly consider your arguments as the strongest which can be brought against the Catholic rule and religion. Under this persuasion, the work in question has been selected for gratuitous distribution by your Tract societies, wherever they particularly wish to restrain or suppress Catholicity.

Against the Catholic rule it is objected that Christ referred the Jews to the scriptures: *Search the scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life: and they are they which testify of me.* John, v. 35. Again, the Jews of Berea are commended by the sacred penman, *in that they search the scriptures daily whether these things were so.* Acts, xvii. 11.

Before I enter upon the discussion of any part of scripture with you or your friends, I am bound, dear sir, in conformity with my rule of faith, as explained by the fathers, and particularly by Tertullian, to protest against your and their right to argue from scripture; and, of course, must deny that there is any necessity of my replying to any objections which you may draw from it. For I have reminded you, that *no prophecy of scripture is of any private interpretation*; and I have proved to you that the whole business of the scriptures belongs to the Church. She has preserved them, she vouches for them, and she alone, by confronting the several passages with each other, and by the help of tradition, authoritatively explains them. Hence it is impossible that the real sense of scripture should ever be against her and her doctrine; and hence, of course, I might quash every objection which you can draw from any passage in it by this short reply: *The Church understands the passage differently from you; therefore you mistake its meaning.* Nevertheless, as *charity beareth all things and never faileth*, I will, for the better satisfying of you and your friends, quit my vantage ground for the present, and answer distinctly to every text not yet answered by me, which any of your gentlemen, or which Dr. Porteus himself, has brought against the Catholic method of religion.

By way of answering your first objection, let me ask you, whether Christ, by telling the Jews to *search the scriptures*, intimated that they were not to believe in his *unwritten word*, which he was then preaching; nor to hear *his apostles and their successors*, with whom he pro-

mised to *remain for ever*? I ask, secondly, on what *particular* question Christ referred to the scripture, namely the old scripture?—for no part of the new was then written. Was it on any question that has been or might be agitated among *Christians*? No, certainly: the sole question between him and the *infidel Jews* was, whether he was or was not the Messiah? In proof that he was the Messiah, he adduced the ordinary motives of credibility, as they have been detailed by your late worthy rector, Mr. Carey, the miracles he wrought, and the prophecies in the Old Testament that were fulfilled in him, as likewise the testimony of St. John the Baptist. The same is to be said of the commendations bestowed by St. Luke on the Bereans; they searched the ancient prophecies, to verify that the Messiah was to be born at such a time, in such a place, and that his life and his death were to be marked by such and such circumstances. We still refer Jews and other infidels to the same proofs of Christianity, without saying any thing yet to them about our rule or judge of controversies.

Dr. Porteus objects what St. Luke says at the beginning of his gospel: *It seemed good to me also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus, that thou mightest know the certainty of those things wherein thou hast been instructed.* Again, St. John says, c. xx. *These things are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that, believing, ye might have life through his name.*

Answer. It is difficult to conceive how his lordship can draw an argument from these texts against the Catholic rule. Surely he does not gather from the words of St. Luke, that Theophilus *did not believe* the articles in which he *had been instructed by word of mouth* till he read this gospel! or that the evangelist gainsayed the authority given by Christ to his disciples: *He that heareth you, heareth me*, which he himself records, *Luke*, x. 16. In like manner the prelate cannot suppose, that this testimony of St. John sets aside other testimonies of Christ's divinity, or that our belief in this single article, without other conditions, will insure eternal life.

Having quoted these texts, which to me appear so inconclusive, the bishop adds, by way of proving that *scripture* is sufficiently intelligible, "surely apostles were not worse writers, with divine assistance, than others commonly are without it." (1)

I will not here repeat the arguments and testimonies already brought (2) to shew the great obscurity of a considerable portion of the bible, particularly with respect to the bulk of mankind; because it is sufficient to refer to the clear words of St. Peter, declaring that there are in the epistles of St. Paul, *some things hard to be understood, which the unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do all the other scriptures, unto their own destruction*, (2 Pet. iii 16.) and to the instances, which occur in the gospels, of the very apostles frequently misunderstanding the meaning of their Divine Master.

The learned prelate says elsewhere: (3) "The New Testament supposes them (the generality of people) capable of judging for themselves, and accordingly requires them not only to *try the spirits whether they*

(1) P. 4.

(2) Letter ix.

(3) P. 19.

be of God, (1 John, iv. 1.) but to *prove all things, and hold fast that which is good.*" 1 Thess. v. 21.

Answer. True: St. John tells the Christians, to whom he writes, to *try the spirits, whether they are of God: because*, he adds, *many false prophets are gone out into the world:* but then he gives them *two rules* for making trial: *Hereby ye know the spirit of God. Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God. And every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus is come in the flesh (which was denied by the heretics of that time, the disciples of Simon and Cerinthus) is not of God.* In this the apostle tells the Christians to see whether the doctrine of these spirits was or was not *conformable to that which they had learnt from the Church.* The second rule was *He that knoweth God heareth us; he that is not of God heareth not us. Hereby know we the spirit of truth and the spirit of error:* namely, he bids them observe whether these teachers did or did not listen to the divinely-constituted pastors of the Church. Dr. P. is evidently here quoting scripture *for* our rule *not against* it. The same is to be said of the other text. Prophecy was exceedingly common at the beginning of the Church! but, as we have just seen, there were false prophets as well as true prophets. Hence, while the apostle defends this supernatural gift in general, *Despise not prophesyings*, he admonishes the Thessalonians to *prove them*; not certainly by their private opinions, which would be the source of endless discord; but by the established rules of the Church, and particularly by that which he tells them *to hold fast*, (2 Thess. ii. 15.) namely, tradition.

Dr. P. in another place (1) urges the exhortation of St. Paul to Timothy: *Continue thou in the things which thou hast learned and hast been assured of, knowing of whom thou hast learned them; and that from a child thou hast known the holy scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith in Christ Jesus. All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, &c.* 2 Tim. iii.

Answer. Does then the prelate mean to say, that *the form of sound words*, which Timothy *had heard from* St. Paul, and which he was commanded *to hold fast*, 2 Tim. 12. *was all contained* in the Old Testament, the only scripture which he could have read in his childhood? Or that in this he could have learned the mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation, or the ordinances of Baptism and the Eucharist? The first part of the question is a general commendation of tradition, the latter of scripture.

Against tradition Dr. P. and yourself quote (2) Mark, vii., where the pharisees and scribes ask Christ: *Why walk not thy disciples according to their addition of the elders, but eat bread with unwashed hands? He answered and said to them: in vain do they worship me, teaching FOR (3) doctrines the commandment of men. For laying aside the*

(1) P. 69.

(2) P. 11.

(3) This particle FOR, which in some degree affects the sense, is a corrupt interpolation, as appears from the original Greek. N. B. The texts which Dr. P. refers to, I quote from the common bible: his citations of it are frequently inaccurate.

commandment of God, ye hold the tradition of men, as the washing of pots and cups, &c.

Answer. Among the traditions which prevailed at the time of our Saviour, some were *divine*, such as the inspiration of the books of Moses and the other prophets, the resurrection of the body, and the last judgment, which assuredly Christ did not condemn but confirm. There were others merely *human*, and of a recent date, introduced, as St. Jerom informs us, by Sammai, Killel, Achiba, and other pharisees, from which the Talmud is chiefly gathered. These, of course, were never obligatory. In like manner there are among Catholics *divine traditions*, such as the inspiration of the gospels, the observation of the Lord's day, the lawfulness of invoking the prayers of the saints, and other things not clearly contained in scripture; and there are among many Catholics historical and even fabulous traditions. (1) Now it is to the former, as avowed to be divine by the Church, that we appeal: of the others every one may judge as he thinks best.

Yea both likewise quote Coloss., ii. 8. *Beware lest any man spoil (cheat) you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ.*

Answer. The apostle himself informs the Colossians what kind of traditions he here speaks of, where he says, *Let no man therefore judge you in meat or drink, or in respect of any holiday, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath days.* The ancient fathers and ecclesiastical historians inform us, that, in the age of the apostles, many Jews and Pagan philosophers professed Christianity, but endeavoured to ally with it their respective superstitions and vain speculations, absolutely inconsistent with the doctrine of the gospel. It was against these St. Paul wrote; not against those traditions which he commanded his converts to *hold fast to, whether they had been taught by word or by epistle*, 2 Thess. ii. 15; nor against those traditions which he commended his other converts for *keeping*. 1 Cor. xi. 2. (2) Finally, the apostle in that passage did not abrogate this his awful sentence: *Now we command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition which he received of us.* 2 Thess. iii. 6.

Against the infallibility of the Church in deciding questions of faith, I am referred to various other arguments made use of by Dr. Porteus; and, in the first place, to the following: "Romanists themselves own that men must use their eyes to find this guide; why then must they put them out to follow him?" (3) I answer by the following comparisons. Every prudent man makes use of his reason to find out an able physician to take care of his health, and an able lawyer to secure his property; but, having found these to his full satisfaction, does he dispute with the former about the quality of medicines, or with the latter about forms of law? Thus the Catholic makes use of his reason to observe which,

(1) Such are the acts of several saints condemned by pope Gelasius, such also was the opinion of Christ's reign upon earth for a thousand years.

(2) The English Testament puts the word *ordinances* here for *traditions*, contrary to the sense of the original Greek, and even to the authority of Beza.

(3) P. 19

among the rival communions, is the Church that Christ established and promised to remain with: having ascertained that, by the plain acknowledged marks which this church bears, he trusts his soul to an unerring judgment, in preference to his own fluctuating opinion.

Dr. Porteus adds: "Ninety-nine parts in every hundred of their (the Catholic) communion, have no other rule to follow but what a few priests and private writers tell them." (1) According to this mode of reasoning, a loyal subject does not make any act of the legislature the rule of his civil conduct, because, perhaps, he learns it only from a printed paper, or the proclamation of the bell-man. Most likely the Catholic peasant learns the doctrine of the Church from his parish priest; but then he knows that the doctrine of this priest must be conformable to that of his bishop, and that otherwise he will soon be called to an account for it: he knows also that the doctrine of the bishop himself must be conformable to that of the other bishops and the pope; and that it is a fundamental maxim with them all, never to admit of any tenet but such as is believed by all the bishops, and was believed by their predecessors up to the apostles themselves.

The prelate gives a "rule for the unlearned and ignorant in religion (that is to say, of ninety-nine in every hundred of them), which is this: "Let each man improve his own judgment and increase his own knowledge as much as he can; and be fully assured that God will expect no more." What! If *Christ has given some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers; for the perfecting the saints, for the work of the ministry*, Ephes. iv. 11, does he not expect that Christians should hearken to them, and obey them? The prelate goes on: "In matters, *for which he must rely on authority*, [mere scripture then and private judgment, according to the bishop himself, are not always a sufficient rule even for Protestants, but they must in some matters rely on Church authority,] "in matters, for which he *must* rely on authority, let him rely on the authority of that Church which God's providence has placed him under, [that is to say, whether Catholic, Protestant, Socinian, Antinomian, Jewish, &c.] rather than another which he hath nothing to do with, [every Christian has, or ought to have, something to do with Christ's true Church] and trust to those, who, by encouraging free inquiry, appear to love truth, rather than such as, by requiring all their doctrines to be implicitly obeyed, seem conscious that they will not bear to be fairly tried." What, my lord! would you have me trust those men who have just now deceived me, by assuring me that I should not stand in need of guides at all, rather than those who told me, from the first, of the perplexities in which I find myself entangled? Again, do you advise me to prefer those conductors, who are forced to confess that they *may* mislead me, to those others, who assure me, and this upon such strong grounds, that they will conduct me with perfect safety?

Our episcopal controvertist finishes his admonition, "to the ignorant and unlearned," with an address calculated for the stupid and bigotted. He says: "Let others build on fathers and popes, on traditions and

(1) Ibid.

councils, what they will: let us continue firm, as we are, on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone." *Ephes. ii.* What empty declamation! Do then the fathers, popes, and councils profess or attempt to build religion on any other foundation than the revelation made by God to the apostles and prophets? His lordship knows full well that they do not, and that the only questions at issue are these three: 1st, Whether this revelation has not been made and conveyed by the *unwritten*, as well as by the *written*, word of God? 2dly, Whether Christ did not commit this word to his apostles and their successors *till the end of the world*, for them to preserve and announce it? Lastly, whether, independently of this commission, it is consistent with common sense for each Protestant ploughman and mechanic to persuade himself that he individually, (for he cannot, according to his rule, build on the opinion of other Protestants, though he could find any whose faith exactly tallied with his own) that he, I say, individually, understands the scriptures better than all the doctors and bishops of the Church, who now are, or ever have been, since the time of the apostles! (1)

One of our Salopian friends, in writing to me, ridicules the idea of infallibility being lodged in any mortal man or number of men. Hence it is fair to conclude that he does not look upon himself to be infallible: now nothing short of a man's conviction of his own infallibility, one might think, would put him on preferring his own judgment, in matters of religion, to that of the Church of all ages and all nations. Secondly, if this objection were valid, it would prove that the apostles themselves were not infallible. Finally, I could wish your friend to form a right idea of this matter. The infallibility, then, of our Church is not a power of telling all things, past, present, and to come, such as the Pagans ascribed to their oracles; but merely the aid of God's holy Spirit, to enable her truly to decide what her faith is and ever has been, in such articles as have been made known to her by scripture and tradition. This definition furnishes answers to divers other objections and questions of Dr. P. The Church does not decide the controversy concerning the conception of the blessed Virgin, and several other disputed points, because she sees nothing absolutely clear and certain concerning them, either in the written or the unwritten word; and therefore leaves her children to form their own opinions concerning them. She does not dictate an exposition of the whole bible, because she has no tradition concerning a very great proportion of it, as, for example, concerning the *prophecy of Enoch*, quoted by Jude, 14, and the *baptism for the dead*, of which St. Paul makes mention, 1 *Cor. xv.* 29, and the chronologies and genealogies in Genesis. The prelate urges that the words of St. Paul, where he declares that *the Church of God is the pillar and ground of truth*, 1 *Tim. iii.* 15, may be translated a different way from that received. True: they may, but not without altering the original Greek, as also the common Protestant version.

(1) The great Dissent obliges the minister, Claude, in his conference with him, openly to avow this principle; which, in fact, every consistent Protestant must avow, who maintains his private interpretation of the bible to be the only rule of his faith.

He says: it was ordained in the old law that every controversy should be decided by the Priests and Levites, *Deut. xvii. 8*, and yet that these avowedly erred in rejecting Christ. True: but the law had then run its destined course, and the divine assistance failed the priests in the very act of their rejecting the promised Messiah, who was then before them. He adds, that St. Paul, in his epistle to the church of Rome, bids her *not be high minded, but fear; for* (he adds) *if God spared not the Jews, take heed lest he also spare not thee.* Rom. xi. Supposing the quotation to be accurate, and that the threat is particularly addressed to the Christians of Rome, what is that to the present purpose? We never supposed the promises of Christ to belong to them or their successors, more than to the inhabitants of any other city. Indeed it is the opinion of some of our most learned commentators, that before the end of the world Rome will relapse into its former Paganism. (1) In a word, the promises of our Saviour, that *hell's gates shall not prevail against his Church*—that his *Holy Spirit shall lead it into all truth*—and that he himself *will remain with it for ever*, were made to the Church of all nations and all times, in communion with St. Peter and his successors, the bishops of Rome: and as these promises have been fulfilled, during a succession of eighteen centuries, contrary to the usual and natural course of events, and by the visible protection of the Almighty, so we rest assured that he will continue to fulfil them, till the Church militant shall be wholly transformed into the church triumphant in the heavenly kingdom.

Finally, his lordship, with other controvertists, objects against the infallibility of the Catholic church, that its advocates are not agreed where to lodge this prerogative, some ascribing it to the pope, others to a general council, or to the bishops dispersed throughout the church. True, schoolmen discuss some such points; but, let me ask his lordship, whether he finds any Catholic who denies or doubts that a general council, with the pope at its head, or that the pope himself, issuing a doctrinal decision, which is received by the great body of Catholic bishops, is secure from error? Most certainly not: and hence he may gather where all Catholics agree in lodging infallibility. In like manner, with respect to our national constitution, some lawyers hold that a royal proclamation, in such and such circumstances, has the force of a law; others that a vote of the house of lords, or of the commons, or of both houses together, has the same strength; but all subjects acknowledge that an act of the king, lords and commons, is binding upon them! and this suffices for all practical purposes.

But when, dear sir, will there be an end of the objections and cavils of men, whose pride, ambition, or interest leads them to deny the plainest truths? You have seen those which the ingenuity and learning of the Porteouses, Seckers, and Tillotsons have raised against the unchangeable Catholic rule and interpreter of faith: say, is there anything sufficiently clear and certain in them to oppose to the luminous and sure principles on which the Catholic method is placed? Do they afford

(1) See Cornel. a Lapid. in Apocalyp.

you a sure footing, to support you against all doubts and fears on the score of your religion, especially under the apprehension of approaching dissolution? If you answer affirmatively, I have nothing more to say: but if you cannot so answer; and, if you justly dread undertaking your voyage to eternity on the presumption of your private judgment, a presumption which you have clearly seen has led so many other rash Christians to certain shipwreck, follow the example of those who have happily arrived at the port which you are in quest of. In other words, listen to the advice of the holy patriarch to his son: *Then Tobias answered his father—I know not the way, &c.—then his father said—Seek thee a faithful guide.* Tob. v. You will no sooner have sacrificed your own wavering judgment, and have submitted to follow the guide whom your heavenly Father has provided for you, than you will feel a deep conviction that you are in the right and secure way; and very soon you will be enabled to join, with the happy converts of ancient and modern times, (1) in this hymn of praise: “I give thee thanks O God, my enlightener and deliverer; for that thou hast opened the eyes of my soul to know thee. Alas! too late have I known thee O ancient and eternal Truth! too late have I known thee.”

I am, dear sir, yours, &c.

J. M.

(1) St. Austin's Soliloquies, c. 33, quoted by dean Cressy, *Exomol.* p. 655

FINIS.

Tract No. 1

OF THIS SERIES CONTAINS:—

LETTER I.—METHOD OF FINDING OUT THE TRUE RELIGION.

LETTER II.—FIRST FALLACIOUS RULE OF FAITH.

LETTER III.—OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

LETTER IV.—SECOND FALLACIOUS RULE

Tract No. 2

OF THIS SERIES CONTAINS:—

LETTER V.—SECOND FALSE RULE.

LETTER VI.—THE TRUE RULE.

London. Printed by P. & M. Andrews, Duke-street, Little Britain,
FOR THE CATHOLIC INSTITUTE.

CATHOLIC INSTITUTE

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

(UNDER THE SANCTION OF ALL THE RIGHT REVEREND THE VICARS
APOSTOLIC OF GREAT BRITAIN.)

PRESIDENT.—THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

As numerous inquiries have been made on the part of many persons friendly to the INSTITUTE, but who are not sufficiently acquainted with its objects, for information on these points, the Committee deem it advisable to issue the following Statement :—

GENERAL OBJECTS OF THE CATHOLIC INSTITUTE

These are comprehended in the 5th Resolution ;—viz, “The exposure of
“the falsehood of the calumnious charges made against the Catholic Religion ;
“the defence of the real tenets of Catholicity ; the circulation of all useful
“knowledge upon the above-mentioned subjects ; and the protection of the
“poorer classes of Catholics in the enjoyment of their religious principles
“and practices.”

PARTICULAR OBJECTS OF THE CATHOLIC INSTITUTE.

THESE MAY BE THUS STATED :

1. To meet the calumnious charges against the Catholic Religion, whenever refutation may be deemed necessary, by the publication of accredited Tracts or Pamphlets, or otherwise.
2. To defend the doctrines of the Catholic Religion by distributing Tracts and Works duly approved of by a Clergyman authorized by the Bishop of the London district, for the purpose of explaining its principles and practices.

N. B.—*In most cases such Tracts and Treatises, as far as the funds of the Institute may permit, will be distributed gratuitously, either through the medium of the resident Clergymen in their respective localities, or through Members of the General and Local Committees. And every MEMBER of the Institute shall be entitled to receive a certain quantity of Tracts, to be lent out to his Protestant friends and neighbours. Whenever it shall be deemed advisable by the resident Clergymen, or by the General or Local Committees, to circulate Tracts at any Public Meeting held for the purpose of attacking the Catholic Religion, these will be furnished by the general Secretary on being applied for.*

3. Another object of the INSTITUTE is to put the poorer classes of Catholics in possession of Books of Piety and Devotion at the lowest possible

price ; and in cases where persons are too poor to purchase, to supply them gratuitously.

4. To remove every obstacle which may occur to prevent Catholic Soldiers, Sailors, Inmates of Workhouses, Hospitals and Prisons from enjoying the full and unfettered freedom of their worship and the comforts of religious instruction by the Clergy.
5. To vindicate the rights of all classes of Catholics, and particularly those of the poor, to the full enjoyment of every right and privilege to which they are legally entitled, and to apply for the redress of every grievance to which Catholics, *as such*, may be subjected.

N. B.—As the *complete* redress of every well-founded complaint and the removal of every impediment to the religious education of Catholics are the main objects of the INSTITUTE, it is not intended to regulate the assistance by the sums of money subscribed from any particular place.

The above desirable objects are intended to be accomplished by organizing the entire Catholic Body of Great Britain in one Society, so as, by the collection of small sums from every individual, to place at the disposal of the INSTITUTE funds sufficient to meet every case. The want of such co-operation among Catholics has been too generally felt to be any longer a question ; and it becomes now the imperative duty of every one to support an Institution which will afford Catholics, for the first time in this country, an opportunity of coming fairly before their fellow-countrymen. The good results of such a combination are indeed incalculable ; and the Committee are happy to state that, accordingly, this Institution has the sanction of all the Right Reverend the Vicars Apostolic of Great Britain, and of a numerous body of the Clergy, Nobility and Gentry.

The subscriptions have been fixed at a small sum, and may be paid either monthly or yearly, in order to afford every one an opportunity of assisting in this great work of Charity.

Many other privileges and benefits are intended to be conferred upon Members ; but, in the present state of the INSTITUTE, the Committee defer their consideration until the state of the funds throughout the country can be correctly known.

In the meantime it is very gratifying to be able to state that many Local Societies have been already formed both in Town and Country ; and the Committee feel confident that nothing is wanting to insure the utmost success but the contributions of every Catholic, however humble may be his rank, or however small may be his means.

Every person is a Member who pays any sum not less than *Six Shillings* by the year, or *Sixpence* by the month.

By order of the Committee,

JAMES SMITH, SECRETARY.

December 6, 1838.

Printed by P. & M. Andrews, 3, Duke-street, Little Britain, London,
For the Catholic Institute

TRACT 7.

[PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDANCE OF THE CATHOLIC
INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN.]

THE CATHOLIC SCRIPTURAL CATECHISM.

BY THE

RIGHT REV. JOHN MILNER, D.D. F.S.A.



[Stereotyped for the Catholic Institute of Great Britain.]

LONDON:

Sold by all Catholic Booksellers, price One Halfpenny, or Fourpence
per Dozen, or Two Shillings and Sixpence per Hundred
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CATHOLIC SCRIPTURAL CATECHISM.

Q. What is the Catholic Rule of Faith?

A. The Revealed Word of God

Q. Of what does the Revealed Word of God consist?

A. It consists of two parts: the Written Word, called the Holy Scripture, and the Unwritten Word, called Divine Tradition.

Q. Are these two parts of equal authority?

A. Yes: because they have been equally revealed by God.

Q. Which of these parts was before the other?

A. The Unwritten Word was before the Written Word, with respect both to the Old Testament and the New Testament.

Q. What divine traditions existed before Moses wrote the first Books of the Old Testament?

A. The duty of sanctifying the Sabbath (Gen. ii. 3); the prohibition of eating the blood of animals (Gen. ix. 4); the rite of circumcision (Gen. xvii. 10); and, generally, the whole history of religion before the time of Moses, during 2500 years.

Q. What traditions of the Christian religion existed before the several books of the New Testament were promulgated or written?

A. The substitution of the Sunday, as a Holy Day, for the Sabbath, or Saturday; the abrogation of the necessity of circumcision; and, generally, the whole system of the Christian religion.

Q. Did Jesus Christ write the New Scripture?

A. No, he did not write any part of it.

Q. Did he at any time before his Ascension command his Apostles to write it?

A. No: though some of them were inspired, on subsequent occasions, to write the books of it which bear their names.

Q. In what manner then did Christ commission them to publish his doctrine and precepts?

A. By preaching; his last words to them, according to St. Matthew, being these: "Go ye, therefore, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and, behold, I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world." (Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.)

Q. Did the Apostles observe this precept in converting nations to the Faith?

A. Yes, they did; for St. Mark testifies of them, that after Christ had commanded them to "Preach the Gospel to every creature—they, going forth, preached everywhere; the Lord working withal, and confirming the word with signs that followed." (Mark xvi. 20.)

Q. Did the Apostles instruct their disciples to follow the same method?

A. Yes; for St. Paul writes to Timothy: "The things which thou hast heard of me before many witnesses, the same commend to faithful men, who shall be fit to teach others also." 2 Tim. ii. 2.

Q. Has no Christian nation or province, since the time of the Apostles, been converted by reading the Holy Scripture?

A. No; they have all been converted by preachers, succeeding by due authority, to the above-mentioned commission, given to the Apostles.

Q. Did not Christ tell the Jews to *Search the Scriptures*? (John v. 39) and did not St. Paul commend the Bereans for *searching the Scriptures, whether these things were so*? (Acts xvii. 11.)

A. They both referred to the prophecies in the Old Testament concerning the Messiah, which were evidently fulfilled in the person and actions of our Saviour; not to the doctrines of Christianity, nor to the New Testament, which was not then written. The same is to be said of St. Paul's commendation of Timothy, for having *known the Holy Scriptures from his infancy*. (2 Tim. iii. 15.) Reading the Old Testament with suitable disposition, no doubt, was *profitable* to this disciple for instruction; but the Apostle plainly signifies that Timothy had *learnt his faith in Jesus Christ* from him, St. Paul (1 Tim. i. 13); namely, when he preached at Lystra. (Acts xiv.)

Q. Are the Scriptures, of themselves, easy to be understood?

A. No; they contain "Things hard to be understood, which the unlearned and unstable wrest to their own destruction." (2 Pet. iii. 16.) The same is evident from the great variety of sects, who profess to build their faith on the Scriptures alone, and yet differ from each other on the fundamental articles of Christianity.

Q. Has Christ furnished us with any means by which we may learn with certainty, the sense of the Holy Scripture in all necessary points?

A. Yes: he has established a never failing tribunal, both to preserve and to interpret his Divine Word in both its branches, namely, his Holy Church.

Q. How do you prove this?

A. In every state and society of mankind, there are and must be judges and magistrates, to maintain the laws and decide upon their meaning. Accordingly, Christ, in *founding his Church, against which the gates of Hell shall not prevail* (Matt. xvi. 18), commands us all to *hear it*, under pain of being considered as *heathens and publicans*. (Matt. xviii. 18.) In like manner, having sent his Apostles *to teach all nations*, he promised to *remain with them for ever*, and to send them *the Spirit of Truth, which should teach them all truth*. (John xvi. 13.)

Q. How does the Church deliver to us the sense of Scripture and Tradition?

A. By the decisions of her Bishops, and especially of her chief Bishop in the chair of St. Peter; by the sermons and instructions of her other pastors, and by the approved good books, especially the catechisms, which she puts into our hands.

Q. Is it not morally possible that the doctrines of the Seven Sacraments, the Real Presence, Transubstantiation, Invoking the Saints, Praying for the Dead, &c. which Catholics term *Divine traditions and the true sense of Scripture*, may have sprung from the fraud of the clergy, and the credulity of the people, at some former period?

A. No: this is morally impossible, since these doctrines have always been held both by the clergy and people of the whole Catholic Church, spread as it is, and always has been, throughout the whole world. Besides this, these doctrines are, and always have been, held by the ancient heretics, who were separated from the Catholic Church in the fifth and following centuries.

Q. In what does the Word of God, contained in the Holy Scriptures, properly consist?

A. Not in the *mere words* of the sacred text, but in the *meaning* of it, as the Holy Fathers teach.

Q. What follows from this?

A. That many persons who are the most assiduous in reading the Bible, yet do not attain to the truths of religion, taught by Jesus Christ, and are really ignorant of the Word of God.

Q. What else?

A. That others who have learned the essential truths of revelation, as to what they have to believe, and what they have to practise, from their pastors' instructions and their catechisms, have really attained to the knowledge of God's Word, even though they should never have read any portion of the Bible.

Q. Is there any obligation of reading the Scriptures?

A. The Catholic clergy are required to read and pray out of it every day. A more strict obligation of studying both the Written and the Unwritten Word of God lies on the pastors, whose duty it is to inculcate it to the faithful. But there is no such general obligation incumbent on the laity, it being sufficient that they listen to it from their pastors.

Q. Is it lawful for the laity to read the Holy Scriptures?

A. They may read them in the language in which they were written, as likewise in the ancient Vulgate translation, which the Church vouches to be authentic. They may also read them in approved modern versions; but with due submission to the interpretation and authority of the Church.

Q. Have any great evils ensued from an unrestricted reading of the Bible in the vulgar languages by the *unlearned and unstable*?

A. Yes: numberless heresies and impieties; as also many rebellions and civil wars.

Tract 8.

[PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE CATHOLIC INSTITUTE
OF GREAT BRITAIN.]

THE TOUCHSTONE
OF
THE NEW RELIGION;
OR,
SIXTY ASSERTIONS
OF
PROTESTANTS,
TRIED BY THEIR OWN RULE OF SCRIPTURE ALONE, AND CON-
DEMNED BY CLEAR AND EXPRESS TEXTS OF
THEIR OWN BIBLE;
TO WHICH IS ADDED,
The True Principles of a Catholic.

BY THE
V. AND R. R. RICHARD CHALLONER, D.D.V.A.

"To the law and to the testimony: if they speak not according to this word, it is
because there is no light in them."—ISAIAH, viii, 20.



Stereotyped for the Catholic Institute of Great Britain.

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TOUCHSTONE, &c

1. **PROTESTANTS**, in order to justify their new religion, affirm, that before their pretended Reformation, "Laity and clergy, learned and unlearned, all ages, sects and degrees of men, women, and children, of whole *Christendom*—were at once drowned in abominable idolatry;—and that for 800 years and more." (*Homily of the Peril of Idolatry*, approved by the 35th of the 39 Articles, *Part III.*) and consequently they must hold, that for all that space of time, *the gates of hell prevailed against the Church of Christ*,

Their own Bible, in plain and express terms, declares the contrary. St. Matt., xvi. 18 :—"Upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

II. Protestants maintain, that for many hundred years before Luther there was no church upon earth with which a Christian might lawfully join in communion; that all were notoriously gone astray from the purity of the gospel; and consequently that Christ, who is "The way, and the truth and the life" (St. John, xiv. 6), was not with any church before their Reformation, because they were all gone astray from *the way, the truth, and the life*.

Their own Bible expressly assures us, that this could never be. St. Matt., xxviii. 19. 20 :—"Go ye therefore teach all nations: and, lo! I am with you always, even unto the end of the world."

III. Protestants teach that the *Spirit of Truth* was not promised to the Church of Christ, to be with her teachers *for ever*, and to *guide them into all truth*.

Their own Bible, in clear and plain terms, contradicts this their assertion. St. John, xiv. 16. 17 :—"I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you **FOR EVER**, even the **SPIRIT OF TRUTH**." And St. John, xvi. 13 :—"When he, the Spirit of Truth, is come, he will **GUIDE YOU INTO ALL TRUTH**."

IV. Protestants assert, that the church of the Living God is not the *pillar and ground of truth*; but may, and often does, uphold damnable errors.

Their own Bible expressly declares (1 Tim., iii 15), that "the church of the living God" is the "pillar and the ground of the truth;" and consequently cannot uphold damnable errors.

V. Protestants maintain, that God has not made any promise to his church, that *his Spirit* shall never depart from her; and that *his words which he at first put into her mouth*, that is, *the faith* and doctrine at first delivered to the saints, should never depart from her mouth, through all generations.

Their own Bible, in plain terms, delivers this promise. Isaiah, lix. 20, 21 :—"The Redeemer shall come to Zion, &c. This is my covenant with

them, saith the Lord; my Spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever."

VI. Protestants, to justify Luther, (who, when he began to set up the Protestant religion, stood alone, against all the bishops and clergy upon earth) deny, that there is any command in Scripture to *hear the church*, or submit to her decisions; or that such as, like Luther, stand out against the established doctrine of the whole church, are thereby condemnable before God.

Their own Bible, in plain words, teaches them another lesson. St. Matt., xviii. 17:—"If he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man, and a publican."

VII. Protestants will not allow that there is any necessity of adhering to *the pastors and teachers* of the church, in order to be maintained in *unity and truth*; and preserved from being *carried about with every wind of doctrine by the slight* of heresies.

Their Bible expressly declares (Ephes., iv. 11, 12), &c. that Christ has not only given apostles, and prophets, and evangelists; but also "*pastors and teachers*, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ, till we all come in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ, that we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine by the slight of men.... but, speaking the truth in love, may grow up into him in all things which is the head, even Christ." And, St. Luke, x. 16:—"He that heareth you, (*the pastors of the church*) heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me." And, Hebrews, xiii. 7, &c:—"Remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God, whose faith follow:.... Jesus Christ the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever. Be not carried about with diverse and strange doctrines." Ver. 17:—"Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves." If Luther, Calvin, &c., had hearkened to these divine lessons, the Protestant religion would never have had a being.

VIII. Protestants deny, that God has promised that the children of the church should, in all ages, *fear the Lord, and flourish in righteousness and abundance of peace, as long as the sun and moon shall endure*: because they will have it that the whole Christian church, before their Reformation, was fallen from her allegiance to God.

Their own Bible, in plain terms, contradicts this their assertion. Ps. lxxii. 5, 7:—"They shall fear thee as long as the sun and moon endure, throughout all generations.—In his days, (*that is, after the coming of*

Christ), shall the righteous flourish, and abundance of peace, so long as the moon endureth."

IX. Protestants, to justify their revolt from the old church, affirm, that she had revolted from God, and that God Almighty had cast her off.

Their own Bible assures them, that God Almighty has made a solemn oath that this should never be. Isaiah, liv. 9, 10 :—"As I have sworn, that the waters of Noah should no more go over the earth; so have I sworn, that I would not be wroth with thee (*the church*), nor rebuke thee. For the mountains shall depart, and the hills be removed, but my kindness shall not depart from thee, neither shall the covenant of my peace be removed, saith the Lord, that hath mercy on thee." Where it is worthy of notice, that this whole chapter is acknowledged, by the contents prefixed to it in the Protestant Bible, to have been spoken of the *Gentile church*, to which St. Paul himself applies the first verse of it, Gal., iv. 27.

X. Protestants, to justify their revolt from the church, pretend, that God Almighty's *covenant of peace* with his church was not *everlasting*; and that he did not promise that *his sanctuary should be in the midst* of his church *for evermore*.

Their Bible, in plain terms, contradicts both parts of this their assertion, (Ezek., xxxvii. 26), where God Almighty, after having promised by his prophet the coming of Christ, and the establishment of his kingdom, that is, of his church, tells us :—"Moreover I will make a COVENANT OF PEACE with them. It shall be an EVERLASTING COVENANT with them: and I will place them and multiply them, and will SET MY SANCTUARY IN THE MIDST OF THEM FOR EVERMORE."

XI. Protestants deny, that Christ's church upon earth is always visible: because they will have it, that, for many ages before their religion began, there was no true *visible* church upon earth.

Their Bible, in many places, expressly assures us, that Christ's church is always *visible*: comparing it to a *mountain upon the top of mountains*, exposed to the view of *all nations flowing unto it*, Isa., ii. 1, 2, 3, &c., and Micah, iv. 1, 2. *To a great mountain filling the whole earth*, Dan., ii. 35. *To a city set on a hill which cannot be hid*, St. Matt., v. 14.

XII. Protestants maintain, that the whole church of Christ is not in one only society or religion; but that many different sects, divided from each other in faith and communion, may nevertheless all belong to the church of Christ.

Their Bible plainly teaches the contrary, in which our Saviour tells us (St. John, x. 16), "Other sheep I have, which are not of this fold (*viz. the Gentiles, who were then separated from the Jews;*) them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice; and there shall be ONE FOLD, AND ONE SHEPHERD." And St. Paul, Eph., iv. 4, 5 :—"There is ONE

BODY, and ONE SPIRIT, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling one Lord, ONE FAITH, one baptism." Nor indeed is it possible, according to the Scripture, that the church of Christ should subsist, if she were split into many sects, divided from each other in faith and communion:—"For every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation; and every city or house divided against itself shall not stand." St. Matt., xii. 25.

XIII. Protestants commonly teach, that people of all religions may be saved, even Pagans, Jews, or Mahometans, that believe not in Christ, nor receive his gospel.

Their own Bible, in clear and express terms, condemns this error. St. Mark, xvi. 16:—"He that believeth not shall be damned." Acts, iv. 12:—"Neither is there salvation in any other; for there is none other name under heaven given unto men, (*but the name of Jesus*), whereby we must be saved." St. John, iii. 36:—"He that believeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him.

XIV. Protestants teach, that it is not necessary to salvation to embrace the faith and communion of the true church.

Their own Bible teaches the contrary, when it tells us (Acts, iv. 47), "That God added daily to the church such as should be saved." And, Isaiah, lx. 12:—"That the nation and kingdom that will not serve thee (*the church*) shall perish."

XV. Protestants consider it uncharitable to say, that *heresy* is a damnable sin, or that *heretics* are in a state of damnation.

Their own Bible (Gal. v. 20) expressly reckons *heresies* among those sins of which it pronounces, *that they who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God*.

XVI. Protestants are of opinion, that no man shall be damned for following a wrong religion, if he really judges it to be right; whether he have taken sufficient pains to inform himself of the truth or no.

Their own Bible expressly tells them (Prov. xvi. 25). "There is a way that *seemeth right* unto a man; but the end thereof are the ways of death."

XVII. Protestants, to justify their notions of salvation in any religion, falsify the Scripture, by forging a text, no where to be found, even in their own Bible, viz. "That a remnant of all shall be saved."

Their own Bible loudly condemns this forgery. Rev., xxii. 18, 19 "I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, if any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book: and if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life," &c.

XVIII. Protestants will have the trial of spirits to be made only by the *written word*, and not by the *living voice* of the pastors of the church, or by adhering to them or their authority.

Their Bible prescribes a different rule. 1 John, iv. 6 :—" He that knoweth God, heareth us (*the pastors of the church*); he that is not of God, heareth not us: hereby know we the spirit of truth and the spirit of error.

XIX. Protestants reject *unwritten traditions*.

And yet their Bible expressly recommends them. 2 Thess., ii. 15 :—" Brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word or our epistle."

XX. Protestants take for their rule of faith *the Scripture, as interpreted by their own private judgment*.

Although their Bible tells them, 2 Pet., i. 20 :—" That no prophecy of the Scripture is of any private interpretation."

XXI. Protestants maintain that the Scripture is clear and plain to be understood; and that the unlearned run no risk in reading and interpreting it.

Whereas their Bible assures them (2 Pet., iii. 16), that in the Scripture "are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest unto their own destruction."

XXII. Most Protestants are of opinion, that children may be saved without baptism; and that persons grown up may be saved, though they neither are baptized, nor desire to be baptized; but even refuse it, as Quakers do.

Notwithstanding their Bible tells them in plain terms, St. John, iii. 5 :—" Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."

XXIII. Protestants deny that the grace of the Holy Ghost is given by the imposition of the bishop's hands in *confirmation*.

Their Bible teaches that it is; Acts, viii. 15, 17, where Peter and John confirmed the Samaritans :—" They prayed for them, that they might receive the Holy Ghost.... Then laid they their hands on them, and they received the Holy Ghost."

XXIV. Protestants deny that the blessed sacrament, which Christ gave at his last supper, was the *body and blood* of Christ.

Their Bible affirms it, in Christ's own express words, Matt., xxvi. 26, 28 :—" This is my body.... This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins." Luke, xxii. 19, 20 :—" This is my body which is given for you. This cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you." See also, to the same effect, Mark, xiv. 22, 24; and 1 Cor., xi. 24, 25.

XXV. Protestants deny, that the *bread which Christ gave was his flesh*, the same *which he gave for the life of the world*.

Their Bible affirms it, John, vi. 51 :—" The bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world."

XXVI. Protestants are apt to say, with the unbelieving Jews, John, vi. 52 : " How can this man give us his flesh to eat?" and, ver. 60 :—" This is a hard saying, and who can bear it?"

Christ, in their own Bible, assures them (John, vi. 53, 54, 56), "Verily verily, I say unto you, except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood dwelleth in me, and I in him."

XXVII. Protestants deny that *Christ's flesh is meat indeed, and his blood drink indeed.*

Their Bible expressly affirms it, John, vi. 55 :—"My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed."

XXVIII. Protestants deny that *the cup of blessing which we bless, is the communion of the blood of Christ: or that the bread which we break in the blessed sacrament is the communion of the body of Christ.*

Their Bible expressly affirms it, 1 Cor., x. 16 :—"The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" And what makes them the more inexcusable in denying it is, that their own Catechism teaches them, in plain terms, that "The body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper."

XXIX. Protestants teach, that to the unworthy *communicant* the sacrament is no more than mere bread and wine, and by no means the body and blood of Christ.

Their Bible assures them of the contrary, when it tells them (1 Cor., xi. 27, 29), that the unworthy communicant "is guilty of the body and blood of the Lord," and that he receives "damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body." For how shall he be "guilty of the body and blood of the Lord," if what he took were no more than *bread and wine*? And how hard a case would it be, that he should be damned for not discerning the *body of our Lord*, which, in the opinion of these gentlemen, is not at all there.

XXX. Protestants, to excuse their unbelief of the *Real Presence* of the body and blood of Christ in the blessed sacrament, pretend that it is impossible his body and blood should be in so small a space, or in more places than one at the same time.

Their Bible assures them that "with God all things are possible" (Matt., xix., 26), even for a camel to go through the eye of a needle." (ver. 24.) "With men it is impossible (says our Saviour), but not with God; for with God all things are possible." (Mark, x. 27.) Nor is it harder with God for one body to be at once in two places than for two bodies to be in one place, as when our Saviour came in to his disciples, *the doors being shut.* John, xx. 19, 26.

XXXI. Protestants maintain, that there is a necessity of receiving *in both kinds*, in order to everlasting life.

Their own Bible expressly promises eternal life to them that receive in

one kind only, John, vi. 58 :—"He that eateth of this bread shall live for ever." And, ver. 57 :—"He that eateth me, even he shall live by me."

XXXII. Protestants deny that there is any true and proper *sacrifice* in the church of Christ, to be offered *in all places in the name of God*.

Their Bible affirms it (Mal., i. 10, 11), where, rejecting the Jewish sacrifices, God declares his acceptance of this sacrifice, or *pure offering*, which should be made to him *in every place among the Gentiles*. "I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord of Hosts, neither will I accept an offering at your hand. For, from the rising of the sun even to the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the *Gentiles*, and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name and a pure offering." Which cannot be understood of the sacrifice of the cross, which was offered but once, and in one place, and that among the Jews, not among the Gentiles.

XXXIII. Protestants deny, that the pastors of the Church have received from Christ the power of *remitting* or *retaining* sins, according to the state and disposition of the penitent.

Their Bible expressly affirms it (John, xx. 21, 22, 23), where Christ tells his disciples: "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained." Hence their *Common Prayer-book* expressly acknowledges, in the *form of absolution*, prescribed in the order for the visitation of the sick, that *our Lord Jesus Christ has left power to his Church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in him*.

XXXIV. Protestants deny, that a special confession of sins is practised in Scripture, or was practised by the primitive Christians in the apostles' time.

Their Bible confutes both these assertions: the former (James, v. 16), "Confess your faults one to another;" that is, to the priests or *elders of the church*, of whom the apostle speaks in the foregoing verses. The latter (Acts, xix. 18), "Many that believed came and confessed, and shewed their deeds."

XXXV. Protestants deny, that the church has received a power from Christ to grant *indulgence* or *pardons*, for releasing of the punishment due to sin.

Their Bible affirms that she has, Matt., xvi. 19 :—"I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven." Hence St. Paul (2 Cor., ii. 10), granted an *indulgence* to the incestuous Corinthian, *forgiving him*, as he expresses it, *in the person of Christ*.

XXXVI. Protestants reject *extreme unction*, viz. the anointing of the sick; and deny that there is any promise of grace in Scripture to those that receive it.

Their Bible, in plain terms, recommends this sacrament, with a promise of grace to such as receive it. St. James, v. 14, 15 :—"Is any sick among you, let him call for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord; and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him."

XXXVII. Protestants deny, that there is any grace given by the imposition, or *laying on* of the bishop's hands, in *holy orders*.

Their Bible declares that there is, in the words of St. Paul to Timothy, whom he had ordained (2 Tim., i. 6), "Stir up the gift of God which is in thee, by the putting on of my hands."

XXXVIII. Protestants commonly teach, that priests, and other religious persons that have vowed continency, may nevertheless marry, as Luther and the first reformers did; and that it is not *damnable* to them to break their *faith* given to God.

Their Bible tells them, that to break such a vow made to God is sinful and damnable. Deut., xxiii. 21, 22, 23 :—"When thou shalt vow a vow unto the Lord thy God, thou shalt not slack to pay it; for the Lord thy God will surely require it of thee, and it would be sin in thee. But, if thou shalt forbear to vow, it shall be no sin in thee. That which is gone out of thy lips, thou shalt keep and perform." And (1 Tim., v. 11, 12), where St. Paul, speaking of widows that are for marrying after having made such a vow, says, They have "damnation, because they have cast off their first faith."

XXXIX. Protestants reprehend the Catholic church for receiving none to holy orders but those that voluntarily embrace and promise a life of continency, that they may the more wholly devote themselves to the service of God, free from the distractions of a married life.

Their Bible, on the contrary, gives us to understand, that this is highly commendable; because, "He that is unmarried, careth for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please the Lord. But he that is married, careth for the things that are of the world, how he may please his wife." 1 Cor., vii. 32, 33.

XL. Protestants will not allow, that *water*, or other creatures of God, may be *sanctified*, or made *holy*, by the prayers of the church.

Their Bible assures them they may. "For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving. For it is SANCTIFIED by the word of God and PRAYER." 1 Tim., iv. 4, 5.

XLI. Protestants teach, in the eleventh of their thirty-nine articles, that *we are justified by faith alone*.

Their Bible expressly teaches the contrary, St. James, ii. 24 :—"You see, then, how that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only." 1 Cor., xiii. 2 :—"Though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing."

XLII. Many Protestants maintain, that the faith, by which we are justified, is to believe with an infallible assurance that we are justified, and that we are of the number of the predestinate.

Their Bible expressly teaches the contrary, when it admonishes us (Philip, ii. 12), to "work out our salvation with fear and trembling." And when St. Paul tells us, (1 Cor., ix. 27), of himself, "that he kept under his body, and brought it into subjection, lest, having preached to others, he himself should be a cast-away." Can these people pretend to be more secure than St. Paul?

XLIII. Many Protestants maintain that the commandments of God are impossible, and that no man ever kept them all.

Their Bible confutes this assertion, by the example of Zacharias and Elizabeth, of whom we read (St. Luke, i. 6), "They were both righteous before God, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless."

XLIV. Many Protestants maintain that God has not a sincere will for the salvation of all men, but only for the elect; and that Christ did not die for all.

Their Bible, in express words, confutes this error, when it tells us (1 Tim., ii. 3, 4), That "God our Saviour will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth;" and (ver. 6), that Christ "gave himself a ransom for all." And (2 Pet., iii. 9), that God is "not willing that any should perish, but all should come to repentance." And (1 St. John, ii. 2), that Christ "is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world."

XLV. Protestants will have it that there is no middle place, or middle state of souls, after this life; but that all go straight, either to heaven or to hell.

Their Bible teaches the contrary (1 St. Pet., iii. 18, 19, 20), where, *Christ being put to death in the flesh*, is said, *by the Spirit, to have gone and preached to the spirits in prison, which sometime were disobedient, &c.*, which *prison* cannot be understood either of heaven, or of the hell of the damned; for Christ certainly did not go to preach there, and therefore it must be a middle place.

XLVI. Protestants will have it, that there is no *forgiveness of any sins in the world to come*.

Their Bible declares the contrary (St. Matt., xii. 32), where we read that the sin against the Holy Ghost *shall not be forgiven* a man, *neither in this world, neither in the world to come*. Which words evidently imply, that some sins may be forgiven in the world to come; though that particular kind of sin be excepted from this number. Hence follows a middle place, which we call *purgatory*; because in hell there is no forgiveness, and in heaven no sin.

XLVII. Protestants will not allow, that minute sins, in which the servants of God chance to die, will hinder them from going straight

to heaven, or make them liable to punishment from the justice of God.

Their Bible, on the contrary, teaches (Rev. xxi 27), speaking of the heavenly *Jerusalem*, that *there shall in no wise enter thither any thing that defileth*: now every sin, be it never so small, certainly *defileth*. Hence we learn from St. Matt., xii. 36, that we shall be *accountable*, and consequently punishable, *for every idle word*: and from many other texts we learn, that *God will render to every man according to his works*; and, consequently, will punish all the evil works, though never so minute, in which a person dies without repentance.

XLVIII. Protestants condemn the honour and veneration of angels.

Their Bible assures them, that God has given his angels charge over us, and consequently expects that we should honour them as his *ministers* and our *guardians*. Ps. xci. 11, 12:—"He shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways: they shall bear thee up in their hands, lest thou dash thy foot against a stone." St. Matt., xviii. 10—"Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones, for I say unto you, that in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven." Exod., xxiii. 20, 21:—"Behold I send an angel before thee, to keep thee in the way, and to bring thee into the place which I have prepared: beware of him, and obey his voice; provoke him not, ... for my name is in him." Hence we read in their Bible (Joshua, v. 14, 15), that Joshua paid veneration to an angel, by *falling on his face to the earth, &c.*

XLIX. Protestants deny that it is lawful to *make supplication to an angel*.

Their Bible assures them that Jacob did it. Hosea, xii. 4:—"He had power over the angel, and prevailed; he wept, and made supplication unto him."

L. Protestants condemn the invocation of angels as idolatrous and superstitious.

Their Bible recommends it by the example of God's servants, both in the *Old* and *New Testament*. Gen., xlviii. 15, 16:—"God, before whom my fathers, Abraham and Isaac, did walk, the God which fed me all my life long until this day, the angel which redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads;" and, Rev., i. 4:—"Grace be unto you, and peace from him, which is, and which was, and which is to come, and from the seven spirits which are before his throne."

LI. Protestants deny that the saints departed have received any power from God over us, which may entitle us to have recourse to their prayers and assistance.

Their Bible teaches that they have received this power. Rev., ii. 26, 27:—"He that overcometh and keepeth my word unto the end, as all the saints have done, to him will I give power over the nations, and he shall rule them,—even as I received of my Father."

LII. Protestants are not willing to own that the angels and saints make intercession for us, or offer up our prayers to God.

Their Bible declares that they do. Zech., i. 12:—"The angel of the Lord answered and said: O Lord of Hosts, how long wilt thou not have mercy on Jerusalem, and on the cities of Judah, against which thou hast had indignation these threescore and ten years." Rev., v. 8:—"The four and twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints." And Rev., viii. 4:—"The smoke of the incense, with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God, out of the angel's hand."

LIII. Protestants are not willing to own that the departed saints may receive us into everlasting habitations.

Their Bible expressly affirms it. St. Luke, xvi. 9:—"Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, that, when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations."

LIV. Protestants deny that the angels and saints know what passes among us; though they are ready enough to own, that the devils know our works, and hear the petitions of their impious invokers.

Their Bible declares, St. Luke, xv. 10:—*That there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth*; which could not be, if they did not know what passes amongst us: and how can any one imagine, that they, who see God *face to face, and know even as they are known* (1 Cor., xiii. 12.), that they, I say, who enjoy the *light of glory*, can be more ignorant of what passes amongst us than the devils, who have no more than the *light of nature*?

LV. Protestants generally are not willing to acknowledge that there is any particular respect due to the Blessed Virgin Mary; or that she is any more than any other woman.

Their Bible plainly signifies that there is: in which she is declared by the angel Gabriel, and by Elizabeth, inspired by the Holy Ghost, *Blessed among women* (St. Luke, i. 28 and 42); and that *all generations shall call her blessed*, (verse 48.) *And whence is this to me*, says the same St. Elizabeth (verse 43), *that the mother of my Lord should come to me*?

LVI. Protestants believe that it is a dishonour to God, and reflecting upon his mercy, to have recourse to the prayers of his saints.

Their Bible demonstrates that God is pleased that we should have recourse to their prayers, and will more readily hear them, than if we were only to pray for ourselves. *Go to my servant Job*, says God Almighty (Job, xlii. 8) to Eliphaz and his friends, *and my servant Job shall pray for you, for him will I accept; lest I deal with you after your folly, in that you have not spoken of me the thing that is right, &c.*

LVII. Protestants deny that God is pleased to work miracles by the bones or other relics of his saints

The contrary appears from their Bible, when we read (2 Kings, xiii 21) of a dead man raised to life by the bones of the prophet Elisha; and (Acts, xix. 12), that *from the body of Paul were brought unto the sick handkerchiefs or aprons, and the diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went out of them.*

LVIII. Many Protestants deny that it is lawful to have images in churches

Their Bible expressly declares, that God commanded Moses to make two cherubims, or images of angels, and place them at the two ends of the mercy seat, over the ark of the covenant, in the very sanctuary itself, or holy of holies, (Exod., xxv. 18, 19, 20, 21.) "And there," says he, (verse 22) "will I meet with thee, and I will commune with thee from above the mercy seat, from between the two cherubims, which are upon the ark of the testimony, of all things which I will give thee in commandment unto the children of Israel."

LIX. Protestants deny the supremacy of St. Peter; that is, they deny that he was made by Christ the *rock* or foundation, or the chief *governor* and chief *pastor* of his Church.

Their Bible affirms it, Matt., xvi. 18, 19:—"Thou art Peter, (that is, thou art a rock,) and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven." Where our Lord, under the metaphor of the *keys*, declares his making Peter the chief *governor* of his Church; as when the keys of a city are delivered to a man, he is made ruler or governor of the city. And that St Peter was made chief *pastor* or *shepherd* of the whole flock of Christ, is evident from St. John, xxi. 15, &c., where our Lord, after having asked him, *Dost thou love me more than these?* thrice committed to his care all his *lambs*, and all his *sheep*, that is, his whole Church.

LX. Protestants will have it, that the Pope or Bishop of Rome is *Antichrist*.

The contrary is evident from their Bible (2 Thess., ii. 4), where it is said of Antichrist, the man of sin, that he *opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God* No Pope ever did this. *Item* (1 John, ii. 22), where it is said that Antichrist *denied that Jesus is the Christ*: which the Pope confesseth and maintaineth; and, therefore, cannot be *Antichrist*.

Many more articles might be alleged, in which the doctrine or practice of Protestants is condemned by their own Bible; but these sixty points are more than sufficient to convince all sincere lovers and seekers of the truth, that the Word of God is on the Catholic side.

THE TRUE PRINCIPLES OF A CATHOLIC.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1780.

1. **WE** believe in one only true and living God, the Lord and Creator of all things : subsisting in three persons, Father, Son and Holy Ghost. To this God alone we give divine honour and adoration : and we detest, with our whole souls, all kind of idolatry ; that is, all such wickedness, by which divine worship is given to any false God, or idol, or any person or thing whatsoever, besides the one true and living God. We honour indeed the Blessed Virgin, the mother of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ, but not as a goddess, nor with any part of divine worship. We honour the angels and saints of God, as his servants. We honour his priests—his churches—his altars—his word—and, in a word, whatever else has relation to him ; but all for his sake, and by an honour that is referred to him, but not with that honour which he has appropriated to himself. Such also is the veneration we have for the cross—for relics—for the pictures of our Redeemer, and his saints : we value them as memorials of Christ and his holy ones ; as representations of our Redeemer, or of our redemption ; as helps to pious thoughts and affections ; but we condemn and anathematize all such as would pray to them, or believe any divinity or power inherent in them, or give them divine worship. *See the Second Council of Nice, Act 7 ; and the Council of Trent, Sess 25.*

2dly. We believe in one Lord Jesus Christ, the eternal Son of God ; who, for us sinners and for our salvation, was made man, that he might be the Head, the High-Priest, the Advocate and Saviour of all mankind. We acknowledge him our only Redeemer, who paid our ransom by dying for us on the cross ; that his death is the fountain of all our good ; and that mercy, grace and salvation can by no means be obtained but through him. We confess him to be the Mediator of God and man, the only Mediator of redemption, and the only Mediator of intercession too : who intercedes in such manner as to stand in need of no other merits to recommend his petitions. But as for the saints, although we address ourselves to them, and desire their prayers, as we do also to God's servants here upon earth, yet we mean no otherwise than that they would pray for us, and with us, to our common Lord, who is our God and their God, through the merits of the same Jesus

Christ, who is our Mediator and their Mediator. *See the Council of Trent, Sess. 25.*

3dly. We believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the word of God: we have the highest veneration for their divine authority, and had rather die than disbelieve or doubt of one iota or tittle of them; and if at any time, or in any place, the pastors of our church have restrained the ignorant from reading them, it was not out of disrespect to these sacred volumes, much less out of a sacrilegious design, to keep the people by that means in ignorance and error; but purely because the unlearned, as the Scriptures themselves inform us, are apt to wrest them to their own destruction, (2 Pet., iii. 16.) And if we also receive unwritten traditions, as part of the word of God, we mean no other traditions but such as are divine, and which we believe to be divine, by the same authority by which we believe the Scriptures.

4thly. We believe that, in order to enter into life, we must keep the commandments of God; and that whosoever dies in the guilt of a wilful breach of any one of these divine precepts, will be lost eternally. That no power upon earth can authorize a man to break the commandments of God, or commit sin, or do any evil whatsoever, that good may come of it. That neither the pope, nor any man living, can dispense with the law of God, or make it lawful to lie, or forswear himself, or do any other thing that is forbidden in the Divine Law.

5thly. We believe that neither priest, bishop, nor pope, nor any power in heaven or earth, can forgive any man his sins, without a hearty repentance, and a serious purpose of amendment. That the indulgences granted in our church are neither dispensations to commit sin, nor pardon for sins to come, but only a remission of the temporal punishment due to our sins; and that no indulgences can avail any man towards this remission, until, by a hearty repentance, he has renounced the guilt of his sins.

6thly. Our faith teaches us to detest all massacres, treasons and murders whatsoever, whether committed by Protestants against Catholics, or by Catholics against Protestants. We look upon these as the very greatest of crimes that can be committed betwixt man and man, and such as cannot be justified by any pretext of religion. And so far are Catholics from thinking it lawful to murder heretics, that, in all kingdoms and states which profess the Catholic religion, such murderer of heretics must certainly expect nothing less than death by the laws of his country, and damnation, if he dies impenitent, by the faith and doctrine of his church.

7thly. As to the Blessed Eucharist, we believe it to be both a Sacrament and a Sacrifice. In this Sacrament and Sacrifice we adore not the bread and wine, which would indeed be a most stupid idolatry; but Jesus Christ, the Son of God, whom, upon the strongest grounds of the

word of God and authority of his church, we believe to be really present in the sacred mysteries. And it is to his passion and death, which we there celebrate and offer to God, we attribute all that propitiation and grace which we look for from that Sacrifice which we call the Mass.

8thly. In fine, we believe that no man can be justified, either by the works of the law of nature or of the law of Moses, without faith in Jesus Christ. That we cannot, by any precedent works, merit the grace of justification. That all the merit of our good works is the gift of God: and that every merit and satisfaction of ours entirely depends on the merits and passion of Christ. *See Council of Trent, Sess. 6.*

These are our real principles, taught by our church in her councils, and learnt by her children in their very catechisms. These true Catholic principles we are ready not only to sign with our hands, but, if called to it and assisted by divine grace, to seal also with our blood. We renounce, detest, and anathematize all contrary doctrines imputed to us by the father of lies, or any of his agents; who are, and always have been busy to misrepresent and slander the church of God. But what wonder? Christ our Lord was thus treated: so were the primitive Christians: and he himself foretold, his disciples should be treated in the same manner, (Matt., ix.) As to the private opinions, or practices of particulars, if in any thing they have been contrary to these Catholic principles, the church is no ways answerable for them. There was a Judas among the twelve. Let such criminals answer for themselves: we detest their doings, and daily pray that such scandals may be removed. But, alas! as long as men are men, scandals there will be, until the great Judge comes to rid his kingdom of them, and send them to their proper place.

FINIS.

Tract 9.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE CATHOLIC INSTITUTE
OF GREAT BRITAIN.]

THE
TRUE PRINCIPLES
OF
A CATHOLIC

BY THE

V. AND R. R. RICHARD CHALLONER, D.D. V.A
"



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SIXTY REASONS,

&c. &c.

1. BECAUSE the Catholic religion, commonly nicknamed "Popery" by its adversaries, had been professed and believed in by the Christian world 1500 years and upwards before Protestantism had an existence.

2. BECAUSE it is admitted on all hands, even by its bitterest enemies, that the Catholic religion was founded by JESUS CHRIST and his apostles, though alleged falsely that it became corrupt.

3. BECAUSE, even supposing that no direct promise had been given by its Divine Founder that he would preserve HIS Church from error, it would be an impeachment of the wisdom of GOD to say that a fabric which HE HIMSELF had raised upon the foundations of the Prophets and Apostles, and of which JESUS CHRIST HIMSELF was the chief cornerstone, was of so frail a nature as to fall into dilapidation, so as to stand in need of *human* repairs.

4. BECAUSE Christ declared that he would build His Church upon a rock, and promised that the gates of hell (heresy and schism) should not prevail against her. *St. Matt.*, xvi. 18.

5. BECAUSE, in commissioning his Apostles "to teach all nations," he further promised to be with them ALL DAYS even to the consummation of the world (*St. Matt.*, xxviii. 19, 20); thus solemnly declaring that HE never would desert His Church, or permit her to fall into error.

6. BECAUSE, to remove every possibility of doubt from the minds of his followers of HIS perpetual care over HIS Church, our SAVIOUR besought HIS ETERNAL FATHER to send the HOLY GHOST to abide with his apostles and their successors *for ever*; and HE declared that *the HOLY GHOST, whom the Father would send in his name, would teach them all things, and bring all things to their mind, whatsoever he had said to them.* *St. John*, xiv. 16, 26.

7. BECAUSE St. Paul calls the Church, *of which CHRIST is the head* (*Col.*, i. 18—*Ephes.*, v. 23), and *for which he delivered himself up that he might sanctify it, and make it a glorious Church, without spot or wrinkle, holy and without blemish* (*Ephes.*, v. 25, 26, 27), the PILAR AND GROUND OF TRUTH (*1 Tim.*, iii. 15), which it never could be if subject to error.

8. BECAUSE, to secure unity in HIS Church, and that the world might believe in HIS divine mission, JESUS CHRIST prayed to HIS HEAVENLY FATHER for HIS apostles, and *for all who through their word should believe in his name, that they might be ONE even as HE and HIS FATHER were one* (*St. John*, xvii. 20, 21); a prayer which could not have been heard if the Church has fallen into error.

9. BECAUSE, to preserve this unity in HIS Church, and to prevent HIS followers from being *tossed to and fro and carried about by every wind of doctrine*, CHRIST placed over it apostles, prophets, evangelists pastors, and doctors. (*Ephes.*, iv. 11, 14.)

10. BECAUSE the promises made by CHRIST to HIS Church are not conditional, but absolute, not depending on the good or bad actions of men, but resting solely on the will of God.

11. BECAUSE, however immoral the lives of some of its professed members, and a few of the clergy of the Catholic Church (for no man is impeccable) may have been; however relaxed Church discipline may have become, and however great may have been the *abuses* which may have crept in (points which have been grossly exaggerated), the *faith* of the Church ever remained the same, unchanged because unchangeable.

12. BECAUSE the persons, commonly called Reformers, had no commission or authority from GOD to intermeddle in the affairs of HIS Church.

13. BECAUSE the founders of the Protestant religion were men who led licentious lives; some of the leaders amongst them having violated the oaths which they had solemnly taken to lead a life of celibacy and chastity.

14. BECAUSE the starting principle of the Reformation so-called—the assumed right of private judgment in matters of faith—is subversive of the authority which CHRIST established in HIS Church, and is, moreover, in direct opposition to HIS command to “HEAR THE CHURCH.”

15. BECAUSE, by rejecting the authority and testimony of the Church, and appealing to the Scriptures as the only rule of faith, Protestants assume the inspiration of the Scriptures, which inspiration can only be proved by the authority and testimony which they reject.

16. BECAUSE the making the Bible the only rule of faith necessarily implies that no man can have any faith or adopt any system of religious belief till he has read the Bible, which principle, if pushed to its legitimate conclusion evidently makes every Protestant a sceptic until he has drawn up his religious code from *his own* perusal of the sacred volume.

17. BECAUSE the generality of Protestants do not adopt this rule, as is evident from the fact that most of them live and die in that religion in which they were brought up and educated.

18. BECAUSE many Protestants believe several doctrines which are not to be found expressly in Scripture; such as infant baptism, the abrogation of the Jewish Sabbath, and the observance of the Sunday; and reject some practices which seem to be commanded in Scripture, as the washing of feet, &c., and follow others which appear to be expressly prohibited, such as eating of blood and things strangled.

19. BECAUSE, amongst Protestants, there is no judge of controversies, every Protestant deeming himself a judge in his own cause.

20. BECAUSE the appeal made by Protestants to the Bible is neither more nor less than an appeal to each one's private judgment, against the judgment of all mankind.

21. BECAUSE the Protestant doctrines have been condemned by the Catholic Church in her last General Council.

22. BECAUSE Protestantism is a changeable system, and, therefore, cannot be true, as truth is unchangeable.

23. BECAUSE Protestantism is divided into a multitude of conflicting sects, thus clearly demonstrating that private judgment, as a principle of unity, is a mere delusion.

24. BECAUSE it is declared by St. Peter that no *prophecy of Scripture is of private interpretation* (2 St. Peter, i. 20); and because the same inspired writer informs us that there are many things in Scripture hard to be understood, *which the unlearned and unstable wrest to their own destruction.* (2 St. Peter, iii. 16.)

25. BECAUSE the pastors of God's Church, duly ordained and succeeding to the apostles, are the only authorized interpreters of his word.

26. BECAUSE the doctrines of Christianity are not matters of *opinion*, but *facts*, to which *facts* the Universal Church and the Scriptures bear testimony.

27. BECAUSE the Bible is not the *sole* and *only* rule of faith. For, 1^o. It nowhere says that it is. 2^o. It could not have been the primitive rule of Christianity, as the New Testament was not written till long after the Christian religion was established. 3^o. Many nations have been converted to the faith of CHRIST without having even seen the Bible. 4^o. It could not be acted upon as a rule even by a small portion of the Christian world before the invention of printing, now only 400 years old, since the Scriptures while in manuscript alone were not easily accessible. 5^o. It cannot be a rule to those who are unable to read. 6^o. Even amongst those who can read and sit in judgment upon the meaning of its contents, the greatest differences exist on points of doctrine.

28. BECAUSE the whole revealed word of GOD was not written, but part thereof has been handed down traditionally by the Church, to which traditions St. Paul evidently alludes. (1 Cor., xi. 2; 2 Thess. ii. 14, iii. 6; 2 Tim., i. 13, ii. 2, iii. 14.)

29. BECAUSE all the doctrines of Christianity were taught and believed by Christians before a single word of the New Testament was written.

30. BECAUSE all the doctrines held by the Catholic Church and

objected to by Protestants have been always taught and believed by the Church from the time of its establishment by Jesus Christ and his apostles.

31. **BECAUSE** all the doctrines peculiar to Protestantism are either old heresies which had been previously condemned by the Church, or novelties unknown to the Christian world for upwards of fifteen hundred years.

32. **BECAUSE** none of the Protestant Churches have the marks mentioned in the Scriptures as appertaining solely to the Church of Christ, viz., unity, holiness, catholicity, and apostolicity.

33. **BECAUSE**, whereas no two Protestant sects are alike in doctrine, the Catholic Church, throughout the world, professes and believes one and the same faith. In England the Church established by law teaches one thing; in Scotland the Church *there* established by law teaches another and an opposite doctrine; the Methodist differs from the Protestant Episcopalian as well as from the Presbyterian; the Baptist and Friend from each other, and from all the rest. But these disagreements are not confined to opposing sects. The Church of England has never been one within herself, and the breach amongst her clergy and her members is getting wider and wider every day.

34. **BECAUSE**, whilst holiness has ever been the peculiar characteristic of the Catholic Church, as is demonstrated by the lives of her martyrs, her recluses, and her saints, and the many means of grace which she holds out to her children, Protestantism has no claim to this mark of the true Church, either on the score of the lives of its founders, who were immoral and proud men, or the inducements which it holds out to its followers to lead pious lives.

35. **BECAUSE**, whilst the Catholic Church is Catholic as to time having existed since CHRIST; Catholic as to space, being spread over the whole world; and Catholic as to doctrine, believing as she now believes, and has always believed ALL the doctrines taught by CHRIST and HIS apostles; the various sects of Protestantism have not the slightest claim to this mark of the true Church. For, 1st. The oldest of them have existed little more than three hundred years: they are consequently not Catholic as to *time*. 2nd. They exist individualized and apart, a portion or sect being generally confined to one kingdom, or at most, thinly scattered over a few states: they are therefore not Catholic as to *space*. 3rd. They do not believe all the doctrines of Christianity, for they have one and all repudiated many of the doctrines taught and believed by the Catholic Church. It is true that the established Church of England approximates nearer to the Catholic Church (of which she vainly supposes herself a branch) than most of the other sects; but she too rejects many of the dogmas of Catholic Christianity. The Protestant sects are consequently not Catholic in *doctrine*.

36. BECAUSE, whilst the most learned Protestants have admitted the Apostolicity of the Catholic Church, it is perfectly evident that the mark in question is wanting in the Protestant Churches, who have a succession neither of *orders* nor *doctrine*. The Church of England does indeed lay claim to the apostolical succession, but the Catholic Church repudiates her claim, and the Church of England having separated herself from the fold of unity, and created a *new communion*, is precisely in the same situation as the other sects as to this point.

37. BECAUSE, to use the words of Chillingworth, in his "Motives or Reasons for Renouncing the Protestant Religion and Embracing the Catholic Faith," (for which see Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, Bliss's edition, Vol. III., Coll. 86) "perpetual visible succession, which could never be wanting to the religion of Christ, nor any part of it, is wanting to the Protestant religion, so far as concerns the points in contestation."

38. BECAUSE, whilst the Church is declared to be infallible in her doctrine, the Protestant Churches not only lay no claim to infallibility, but repudiate it, and admit that they may err.

39. BECAUSE, by admitting *fallibility* as a principle, no man can have any assurance that what these churches teach may be true.

40. BECAUSE, although the Protestant Churches speculatively repudiate infallibility in themselves, they practically proceed or act as if they were infallible, by condemning those of their members who find it necessary to dissent from their doctrines.

41. BECAUSE, whilst acting thus inconsistently, it is a maxim amongst some of them, that every individual, however ignorant, is obliged to believe that he understands the Scriptures better than all the rest of the Church, as was demonstrated by Bossuet in his celebrated discussion with Claude.

42. BECAUSE the plea maintained by some Protestants, that a man must freely exercise his judgment to understand the Scriptures, *before* he can be convinced from their testimony, that there is an infallible Church, however well founded in the case of the Protestant, is wholly inapplicable to that of the Catholic, who believes the doctrine of the Church's infallibility.

43. BECAUSE the Scriptures, as a *historical narrative* of the life and actions of Jesus Christ, prove HIM to have founded a Church as the infallible guide of man in matters of faith and morality.

44. BECAUSE, whilst the *historical* truth of the Scriptures may be demonstrated by *human testimony*, their *inspiration as the word of God* cannot possibly be established on any other testimony than that of the Church, whose infallibility they prove by the promises of Jesus Christ, of which promises they are the *historical record*.

5. **BECAUSE** in this mode of reasoning, there is no vicious circle, as maintained by Protestants, as the historical truth of the Scriptures being by them admitted, they must allow that Christ established on earth a teaching authority or Church, without whose testimony it is impossible to prove the inspiration of the Scriptures: which inspiration stands as a separate and distinct proposition from historical truth, as is evident from the fact, that a narrative may be true, without being an inspired composition.

46. **BECAUSE** in the Catholic Church alone have the prophecies of Scripture, respecting the conversion of kings and nations to the religion of **JESUS CHRIST**, been fulfilled.

47. **BECAUSE** the ancient Britons were first converted to Christianity in the second century by missionaries from Rome, sent by Pope Eleutherius, whose faith was the same as that of the present Pope, Gregory XVI.

48. **BECAUSE** the Pagan Anglo-Saxons were first converted to Christianity by St. Augustine the Monk, sent from Rome, by another Pope, viz., St. Gregory the Great, towards the end of the sixth century, and through whom the Clergy of the Established-Church of England pretend to derive their orders.

49. **BECAUSE** the same doctrines were professed, taught, and believed by these Missionaries, and the Popes who sent them, as are professed taught and believed by all the Catholics throughout the world at the present day.

50. **BECAUSE** the Protestant Missionaries have not been able to convert a single nation to even a mere profession of Christianity.

51. **BECAUSE** the experience of three hundred years has fully demonstrated, that unity, one of the four great marks of the Church of **CHRIST**, can never be looked for amongst Protestants.

52. **BECAUSE**, whilst the Catholic religion is a regular and well defined system of doctrine and morals, Protestantism is, to borrow an expression of Edmund Burke in one of his letters to Dr. Lawrence, "no description of a religion at all, or of any principle, religious, moral or political, but is a mere negation."

53. **BECAUSE** the early Protestants *separated* themselves from the Catholic Church, thus manifesting themselves to be those *Antichrists*, those *sensual men not having the spirit*, alluded to by the Apostles, (1 *St. John* ii. 18; *St. Jude*, v. 19.)

54. **BECAUSE** the Catholic Church never separated herself from any other communion, which separation were indeed an impossibility, seeing that she alone existed before every sect claiming kindred with Christianity.

55. **BECAUSE** all the doctrines of the Catholic Church have been pro-

fessed and believed by the various sects collectively which have at different times separated from her communion.

56. BECAUSE Luther, the founder of the Reformation so-called, has informed us in his book *De Missa Privata* that his chief arguments against the Mass were suggested to him by the devil.

57. BECAUSE, in all the points controverted between Catholics and Protestants, the former have Scripture, antiquity, and all the ancient Fathers on their side.

58. BECAUSE the best and most learned amongst the Protestant theologians admit the Church in communion with the See of Rome, or the Catholic Church, to be true. For instance, the "judicious" Hooker, in his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, acknowledges the Church of Rome "to be of the family of Jesus Christ." Bishop White, another Protestant divine, in his *Defence of his Way*, says that "he never doubted the Church of Rome to be the visible Church of God, wherein our ancestors did profess the true faith, and were saved." And Dr. Barrow admits that the most learned Protestants have owned the Church of Rome to be the Church of Christ.

59. BECAUSE, in all my researches amongst Protestant controvertists, I have never found any of them represent the tenets of the Catholic Church fairly; but, by evasions and calumnies, seek to withdraw attention from the real questions at issue.

60. BECAUSE, in whatever point of view the differences between the Catholic Church and her adversaries are looked at by unprejudiced minds; when the immutability and perpetual visibility of the former are contrasted with the modern origin and changeableness of the new religion, first introduced into the world by Martin Luther in Germany, by Cranmer in England, and by Knox in Scotland; and when, moreover, we reflect that these men acted not only without commission or authority, but in direct opposition to the only authority left by Christ for the government of his Church upon earth; the inevitable conclusion is that the Catholic religion *alone* is the religion of Christ.

Protestant Reader! such are the reasons in favour of the ancient faith, offered to thy candid consideration by one once a Protestant, but now happily a Catholic!

MAYEST THOU SOON FOLLOW HIS EXAMPLE!

Tract 11.

[PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE CATHOLIC INSTITUTE
OF GREAT BRITAIN.]

A
SHORT ACCOUNT
OF
THE CONVERSION
OF THE
HON. AND REV. G. SPENCER
TO THE
Catholic Faith,

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF, IN THE ENGLISH COLLEGE AT ROME,
IN THE YEAR 1831.

(FROM "THE CATHOLIC MAGAZINE.")



Stereotyped for the Catholic Institute of Great Britain.

LONDON:

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CONVERSION,

&c.



["The following account (says the Editor of *The Catholic Magazine*, who obtained the original MS. from Mr. Spencer) was written by the Honourable and Reverend Gentleman at the request of the Bishop of Oppido, a small town at the lowest extremity of Italy, who had come to Rome to pay homage to the present Pope, then recently elected. In that retired spot, Catholic charity had excited an interest about his conversion among the flock of this excellent Prelate; and, to satisfy their feelings, the Bishop visited the English College, and requested Mr. Spencer to write him some details of it for the use of his people, as they had received a bare report only of the fact. The MS. was translated into Italian by Dr. Gentili, now Professor at Prior Park."]

I took orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church of England, Dec. 22nd, 1822, and for seven years I had the care of a parish containing about eight hundred inhabitants, in which is situated my father's principal residence. I never was very bigotted in my attachment to the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England, but seeing no cause to doubt of their being truly in agreement to the word of God, I was from the beginning of my ministry desirous of bringing back into communion with her those Protestant sectaries, who, under various denominations, had separated from her; and I used to have frequent discussions with such as were to be met with in my neighbourhood, and particularly in my own parish. The chief of these were Methodists, Baptists, and Independents. The more I spoke with them the more persuaded I was, that the principles on which they defended their separation from the Church were unsound; but, when I began to attend with candour to what they had to say, I hardly had a conversation with any of them which did not show me more clearly than before, that the Church of England herself yet needed improvement and correction.

The professed fundamental principle of all Protestants is to adhere to the Scriptures as the only rule of faith and morals. I soon discovered that in the constitution of the Church of England there were many

things which I could not clearly defend by the simple Scriptures ; but these generally were points to which I was not required to declare my direct consent ; they seemed matters of discipline : but at last I found a difficulty in one of the Thirty-nine Articles of religion, to which all the clergy are required to subscribe, which I could not fairly answer, and on account of which I determined that I would never subscribe to them again. This was the eighth Article ; in which I found myself called upon to affirm that the three Creeds, received by the Church of England, *i. e.* the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian, might be clearly proved by Scripture. I had some years before had scruples about the condemning clauses in the Athanasian Creed ; but I had been satisfied again by reading what the Protestant divines had to say in defence and explanation of them. My scruples returned after a sermon which I preached on Trinity Sunday, 1827, in defence of that very creed. I observed that the arguments by which I defended the doctrine of the Trinity itself were indeed founded on Scripture, but that in attempting to prove to my hearers that a belief of this doctrine was absolutely necessary for man's salvation, I had recourse to arguments independent of Scripture, and that no passage in Scripture could be found which declares, that whosoever will be saved must hold the orthodox faith on the Trinity. I had this difficulty on my mind for eight or nine months after which, finding that I could not satisfy myself upon it, I gave notice to my superiors, that I could not conscientiously declare my full assent to the Thirty-nine Articles. They attempted, at first, to satisfy me by arguments ; but the more I discussed the subject the more convinced I became that the article in question was not defensible, and, after fifteen months' further pause, I made up my mind to leave off reading the Creed in the service of my church, and informed my bishop of my final resolution. Of course he might have taken measures to oblige me to resign my benefice ; but he thought it more prudent to take no notice of my letter, and thus I remained in possession of my place till I embraced the Catholic Faith.

The point on which I thus found myself opposed to the Church of England appears a trifling one ; but here was enough to hinder all my prospects of advancement, and to put it in the power of the Bishop, if at any time he had chosen to do so, to call on me to give up my benefice. It is easy to conceive that, under these circumstances, my mind was set free, beyond what could be imagined in any other way, to follow without prejudice my researches after truth. I lost no opportunity of discoursing with ministers of all persuasions. I called upon them all to join with me in the enquiry where was the truth, which could be but one, and therefore could not be in any two contrary systems of religion, much less in all the variety of sects into which Christians are

divided in England. I found little encouragement in any quarter to this way of proceeding, at least, among Protestants. Those sectarians of a contrary persuasion to myself, to whom I proposed an enquiry with me after truth, I found generally ready to speak with me; but they did not even pretend to have any disposition to examine the grounds of their own principles, which they were determined to abide by without farther hesitation. My brethren of the Established Church equally declined joining me in my discussions with persons of other persuasions, and disapproved of my pursuit, saying that I should never convert them to our side, and that I only ran the risk of being shaken myself. Their objections only excited me to greater diligence. I considered that, if what I held were truth, charity required that I should never give over my attempts to bring others into the same way, though I were to labour all my life in vain. If, on the contrary, I was in any degree of error, the sooner I was shaken in it the better. I was convinced by the numberless exhortations of St. Paul to his disciples, that they should be of one mind, and have no divisions; that the object which I had before me, that is the re-union of the differing bodies of Christians, was pleasing to God, and I had full confidence that I was in no danger of being led into error, or suffering any harm in following it up, as long as I studied nothing but to do the will of God in it, and trusted to his Holy Spirit to direct me.

The result of all these discussions with different sects of Protestants was a conviction that no one of us had a correct view of Christianity. We all appeared right thus far, in acknowledging Christ as the Son of God, whose doctrines and commandments we were to follow as the way to happiness, both in time and eternity; but it seemed as if the form of doctrine and discipline established by the Apostles had been lost sight of all through the church. I wished therefore to see Christians in general united in the resolution to find the way of truth and peace, convinced that God would not fail to point it out to them. Whether or not others would seek his blessing with me, I had great confidence that, before long, God would clear up my doubts, and therefore my mind was not made uneasy by them. I must here notice a conversation which I had with a Protestant minister about a year before I was a Catholic, by which my views of the use of the Scriptures were much enlightened, and by which, as it will be clearly seen; I was yet farther prepared to come to a right understanding of the true rule of Christian Faith, proposed by the Catholic Church. This gentleman was a zealous defender of the authority of the Church of England against the various sects of Protestant Dissenters, who have of late years gained so much advantage against her. He perceived that, while men were allowed to claim a right of interpreting the Scriptures according to their own judg-

ment, there never could be an end of schisms ; and, therefore, he zealously insisted on the duty of our submitting to ecclesiastical authority in controversies of faith, maintaining that the Spirit of God spoke to us through the voice of the Church, as well as in the written Word. Had I been convinced by this part of his argument, it would have led me to submit to the Catholic Church, and not to the Church of England ; and, indeed, I am acquainted with one young man who actually became a Catholic through the preaching of this gentleman,—following these true principles, as he was bound to do, to their legitimate consequences. But I did not, at this time, perceive the truth of the position ; I yet had no idea of the existence of Divine unwritten Tradition in the church. I could imagine no way for the discovery of the truth but persevering study of the Scriptures, which, as they were the only Divine rule of faith with which I was acquainted, I thought must of course be sufficient for our guidance, if used with an humble and tractable spirit ; but the discourse of this clergyman led me at least to make an observation which had never struck my mind before, as being of any importance,—namely, that the system of religion, which Christ taught the apostles, and which they delivered to the Church, was something distinct from our volume of the Scriptures. The New Testament I perceived to be a collection of accidental writings, which, as coming from the pens of inspired men, I was assured must, in every point, be agreeable to the true faith ; but they neither were, nor anywhere professed to be, a complete and systematic account of Christian faith and practice. I was, therefore, in want of some farther guidance on which I could depend. I knew not that it was in the Catholic Church that I was at length to find what I was in search of ; but every Catholic will see, if I have sufficiently explained my case, how well I was prepared to accept with joy the direction of the Catholic Church, when once I should be convinced, that she still preserved unchanged and inviolate the very form of faith taught by the Apostles, the knowledge of which is, as it were, the key to the right and sure interpretation of the written Word.

It is now time, then, to state the principal steps by which it pleased God gradually to overcome my prejudices against the Catholic Church. In my early education I heard very little about the Catholic Church. I had been taught, in general terms, that it was full of errors and superstitions ; that at the glorious era of the Reformation, Luther had begun the work of dispelling the darkness with which the spiritual tyranny of the Popes had covered the world ; and that England was one of the favoured nations which had shaken off the yoke, and had adopted the most admirable system of faith and worship of any of the Reformed Churches. This is the general statement of the case, which has been

handed down from father to son since the days of Queen Elizabeth. If it be asked how people can suffer themselves to be so imposed upon, I can only answer, that men will readily believe what flatters their personal or their national vanity, and therefore the English have received this tale with ready credulity; and hardly one in a thousand stops to doubt what comes confirmed by such a weight of authority, and what he naturally desires to be true. As it was under these impressions that I looked on what I saw of the Catholic religion when I was in Italy ten or twelve years ago, it is no wonder that I went home only confirmed in my prejudices.

After I had taken orders, I began to make theology a study; I read some Protestant Commentaries on the Apocalypse, applying to what are called the errors of Popery what is there revealed of the great defection from the truth to take place in the latter days; and I put it down for certain, that in whatever body of men the truth was to be found, the last place to seek it in was among the Catholics. Protestants, in general, would consider Catholics not only as misguided, but as incorrigible in their errors; and if any of them should entertain the thought of a future healing of the divisions of the Church, and its re-establishment as one united body, they would not look forward to this being to take place by the return of Protestants within the pale of the Catholic Church, after a reformation of her abuses. Their idea is, that God's people must come out from her; that she is prefigured by the spiritual Babylon, and that her end is not to be corrected, but utterly destroyed.

At one time, perhaps, I should have assented to principles like these; but I did not hold them long, when I began to think for myself. The first circumstance by which it pleased God in some degree to open my eyes, was a correspondence into which I entered with a person who withheld his name, but who professed to be a young man of the Protestant Church, who had been some time in a Catholic town abroad, where conversations he had had with some Catholics, and his observation of their worship and character, had led him to doubt the truth of what he had been taught in his childhood about Popery and the Reformation. He professed to be under great suspense and misery, and intreated me, as a well-informed Protestant, to satisfy him on a few questions which he proposed. I entered with joy on this correspondence, which continued for six months. I expected easily to convince him that the Catholic Church was full of errors; but he answered my arguments, and I perceived that he became more and more disposed to join it. I discovered, by means of this correspondence, that I had never duly considered the principles of our Reformation; that my objections to the Catholic Church were prejudices adopted from the sayings of others, not the

result of my own observation, Instead of gaining the advantage in this controversy, I saw, and I owned to my correspondent, that a great change had been produced in myself. I no longer desired to persuade him to keep in the communion of the Protestant Church; but rather determined and promised to follow up the same enquiries with him, if he would make his name known to me, and only pause awhile before he joined the Catholics. But I heard no more of him till after my conversion and arrival at Rome, when I discovered that my correspondent was a lady, who had herself been converted a short time before she wrote to me. I never had heard her name before, nor am I aware that she had ever seen my person; but God moved her to desire and pray for my salvation, which she also undertook to bring about in the way I have related. I cannot say that I entirely approve of the stratagem to which she had recourse; but her motive was good, and God gave success to her attempt; for it was this which first directed my attention particularly to inquire about the Catholic religion, though she lived not to know the accomplishment of her wishes and prayers. She died at Paris a year before my conversion, when about to take the veil as a nun of the Sacred Heart; and I trust I have in her an intercessor in Heaven, as she prayed for me so fervently on earth.

After this period, I entertained the opinion that the Reformers had done wrong in separating from the original body of the Church; at any rate I was convinced that Protestants who succeeded them were bound to make attempts at a re-union with it. I still conceived that many errors and corruptions had been introduced among Catholics, and I did not imagine that I could ever conform to their faith, or join in all their practices, without some alterations on their part; but I trusted that the time might not be distant, when God would inspire all Christians with a spirit of peace and concord, which would make Protestants anxiously seek to be reunited to their brethren, and Catholics willing to listen to reason and to correct those abuses in faith and discipline which kept their brethren from joining them. To the procuring such a happy termination to the miserable schisms which had rent the Church I determined to devote my life. I now lost no opportunity of conversation with Protestants or Catholics. My object with both was to awaken them to a desire of unity with each other; to satisfy myself more clearly where was the exact path of truth in which it was desirable that we should all walk together; and then to persuade all to correct their respective errors, in conformity with the perfect rule, which I had no doubt the Lord would in due time point out to me, and to all who were ready to follow his will disinterestedly. I thought that when Catholics were at length willing to enter with me on these discussions with candour, they would at once begin to see the errors which to me appeared

so palpable in their system ; but I was greatly surprised to find them all so fixed in their principles, that they gave me no prospect of re-union except on condition of others submitting unreservedly to them ; and, at the same time, I could see in their ordinary conduct and manner of disputing with me nothing to make me suspect them of insincerity, or of want of sufficient information of the grounds of their belief. These repeated conversations increased more and more my desire to discover this true road, which I saw that I, at least for one, was ignorant of ; but I still imagined that I could see such plain marks of difference between the Catholic Church of the present day and the Church of the primitive ages as described in Scripture, that I repeatedly put aside the impression which the arguments of Catholics, and yet more my observation of their character, made upon me, and I still held up my head in the controversy.

Near the end of the year 1829, I was introduced to young Mr. Philipps, eldest son of a rich gentleman of Leicestershire, whom I had often heard spoken of as a convert to the Catholic religion. I had for a long time been curious to see him, that I might observe the mode of reasoning by which he had been persuaded into what I still thought so great an error. We spent five hours together in the house of the Rev Mr. Foley, Catholic Missionary in my neighbourhood, with whom I had already had much intercourse. I was interested by the ardent zeal of this young man in the cause of his faith. I had previously imagined that he must have been ignorant on the subject of religion, and that he had suffered himself to be led blindly by others ; but he answered all my objections about his own conversion with readiness and intelligence. I could not but see that it had been in him the result of his own diligent investigations. I was much delighted with what I could observe of his character. I was more than ever inflamed with a desire to be united in communion with persons in whom I saw such clear signs of the Spirit of God ; but yet my time was not fully come. I fancied, by his conversation, that he had principles and ideas inconsistent with what I had learned from Scripture ; and in a few days I again put aside the uneasiness which this meeting had occasioned, and continued to follow my former purpose, only with increased resolution to come at satisfaction. He was in the meanwhile much interested with my case. He recommended me to the prayers of some religious communities, and soon after invited me to his father's house, that we might continue our discourses. I was happy at the prospect of this meeting, and full of hopes that it would prove satisfactory to me ; but I left home without any idea of the conclusion to which it pleased God to bring me so soon.

On Sunday, the 24th of January, 1830, I preached in my church, and in the evening took leave of my family for the week, intending to return

on the Saturday following to my ordinary duties at home. But our Lord ordered better for me. During the week I spent on this visit I passed many hours daily in conversations with Phillipps, and was satisfied beyond all my expectations with the answers he gave me to the different questions I proposed about the principal tenets and practices of Catholics. During the week, we were in company with several other Protestants, and among them some distinguished clergymen of the Church of England, who occasionally joined in our discussions: I was struck with observing how the advantage always appeared on his side in the arguments which took place between them, notwithstanding their superior age and experience; and I saw how weak was the cause in behalf of which I had hitherto been engaged; I felt ashamed of arguing any longer against what I began to see clearly could not be fairly disproved. I now openly declared myself completely shaken, and, though I determined to take no decided step till I was entirely convinced, I determined to give myself no rest till I was satisfied, and had little doubt now of what the result would be. But yet I thought not how soon God would make the truth clear to me. I was to return home, as I have said, on the Saturday. Phillipps agreed to accompany me on the day previous to Leicester, where we might have farther conversation with Father Caestryck, the Catholic Missionary established in that place. I imagined that I might probably take some weeks longer for consideration. But Mr. Caestryck's conversation that afternoon overcame all my opposition. He explained to me and made me see that the way to come at the knowledge of true religion, is not to contend, as men are disposed to do, about each individual point, but to submit implicitly to the authority of Christ, and of those to whom he has committed the charge of his flock. He set before me the undeniable but wonderful fact of the agreement of the Catholic Church all over the world in one faith, under one head; he showed me that the assertions of Protestants that the Catholic Church had altered her doctrines were not supported by evidence. He pointed out the wonderful unbroken chain of the Roman Pontiffs: he observed to me how in all ages the Church, under their guidance, had exercised an authority undisputed by her children, of cutting off from her communion all who opposed her faith and disobeyed her discipline. I saw that her assumption of this power was consistent with Christ's commission to his apostles to teach all men to the end of the world, and his declaration that those who would not hear the pastors of his Church rejected him. What right then, thought I, had Luther and his companions to set themselves against the united voice of the Church? I saw that he rebelled against the authority of God when he set himself up as an independent guide. He was bound to obey the Catholic Church: how should I then not be equally bound to return to it? And

need I fear that I should be led into error, by trusting myself to those guides to whom Christ himself thus directed me? No! I thought this impossible. Full of these impressions, I left Mr. Caestryck's house to go to my inn, whence I was to return home next morning. Phillippus accompanied me, and took this last occasion to impress on me the awful importance of the decision which I was called upon to make. At length I answered, "I am overcome. There is no doubt of the truth: one more Sunday I will preach to my congregation, and then put myself into Mr. Foley's hands and conclude this business."

It may be thought with what joyful ardour he embraced this declaration, and warned me to declare my sentiments faithfully in these my last discourses. The next minute led me to the reflection,—Have I any right to stand in that pulpit, being once convinced that the Church is heretical to which it belongs? Am I safe in exposing myself to the danger which may attend one day's travelling, while I turn my back on the Church of God, which now calls me to unite myself to her for ever? I said to Phillippus, if this step is right for me to take next week, it is my duty to take it now. My resolution is made; to-morrow I will be received into the Church. We lost no time in dispatching a messenger to my father, to inform him of this unexpected event: as I was forming my last resolution, the thought of him came across me: will it not be said, that I endanger his very life by so sudden and severe a shock? ought I not, in deference and in tenderness towards him, at least, to go home and break it gently to him? The words of our Lord rose before me, and answered all my doubts: "He that hateth not father and mother, and brothers, and sisters, and houses, and lands, and his own life, too, cannot be my disciple." To the Lord, then, I trusted for the support and comfort of my dear father under the trial, which, in obedience to His call, I was about to inflict upon him. I had no farther anxiety to disturb me: God alone knows the peace and joy with which I laid me down that night to rest. The next day, at nine o'clock, the Church received me for her child.

To this account given of my conversion, I need only add that I am now in the English College at Rome, studying for holy orders; and have already received the order of subdeacon. I had inquired after the truth, not only for my own sake, but for that of others, who already were looking or might hereafter look up to me for instruction; and my first wish, when the knowledge of it broke upon my mind, was to communicate to others what I had discovered, and persuade them to follow it with me. I proposed myself, therefore, to the Catholic Vicar Apostolic of the district in which I resided, as desirous of ordination, and would willingly have entered immediately on the work of a missionary. I was soon convinced, however, that God required of me to submit implicitly to the

judgment of my superiors, and to leave myself at their disposal. In obedience to them I am in my present situation, where every new enquiry to which the course of my studies leads me, and every conversation I have with my Protestant brethren, whom I occasionally meet in this place, assure me more and more that if there is a true religion upon earth, it is in the Catholic Church, and that in joining that Church I have done what, if I live according to its holy precepts, insures to me in this life the possession of true peace of heart, and will lead to eternal happiness in the next.

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AN

INQUIRY

INTO THE DOCTRINE OF
GOOD WORKS, MERIT,
ETC.

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PRINTED BY C. RICHARDS, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, CHARING CROSS.

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AN INQUIRY,

&c. &c.

Is there any merit in good works? The Catholic Church says: 'There is.' A thing may be meritorious, that is, it may *deserve a reward*, either in virtue of its own intrinsic worth, or in virtue of the gratuitous *promise* of him upon whom it depends to give the *reward*. Or it may deserve a *reward* as the *principal* or as the *condition*. Now, we do not pretend that the *works* of men are *meritorious of eternal life* in virtue of their own intrinsic *worth*, but in virtue of the good will and *gratuitous promise* of the Almighty. But if he has promised a *reward to good works*, we maintain that no title can be stronger than his promise. Now, to *good works* he has promised a *reward*; nay, the immense *reward of eternal life*. This he has promised; not independent of the *merits of Christ*, (for, could our works have saved us, without the *merits of Christ*, then Christ would not have died) but he has promised it with due dependance on these. They are the fountain whence flows the *good work*, and the merit of the *good work*. Yet to the good work God has attached such *merit*, that, *with the merits of Christ* and *good works*, we may be saved; and with the merits of Christ, *without* good works, we *cannot* be saved. This is to be understood, after we come to the use of reason; for, before that, we are, morally speaking, incapable of *merit* or *demerit*.

I know that in the ears of many of our countrymen this will sound ill, but they are the children of the *written word*. Let us, then, see what *it* says on this head.

1. The keeping the commandments is surely a *good work*. Now, to the keeping the commandments Christ himself has promised a very great *reward*, to wit, *eternal life*. "If thou wilt *enter into life*, keep the commandments. (*Matt. xix. 17.*)

2. *Godliness* is the assemblage of *good works*; and of godliness the Holy Ghost says, that it hath the "promise of the life that now is and that which is to come." (*1 Tim. iv. 8.*) That is to say, that the preservation of our souls from the death of sin here, and eternal death hereafter, is the *reward* of godliness. A reward to which our own godliness, or good works, has no claim except in as far as it is the *condition* to which the promises of God and the application of the *merits of Christ* are attached.

3. To fear God, and work justice, are good works. And the

tearing God, and working justice, render us acceptable to God, which is a great reward, and the key to all rewards. Now, "In every nation, he that feareth God, and worketh justice, is acceptable to God. (*Acts*, x. 35.)

4. To suffer reproaches, persecutions, and calumnies, for Christ's sake, is a *good work*. And to this good work, Christ himself, the giver of rewards, promises a very great reward. "Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you and persecute you, and say all that is evil against you, untruly, for my sake. Be glad and rejoice, for your *reward* is very great in heaven. (*Matt.* v. 11, 12.)

5. To relieve those in want is a *good work*. Now, to those who relieve their brethren in want, even with a cup of cold water, Christ has promised a reward. "Whosoever shall give to drink to one of these little ones a cup of cold water only, in the name of a disciple, amen I say to you, he shall not lose his reward." (*Matt.* x. 42.) Where remark that Christ does not say, "I will give a reward," which he might have done gratuitously, but "he shall not lose *his* reward;" which shows that the receiver had acquired some *title* to it; viz. by obeying the command.

6. The preferring the will of God and the interests of our soul before the will of the world and the interests of flesh and blood is a *good work*. And our Saviour recommends the one, and discourages the other, by this declaration, that when "the Son of Man shall come in the glory of his Father, with his angels, he will render to every man *according to his works*." (*Matt.* xvi. 27.)

7. Doing the will of the Father is a *good work*; and to it is promised the privilege of opening the gates of heaven, (a great reward) while barren supplications will not prevail. "Not every one who says to me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doth the will of my Father who is in heaven, he shall enter into the kingdom of heaven." (*Matt.* vii. 21.)

8. The words of St. Paul, on this subject, are very striking. He says, "Every man shall receive his own reward, according to his own labour; for we are God's coadjutors; you are God's husbandry; you are God's building." (1 *Cor.* iii. 8, 9.) And he calls this *reward* "a *crown of justice*" given by, the Lord, in quality of "the just judge." (2 *Tim.* iv. 8.)

9. Words must have lost their meaning, or there must be some merit in that which God cannot neglect to reward without committing *injustice*. Now, St. Paul says that God cannot, without *injustice*, forget the *work* and the love shewn, in his name, by those who ministered to the Saints. (*Heb.* vi. 10.) Words must have lost their meaning, or there must be some *merit* in those things which, i. persevered in, secure our hope unto the end. Now, St. Paul assures us, "that the same carefulness" (in ministering to the Saints) will work the accomplishment "of hope unto the end." (*Heb.* vi. 11.)

10. Words must have lost their meaning, or there must be *merit* in that which God will *reward* with *life eternal*. Now, God will render to every man according to his *works*. To them indeed, who, according to patience in *good works*, seek glory, and honour, and incorruption, he will render *life eternal*; but to them that are contentious, (a failing too common in our days) and who obey not the *truth*, but give credit to iniquity, (he will render) *wrath and indignation* (*Rom.* ii. 6, 7, 8); and who does not quail before the *wrath* and indignation of a God?

11. To fight a good fight, to keep the faith, are good works. And because St. Paul had done so, he tells us that a crown of *justice* was laid up for him by *the just judge*; and not only for him but for all who should do as he had done. (1 *Tim.* iv. 7, 8.)

12. If Christ, the just judge, assures us that when he comes he will decide our eternal lot by our *works*, there must be merit in *good works*, and demerit in *bad works*. Now his words admit of no dispute: "Behold I come quickly, (says he to St. John) and my reward is with me, to render to every one according to his *works*." (*Rev.* xxii. 12.)

13. *Bliss* is promised *only* to the doers, (that is, to those who can show *works*) while the unprofitable hearers are said to "deceive themselves." (*James*, i. 22.) This is agreeable to the declaration of Christ, who tells us that he who *hid his talent* in the earth, is cast "into the exterior darkness." (*Matt.* xxv. 30.)

In fine, if the doctrine of *good works* be Popery, then Moses, David, Solomon, Isaias, Jeremias, all the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, were most determined Papists. For,

14. *Moses* tells us that God said to Cain: "If thou do well, shalt thou not receive?" (*Gen.* iv. 7.) That is, if thy *works are good*, shall they not be *rewarded*?

15. *David* tells us, that "The Lord will *reward* him (David) according to his *justice*, and according to the cleanness of his hands before his eyes." (*Psal.* xviii. 25.) "In *keeping* thy judgments there is a *great reward*." (*Psal.* xviii. alias xix. 11 alias 12.)

Solomon tells us: "Nothing deceiveth the keeper of our soul, and he shall render to a man *according to his works*." (*Prov.* xxiv. 12.)

Isaias tells us, that "They that have forsaken the Lord, (a bad work) shall be *consumed*,"—the punishment of a bad work. (*Isai.* i. 28.)

Jeremias tells Rachel: "Thus saith the Lord, let thy voice cease from weeping, and thy eyes from tears, for there is a *reward* for thy works, saith the Lord." (*Jerem.* xxxi. 16.) As to the declarations of the apostles, we have seen enough above, to which much more could be added.

Here, then, is a system worthy of a God who wishes to encou-

rage *good works*, without opening a door to pride or arrogance. Here it is not the clay dictating to the potter; it is not dust and ashes stipulating with their Maker; it is not the haughty domestic urging the merit of his services, and claiming his wages; it is not the ambitious labourer enhancing the value of his labour, and calling for his hire. But it is a master who, being entitled to claim our services as his due, knows to be not only just but generous; who, aware of our backwardness, wishes to render his service easy by *graciously* promising to acknowledge our works as *good* and *meritorious*, and to crown them with a *reward*. Such is the system of wisdom and goodness developed in the above quotations, and in almost every page of the Sacred Writings.

On this, then, we take our stand; and on this we found our doctrine. We call certain works *good*, because God himself calls them good; we call certain works *meritorious*, because God himself calls them meritorious; and we say that certain works will receive a *reward* in heaven, because God himself says that they shall be rewarded.

Yet these are the doctrines which crafty and designing men misrepresented, and of which they availed themselves to open a breach in the Christian Church at the era of the so-called Reformation; and these same are the doctrines which party writers and party preachers still hold up, as spectres, to *alarm* the religious sensibilities of our Protestant brethren, and to keep open this breach, to the unspeakable detriment of Christianity and risk of souls. These are the claims which are denounced as *unscriptural*, as *arrogant* and *presumptuous*; as giving *too much* (merit) *to man, and too little to Christ*. These are the claims which are stigmatized; as if by them we affected, like the giants of old, *to storm heaven*; which are traduced, as if, forsooth, by them we impiously *disclaimed all dependance on the Redeemer himself*. These, in fine, are the claims which are held up as *absurd*, as *impious*, as *blasphemous*; as constituting one of the very worst features of what are called the *Errors of Popery*. These are grave charges. But, as Popery is supposed to be a religion of absurdities, impieties, and blasphemies, the more absurd, impious, and blasphemous these claims are thought to be, so much the more readily are they believed to make part and parcel of its tenets.

Admitting, then, as we most cordially do, that these do make part and parcel of our tenets, let us, for a moment, examine and see how far they are really *alarming*. If to be the very spirit and essence both of the Old and New Testament be unscriptural, then they are unscriptural; (see the above texts.) If to supplicate, at the foot of the throne of mercy and grace, for every favour that we want or expect, be *arrogant*, then they are arrogant. If to acknowledge that of ourselves, as of ourselves, we are not sufficient to

think even a good thought conducive to salvation, if to profess that all sufficiency is from God, be *presumptuous*, then they are presumptuous. If teaching us to say, with the whole Church, in the words of St. Augustine, that "when God crowns our merit, he only crowns his own gifts," be making us affect to storm heaven, then let our tenets bear the reproach and scorn of the giants' pride.

If, after I shall have given an outline of our doctrine as to the share which we assign to man, and that which we assign to Christ, in the work of our salvation, it shall be found that we give too much to man, and too little to Christ: if it shall be found that we disclaim all dependance on the merits of the Redeemer, let our enemies be our judges.

Our principles, then, are these. That at our creation the Almighty chose to bestow on us graces both *natural* and *supernatural*. That by our fall we lost all title to the *supernatural* graces. But that the natural graces, as being a part of our nature, still remain, and show themselves even in heathens. To these, then, we still lay claim. But being only natural, and appendages of a nature, now *corrupted*, they can only produce works of a *corrupted nature*, and only deserve a *corruptible* or temporal *reward*. But when it is question of *supernatural* works, of works which may weigh in the scales of the sanctuary, which may be conducive to our salvation, we hold that there is no supernatural work, which is not the fruit of supernatural grace, and that there is no supernatural grace which is not the fruit of the merits of Christ. We hold that the seed of the supernatural graces of our origin being now extinct, there now remains in us nothing capable of producing the fruits of any meritorious act; consequently, nothing calculated to draw down grace from on high, to supply the place of that which we had lost. From which we infer that the first grace of fallen nature must be the *pure and gratuitous gift of heaven*; and that even every subsequent grace, through life, must be so little short of gratuitous, that all that we can do is, through grace already received, to sue for more grace, and, through grace, to correspond with grace. So that the good use of our *free will* is *all* that we claim for ourselves; and even for this we acknowledge that we need the aid of grace. If, then, giving to Christ the merit of bestowing all, and claiming for ourselves, and for ourselves aided by grace, the sole merit of asking and corresponding; the merit of being less criminal than Achaz, who said: "I will not ask," and less criminal than Lucifer, who said: "I will not obey;" if this, I say, be giving too much to man and too little to Christ, our answer is that it does not belong to us to constitute ourselves arbiters of what is and what is not. Our rule is, "*What was from the beginning*;" our rule is the Scripture, and the Scripture

as understood by all ages and nations. Let not Protestant preachers hoodwink their hearers by affecting to represent us as less jealous of the honour of Christ than they are. We confess that we can never give him what he deserves. But it is not our business to say by what means he is to be most honoured. The mode which he has chosen is that of giving us our *free will*, and purchasing for us *grace to make a good use of this will*. In fact, *free will* is so necessary, that, without it, we should be no longer men; anything short of it would reduce us to the condition of machines, or that of the brute creation, or it would make us a new class of beings in nature. *Reason* and *free will* are the two *characteristics* which distinguish man from the other creatures. God could have created us without *free will*; but, then, we should not have been that class of beings that we now are. Without *free will* there can be *no good works*, without *good works* there can be *no merit*, and without *merit* there can be *no reward*.

Let us now say a few words on the other harsh names which they apply to our doctrines. They call them *absurd, impious, blasphemous*. If it be absurd, impious, blasphemous to call those works *good*, which God himself calls good; if it be absurd, impious, blasphemous to call those works *meritorious*, which God himself calls *meritorious*; if it be absurd, impious, blasphemous to claim a *reward* for those works which God himself says that he will *reward*; if it be absurd, impious, blasphemous to say that when God *promises a reward, on certain conditions*, he will *implement his promise*, if we implement the *conditions*, then we say, Welcome the absurdity, &c. We will rather be called absurd, than question the veracity and fidelity of God. Now *good* and *bad works, merit* and *demerit, rewards* and *punishments*, are the language of Scripture from the days of Abel (*Gen. iv. 4*) down to the last chapter of *Revelations*, where the Almighty says, "Behold I come quickly, and my *reward* is with me, to render to every one according to his *works*." (*Rev. xx. 12*.) This same is the clear language of all the texts above recorded. And if any one wishes more on the subject, let him read the history of Noah's sacrifice, with which the Lord was so well pleased that he rewarded it with the promise that he would no more destroy the earth. (*Gen. viii. 21*.) Let him read the history of Abraham offering to sacrifice his own son; an act of obedience with which the Lord was so well pleased that he pledged himself to *bless all the nations of the earth in his seed*. (*Gen. xxii. 18*.) Let him see the *merit* and *reward* of the Egyptian midwives, though pagans. (*Exod. i. 20, 21, 22*.) Let him, in particular, see the passages, in the foregoing texts, where David and St. Paul even call our *reward* an act of *justice*. Yes, the sacred penmen hesitate not to call it *justice*. Not abstract justice, but *conventional* justice. God owes nothing to us in justice; for when

we have done our best, we acknowledge that we have done only our duty, and are "unprofitable servants;" but, what he owes not to us, he owes to himself. He has *promised*, and having once promised, he imposes on himself the obligation of *fulfilling his promise*. It is to this very purpose that St. John says, that "God is *faithful*." (1 John, i. 9.) In fine, if to avail ourselves of a motive, selfish indeed, but sanctioned by heaven, to stimulate our weak nature to the practice of those virtues whose objects are the most disinterested and sublime, be an *Error of Popery*, we can smile at the accusation and pity the accuser.

But, fortunately for the cause of Christian morality, if Protestants differ so much from us on the subject of works, it is more in words than in practice. Practically they do not disclaim works. I do not speak of works of charity and benevolence, in which their conduct is so eminently conspicuous, but I speak of works having for their object the glory of God and the sanctification of man. But they say, they do these works, not in a view to their salvation, for which they say that they will be indebted to none but Christ. But that they do them as tests of their love of God. We likewise hold that there can be no act *meritorious of eternal life*, which has not for its first and main spring the love of God. But since God himself has condescended to encourage us by the additional stimulus of a promised reward, the Church cannot discourage us by withholding it. The fact is, God is *wise* and *merciful*. In his *wisdom* he sees our weakness, and in his *mercy* he cheers us in our arduous career. And if he be *wise* and *merciful* in so doing, those are exceedingly *unwise* and *cruel*, exceedingly hostile to the glory of God and to the good of souls, who, under the pharisaical pretext of fearing to detract from the merits of Christ, tend to throw us into despondency. Our Saviour foresaw that objections would be raised, by conceited and contentious spirits, against this as well as against many other doctrines which he had charged his Church to teach, and he has furnished her with answers to every one of them. His own answer to those who object against his attaching *merit*, or promising a *reward*, to our works, is to be found, *Matthew* xx. 15, and is given in these words: "*Is it not lawful for me to do what I will? Is thy eye evil because I am good?*"

His doctrine, as taught by the Church, has nothing in it to alarm the most religious and sensitive nerves. For, to recapitulate, in a few words, the sum and substance of all that I have said:—

We claim no power of doing anything conducive to our salvation, which is not the fruit of grace; we claim no grace which is not the fruit of Christ's passion; we claim no title to the fruit of Christ's passion, except his good pleasure. He must *of his own will beget us by the word of truth*. (*James* i. 18.) But after he has, of his own free will, bestowed on us the first grace, we claim the power of

using grace received, to ask more grace, and the power, through grace, of co-operating with grace. We claim the power of making a good use of our *free will*, in order to comply with the conditions required for insuring the merits of Christ and our salvation, when, as free agents, we could have refused. The merits of Christ are represented by St. Paul as a prize; and our works are the terms on which the prize is to be secured. We claim therefore a conventional reward. God has promised a reward to those who approach to him by faith and good works. And, consequently, what he owes not to us, he owes to himself. He can as soon cease to be God, as he can break his promise. For "the truth of the Lord remaineth for ever." (*Psal.* cxvi. 2.) We know the conditions; without them there is no salvation, with them salvation is sure. Not that we had ever the sacrilegious presumption of thinking that our own works could propitiate the wrath of God or open heaven. This must be the work of Christ. But while the passion of Christ is the fountain whence the cleansing waters flow, they are the hand which must direct the stream, and bid it follow us. While they are not the purchase-money which is to secure a seat for us in heaven, they are the key, the necessary key, the infallible key, which is to open the treasury of Christ's merits, where this purchase-money is lodged. Let me ask, then, our Protestant brethren, if it would not be more safe to walk in the path traced by Scripture and reason, and followed by the Church of all ages and nations, than to walk in a way struck out by themselves? Whether it would not be more honourable to wear the livery of such a Church, than to pick up the infected rags of Pelagianism? Whether there would not be more piety in following a doctrine which stimulates to the fervent and unremitting exercise of every religious and social virtue, by giving us a personal interest in them?

I can sympathize with the multitudes who have had their nerves shaken by the awful warnings of the nursery against Popery, and who have afterwards had these impressions converted into a kind of religious principle by the denunciations of those whom they have been taught to consider as the ministers of the *gospel of truth*. But where shall I find an apology for those ministers themselves, who, from their education, know, or ought to know, that in discrediting works, they are sapping the foundations of Christian morality and revealed religion? Where shall I find an apology for those who, without all dispute, must have done so with their eyes open? Yet all evidence must have failed, or this must have been the case with the founders of the Church of England. Their ambition was to allure all into their net. Hence their principle was *show without solidity*. Show, to please the good; absence of solidity, to suit it to the palate of the worldling. Their principle was to give to their followers a something, which, without being

the ancient religion, might in all things resemble it. Among other points of resemblance, they must have a *burial service*. This they composed of materials from their own storehouse of novelties, with a quantity of scraps from the offices and masses for the dead, sufficient, as they thought, to conceal the bait. Yes, Christian reader; and could you believe that these men, men of talents and learning, should, by a just judgment of God, have been permitted so far to forget themselves as to offer a most daring and wanton insult to the word of God and the understanding of their followers, by mutilating the sacred text, and this on such an awful and solemn occasion as the burial of the dead? yet so it is. In one of the masses for the dead the gospel is taken from *Revelations* (chap. xiv. 13), where, speaking of a future state, it is said:—"I heard a voice from heaven saying to me; Write: blessed are the dead who die in the Lord. From henceforth, now saith the spirit, they shall rest from their labours; *for their works follow them.*" Such a declaration, from the mouth of the Holy Ghost, they saw would be fatal to their doctrine of the *inutility* of works; to their doctrine of *justification by faith only*. Hence they had endeavoured to mystify the subject in their translation of Scripture by substituting "*and their works do follow them,*" instead of "*for their works follow them.*" By this means they make two sentences out of one, and put their *dead* in possession of a *death in the Lord* and of bliss *unconditional*. But, still, as they immediately add, in the next sentence, that their *works* do follow them, they saw that the reflecting Christian, at least, would, even then, conclude that *works* must not be altogether useless, since they follow us to heaven, where useless things have no admittance. This reflection, they determined, should not disturb the security of the consciences of those who attended their burial service, which is the time when men are most apt to think of death, and how it is to be made happy. In this burial service, then, they get fairly quit of the difficulty by a total omission of the last part of the sentence, and by making the spirit promise a *death in the Lord, bliss and rest from their labours*, without any condition whatever. Such a piece of fraud, such a liberty in suppressing entirely that part of the text which contains the refutation of their favourite system, is a reflection on the piety of their followers, for it supposes either that they never read their Bible, or that they will be content to have it mutilated to serve the sinister ends of their teachers. Such a juggle might suit an infidel, it might suit him who pretends to prove from Scripture that the great end of man was to eat and drink, by quoting the words, *let us eat, drink, and be merry*, and suppressing the latter part of the sentence, where our Saviour tells us that this was the language of a *fool, and of a fool who did not know that to-morrow he should die*. But surely such artifices were

not to be expected from the founders of a Christian Church. No; the Catholic version is a genuine translation both of the Greek and Latin, viz.—“Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord—they shall rest from their labours, *for* their works follow them.” Where, remark that *for*, according to Dr. Johnson, is the same as *because*. Substitute, then, *because*, and the sentence will run thus—they are blessed, die in the Lord, and rest from their labours; *because* their works follow them. In fact, *for* coming in the second part of a sentence denotes that, what follows it, is the cause of what went before it. And you can ascertain the clear meaning of the whole, by transposing the members of the phrase. Thus, in the present case, say “*their works follow them, therefore* they are blessed, die in the Lord, and rest from their labours,” and the sense is clear and complete. Nor will it do to say that there are a few cases in which the *da* of the Greeks and the *enim* of the Latins are rendered by *and*. There are cases in which it may be said of a man that he *never was born*, because he may have been cut out from the side of his deceased mother. But the case is so rare, that no man will believe it, except on special evidence. Let me ask, then, in conclusion, is it safe for a sincere Christian to trust his soul to the guidance of teachers, who, to make good a preconceived doctrine, scruple not to violate the words of eternal and infallible truth? Had I been born of Church-of-England parents, and nurtured in Church-of-England principles, the first time that I had assisted at their burial service, most assuredly should have been the last time that they should have numbered me in their ranks. I shall notice one instance more of disingenuity, and conclude. In the same spirit of affected Catholicity, the Church of England must have her Litany. But when she comes to that petition, where the Catholic supplicates the Lord to deliver him from a sudden and *unprovided* death, anglicanism omits the word *unprovided*, lest, by reminding her children of preparing for death, she might remind them of good works.

My conclusion, then, is, that the Catholic faith is no *presumptuous* faith, but that, at the same time, it is no dead faith; that it is a faith which calls for exertions, but cheers with the prospect of rewards.

The cheering principle in Catholics shows itself in the multiplicity and fervour of their religious exercises. It was to prevent the contrast from opening the eyes of the well disposed Protestant, that every devotion disagreeable to anglicans was denominated a superstition, a mummary, &c.

TRACT 13.

[PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE CATHOLIC
INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN.]

A

REFUTATION

OF THE CHARGE OF

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION

URGED AGAINST THE CATHOLIC RELIGION;

BEING AN ABRIDGMENT OF HIS FOURTH LETTER
TO A PREBENDARY;

BY THE

RIGHT REV. JOHN MILNER, D.D. F.S.A.



[Stereotyped for the Catholic Institute of Great Britain.]

LONDON:

Sold by all Catholic Booksellers, price One Penny, or Five Shillings
per Hundred for gratuitous distribution.

PRINTED BY C. RICHARDS, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, CHANCERY CROSS.

CATHOLIC INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN, 14, SOHO SQUARE, LONDON.

Established July 9, 1838.

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A

REFUTATION,

ETC.

I HAVE had frequent opportunities of observing, that amongst the many foul caricatures of the religion of our ancestors held up to public view, that which exhibits it as a sanguinary system, supported by swords and muskets, and surrounded with racks, gibbets, and fires, is the one which has been chiefly successful in inflaming the minds of Englishmen with hatred against it and its professors: a hatred which they do not entertain for the unbaptized Quaker, or the antichristian Socinian, and which has sometimes led them into the extremities of cruelty, from the mere hatred of cruelty. Those who feel an interest or a pleasure in exciting this odium, are fully sensible of its fatal efficacy. Hence, they are never weary with ringing the changes on the names of John Huss, and Jerom of Prague, on the massacre of Paris, and especially on the fires of Smithfield. For the same uncharitable purpose, we find the lying *Acts and Monuments* of John Fox, with large wooden prints of men and women encompassed with faggots and flames, in every leaf of them, chained to the desks of many country-churches, whilst abridgments of this inflammatory work are annually issued from the London presses, under the title of *The Book of Martyrs*. In the meantime, it is carefully concealed from the knowledge of the public, that Catholics have suffered persecution in this very country, to a much greater degree than they have inflicted it, and that even the various sects of Protestants have persecuted each other, on account of their religious differences, to the extremity of death.

In some circumstances it may be necessary, even for the sake of peace and conciliation, to enter upon that most odious of topics, *religious persecution*, and to detail particular instances of it; namely, when such statements contribute to a right understanding and balancing of accounts in this matter, amongst Christians of different communions, and thereby to the cutting away of one of the most virulent sources of religious animosity which subsist among them.

It is for this conciliatory purpose, and not for that of reproach or recrimination, that I shall enter more at large into this subject of persecution.

The adversaries of the Catholics profess to prove, that persecution is a tenet of their faith, from the fact of their having persecuted heretics in all parts of Europe, from the decrees of councils, the declarations of popes, the establishment of tribunals, and the assertions of writers of the highest

authority with them. I now undertake to furnish an answer on each one of these heads, after lamenting that it unavoidably requires more leisure and pains to refute calumnies, than it does to advance them.

In the first place, if the mere fact of Catholics having used violence against persons of a different communion, were a proof that persecution is a tenet of their faith, as you argue, this would clearly prove, that the same doctrine equally makes part of the creed of almost all denominations of Protestants. It cannot be effaced from the records of history, that wherever the Reformers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries became the triumphant party, not content with the free exercise of their own religion, they violently overturned that of their ancestors, and carried on the most severe and oppressive persecution against those who continued to adhere to it. This was the case in England, Scotland,* France,† Ireland,‡ Germany, the Low Countries,§ Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland,

* The reformation may be said to have begun in Scotland, by the assassination of Cardinal Beaton, in which Knox was a party, and to which Fox, in his *Acts and Monuments*, says, the murderers were instigated "by the spirit of God." In 1560, the parliament at one and the same time, decreed the establishment of Calvinism, and the punishment of death against the ancient religion. "With such indecent haste," says Robertson, "did the very persons who had just escaped ecclesiastical tyranny proceed to imitate the example." Hist. of Scotl. See also the answer of the presbytery to the King and Council, in 1596, concerning the Catholic Earls of Huntley, Errol, &c. viz. that "as they had been guilty of idolatry, a crime deserving of death, the civil power could not spare them."

† In France, it is well known, that wherever the Huguenots carried their victorious arms against their sovereign, they prohibited the exercise of the Catholic religion, slaughtered the priests and religious, burnt the churches and convents, dug up the dead to make bullets of their leaden coffins, &c. See Maimbourg, Hist. Calvinism. Thuanus, Hist. l. xxxi. One of their own writers, Nic. Froumonteau, confesses, that in the single province of Dauphiny, they killed 256 priests and 112 monks or friars. Liv. de Finance. In these scenes, the famous Baron Des Adrets signalized his barbarity; forcing his Catholic prisoners to jump from the towers upon the pikes of his soldiers, and obliging his own children to *wash their hands in the blood* of Catholics.

‡ The penal laws were in general no less severely exercised against the Catholics of Ireland, though they constituted the body of the people, than they were against those of England. Dr. Curry has preserved (amongst a great many other sufferers in the same cause,) the names of twenty-seven priests, or religious, who suffered death, on account of their religion, in the reign of Elizabeth. Hist. of Civil Wars of Ireland, vol. i. p. 8. Spondanus and Pagi relate the horrid cruelties exercised by Sir W. Drury, on F. O'Hurle, O.S.F. the Catholic archbishop of Cashel, who, falling into the hands of this sanguinary governor, in the year 1579, was first tortured, by his legs being immersed in jackboots, filled with quick-lime, water, &c. until they were burnt to the bone, in order to force him to take the oath of supremacy, and then with other circumstances of barbarity, executed at the gallows; having previously cited Drury to meet him at the tribunal of Christ within ten days, who accordingly died within that period, amidst the most execrating pains. See in Bourke's *Hibernia Dominicana*, a much longer list and a more detailed account of Irish sufferers, especially in Elizabeth's reign, on the score of religion. It was a usual thing to beat with stones the shorn heads of their clergy, till their brains gushed out. Others had needles thrust under their nails, or the nails themselves were torn off. Many were stretched on the rack, or pressed under weights. Others had their bowels torn open, which they were obliged to support with their hands, or their flesh torn with currycombs.

§ Protestants speak with horror of the persecution in the Low Countries by the Duke of Alva, who is said to have delivered 18,000 heretics to the executioners. I heartily join in condemning and execrating the sanguinary vengeance of the Spanish governor

Geneva, &c. though in different manners, and with different degrees of violence. The several sects of Protestants have, in many places and upon principle, persecuted each other to the extremities of exile, perpetual imprisonment, and death.*

and government, against their seditious subjects of the Calvinistical persuasion; but to form an adequate judgment in this case, it is proper to attend to the provocations which the former had received from the latter. Not to mention, then, the conspiracy of Carli, and Risot, to assassinate the Duke of Alva himself, at the monastery of Grootvelt, near Brussels, it is certain that one class of the Reformers had endeavoured to erect the same fanatical and bloody kingdom in Holland, which John of Leyden actually established at Munster, crying out, that *God had given up the country to them, and that vengeance awaited all who would not join them*. It was an ordinary thing with them to assault the clergy in the discharge of their functions, and the air resounded with their cries, of *kill the priests, kill the monks, kill the magistrates*. These violences became more common as the Reformation extended itself wider. Wherever Vandermerk and Sonoï, both of them lieutenants to the Prince of Orange, carried their arms, they uniformly put to death in cold blood all the priests and religious they could lay their hands upon, as at Oudenard, Ruremond, Dort, Middlebourg, Delft, and Shonoven. See Hist. Ref. des Pays Bas, by the Protestant minister De Brandt, also Dr. Pattinson in his Jerusalem and Babel, p. 385, &c. A late celebrated biographer, Feller, Dict. Hist. art. Toledo, says, that Vandermerk slaughtered more unoffending Catholic priests and peasants in the year 1572, than Alva executed Protestants during his whole government. He gives us, in the same passage, a copious extract from L'Abrégé de l'Hist. de la Hollande, par Mons. Kerroux, in which this Protestant writer, who professes to write from judicial records still extant, draws a most frightful picture of the infernal barbarities of Sonoï, on the Catholic peasants of North Holland. He says that some of these, after undergoing the torments of scourges and the rack, were enveloped in sheets of linen that had been steeped in spirits of wine, which being inflamed, they were miserably scorched to death; that others, after being tortured with burning sulphur and torches in the tenderest parts of their bodies, were made to die for want of sleep, executioners being placed on guard over them to beat and torment them, with clubs and other weapons, whenever exhausted nature seemed ready to sink into forgetfulness; that several of them were fed with nothing but salt herrings, without a drop of water or any other liquid, until they expired with thirst; finally, that others were stung to death by wasps, or devoured alive by rats, which were confined in coffins with them. Amongst the cruelties there recounted, some are of so indecent a nature, that they will not bear repeating, and those which occur above are only mentioned, to induce Protestant writers to join with me in burying the odious names of Alva and Sonoï in equal oblivion.

* Amongst the more illustrious foreign Protestants, who suffered death by the violence of other Protestants, it may be proper to mention the names of Servetus, Gentilis, Felix Mans, Rotman, Barnevelt, &c., not to mention Bolsec, Grotius, &c., who were banished, or otherwise persecuted, for their religious opinions. The following is a more circumstantial account of the persecution, which some Protestants have exercised upon others in this country, than is contained in the passage above quoted. In the reign of Edward VI, viz. in the year 1550, six anabaptists were condemned by Archbishop Cranmer, some of whom recanted and carried faggots, in sign of their having *merited* burning; and, one of them, a woman, Joan Knell, was actually burnt alive. The following year, George Paris was condemned, and suffered in the same manner.—See Stowe's Annals. During the reign of Elizabeth, in the year 1573, Peter Burchet, a gentleman of the Middle Temple, was examined on the score of heresy, by Edward Sands, Bishop of London, but recanted his opinions. In 1575, twenty-seven heretics were at one time, eleven at another, and five at a third, condemned for their errors, most of them by the same Protestant bishop. Of these, twenty were whipped and banished, others bore their faggots, and two of them, John Paterson and Henry Turwort, were burnt to death in Smithfield. In 1583, John Lewes, "for denying the godhead of Christ," says Stowe, was burned at Norwich; at which place, also, Francis Kett, M.A., suffered the same kind of death, for similar opinions, in 1589. Two years afterwards, William Hackett was hanged, for heresy, in Cheapside. Five others suffered death in this reign for being

I think, by this time, it will be granted, that mere acts of persecution do not of themselves prove a persecuting creed, especially after it is considered, that the severities in question were taken up by one party in its very infancy, and, by the other, at a far advanced period of its existence. In fact, if the doctrine and practice of persecution were an essential constituent in the religion of our ancestors, as Protestants repeatedly assure us they were, it is incumbent on them to trace them up to the commencement of "Popery," at whatever period they may chose to fix this æra.* We know there have not been wanting, in every century, different heresies and schisms, which have been condemned as such by the Church; but (to speak only of the middle ages), we observe, that neither Felix of Urgel, nor Grotescalc, nor Berengarius, nor Abelard, nor Marseilius of Padua, nor our Wycliff, was sentenced to any corporal sufferings by the Church, when she condemned their respective errors, during the ages of her greatest power. We shall shortly see on what occasion, and by what authority, this kind of punishment was resorted to in matters of religion.

We now proceed to general councils, on which head a common quotation is the third canon of the fourth Lateran Council, held in 1215, which excommunicated all heretics, and ordered that they should be delivered up to the secular power to undergo due punishment, and that the latter should be obliged, under pain of ecclesiastical censures, and the loss of their lands, to extirpate all heretics resident upon them. It is true, one of our ancient historians denies that these canons in general were the acts of the council itself;† and that of one of the most learned Protestant divines asserts that the canon above quoted, in particular, is spurious.‡

Brownists, viz. Thacker, Copping, Greenwood, Barrow, and Penry. The above particulars may be seen in Stowe, Brandt, Limborch, Collier, Neale, &c. Under James I, Legat and Whitman were executed for Arianism. In the time of Charles I, the dissenters complained loudly of their sufferings, and particularly that four of their number, Leighton, Burton, Prynne, and Bastwick, were cropped of their ears and set in the pillory.—Limborch, Hist. of Inquis. Neale, &c. When the Presbyterians afterwards got the upper hand, they continued to put Catholics to death, and treated those of the former establishment with almost equal severity; at the same time appointing days of humiliation and fasting, to beg God's pardon for not being more intolerant.—See Neal's Hist. of Puritans, also Hist. of Churches of England and Scotland, vol. iii., &c. The editor of De Laune's Plea for Nonconformists, says, that this writer was one of 8,000 Protestant dissenters, who perished in prison in that single reign (viz. of Charles II), merely for dissenting from the Church.—Pref. p. 2. He adds, that one of their people, Mr. White, had carefully collected a list of the sufferings of the dissenters; that the Catholics in the reign of James II offered him bribes to obtain this list; that he rejected the offer, to prevent the black record from rising up in judgment against the Church; and that the dignified prelates sent thanks and money to Mr. White, in reward for his services. For the capital punishments and other sufferings of the Quakers, see Penn's Life of George Fox, folio.

* Nothing has proved so embarrassing to Protestant controvertists, as to fix the period of Popery's commencement; some carrying it up to the time of Pope Silvester, at the beginning of the fourth century; others bringing it down to the days of Gregory VII, in the eleventh. Strange must it seem to every reflecting person, that so remarkable a change, as that by which the kingdom of Christ is supposed to have revolted against him, and become the kingdom of antichrist, should not have been perceptible at the time when it happened, or be capable of being fixed at any time since!

† Mat. Paris, ad dict. an.

‡ Collier's Ecc. Hist., vol. i. p. 424.

Without, however, entering into those discussions, it is proper to state, that there is an essential difference, with respect even to general councils, between defining articles of *faith*, such as those which condemn the impieties of the Albigenses, in the first canon of this council, and ordering exterior points of *discipline*, such as those in question, are in the third canon. The former are considered as immutable truths, and regard the whole Church. The latter are frequently limited, with respect both to time and to place, and have no force whatever upon individuals, until they are received and published in the several parts of Christendom; by the civil power, in what regards civil matters, and by the ecclesiastical, in what appertains to the Church. Thus many exterior ordinances of discipline, which were decreed in the last General Council of Trent, not having been received in this kingdom, in France, and in many other countries, are not therein considered as obligatory by the strictest Catholics. And thus the canon in question, admitting it to be genuine, and to have been received in some places formerly, with respect to the particular case for which it was decreed, has confessedly no force now in any part of the Church, as those can testify who have travelled in Catholic countries.* In the next place, we observe, with the continuator of Fleury, that the ordinances of this council with regard to temporal matters, such as the corporal punishment of heretics, the deposition of magistrates and feudatory princes, particularly of the Earl of Toulouse, who was here glanced at, were made with the concurrence of those who had competent authority in these matters. I speak of the different temporal sovereigns of Christendom, most of whom attended this council in person, or by their ambassadors, particularly the emperors of Germany and Constantinople, the kings of England, France, Hungary, Arragon, Sicily, Jerusalem, and Cyprus, with a great number of inferior potentates.† Lastly, to speak of the justice of this canon; it is to be remembered, that in the catalogue of heresies which have prevailed in different ages, there was one of so impious, so perfidious, and so infamous a nature, and above all so destructive of the human species, that a pagan government would have betrayed its duty, which neglected to extirpate it by fire and sword. Such were the heretics against whom those severities, of which Protestants complain, were decreed by a concurrence of the civil and ecclesiastical power, in the fourth Council of Lateran.

The system of which I have been speaking, whatever might be its origin among pagans, was introduced among Christians by Cerdon, Marcion,‡ and other Gnostics, in the age immediately following that of the apostles. The person, however, who reduced it into form, and was chiefly instrumental in propagating it, was the Persian heresiarch, Manes, in the third century. The leading tenet of it was the doctrine of two principles, or deities; one, the author of good spirits, of the New Testament, &c.; the other of bad spirits, of the flesh, of the old law, and of the Old Testament. Hence, by a necessary consequence, flowed the impieties and abominations above alluded to; which all contemporary writers, and

* See the answer to Abernethy, by Bishop Hay; and Dorrel's case stated, in answer to C. Lesley, &c.

† Fleury, Hist. Ecc. Contin. l. lxxvii. §. 49.

‡ Tertul. advers. Marcionem.

the judicial acts still extant, prove to have been held by the Manichæans; their denial of Christ's incarnation, their defiling the volumes of the Bible and the plate of the altar, their avowed system of perjury, their condemning the use of all animal food as impure, and still more the propagation of mankind, as concurring to the work of the evil deity, whilst they let loose the reins to every sensuality which was not productive of that important end. This heresy, like most others, branched out into a great variety of sects, and assumed different names; the current, however, of its leading doctrines is clearly traced, through the countries which it has principally infected, from the infancy of the Church down to a late period in the middle centuries.

It was against these pests of society and human nature, that fires were first lighted in the west, not, however, by a pope, or any other churchman, but by the religious King of France, Robert, in 1022; and it was to repress and root out these, when, confiding in their numbers and the power of their protectors, they proceeded to propagate their opinions by the sword, burning down churches and monasteries, and perpetrating indiscriminate slaughter on all ages, degrees, and sexes, that the crusade of our Simon de Montford and the inquisition were set on foot, and the canons passed. Mosheim, speaking of the Albigenses, Turlupins, Begards, or brethren of the free spirit, as they called themselves, in the 13th century, says: "Certain writers, who have accustomed themselves to entertain a high idea of the sanctity of all those who, in the middle ages, separated themselves from the Church of Rome, suspect the inquisitors of having attributed falsely impious doctrines to the brethren of the free spirit. But this suspicion is entirely *groundless*, &c. . . . Their shocking violation of decency, was a consequence of their pernicious system. They looked upon decency and modesty as marks of inward corruption . . . Certain enthusiasts amongst them maintained, that the believer could not sin, let his conduct be ever so horrible or atrocious."—*Eccles. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 284, Maclaine's translation. See, also, the *Protestant Centuriators*, and the *Dictionarium* of Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, concerning the Albigenses.

From the persecution of the Albigenses, we pass on to those exercised against Wycliff and Huss, by the Council of Constance. As to the former of these, it is usual among Protestant writers to extol his courage and vigour of mind, excuse his errors, and condemn the impotent vengeance of the council, in causing his bones to be burnt. A spirit of candour, however, would lead to the discovery of something like toleration in the conduct of those, who, whilst they condemned Wycliff's errors, left his person unpunished and unmolested during the whole of his life; and an impartial view of the dreadful effects of his doctrine in this and other countries, would have disclosed, in the ordinance of the council against his memory and remains, not an act of vengeance, but a wise and salutary instruction to mankind.

Few inflammatory writers have approached to the seditious excesses of Wycliff, where he teaches the people, that if they can discover any mortal sin, that is to say, any signal violation of sobriety, chastity, piety, meekness, or humility, in their rector, bishop, magistrate, or sovereign, they

are at liberty to disclaim his authority, and depose him if it be in their power;* or have, like him instructed us, that we are not obliged to pay our taxes or our tithes, or to regard any laws or statutes, unless the justice of them can be demonstrated from the Scripture;† or have proclaimed the sinfulness of the clergy possessing any temporal property, and tumultuously called upon the people to assist in despoiling them of it.‡ I pass lightly over a great number of other impious and seditious tenets of Wycliff and his chief disciples, John Ashton, Nicholas Hereford, William Swynderby, &c. tending to the destruction of all religion, natural as well as revealed, and to general robbery, massacre, and anarchy; such as that God ought to obey the Devil;§ that all human actions happen by inevitable necessity;|| that literary institutions, such as colleges and universities, are diabolical;¶ that it is unlawful to pray in churches, or to keep holy the Lord's day;** that if ecclesiastics are guilty of any sin, their temporal princes ought to cut off their heads; and that if the prince himself be guilty of sin, it is the business of the people to punish him.††

Nor were the doctrines of Wycliff of an unproductive nature. By the ministry of his chief apostles, John de Ashton, Nicholas de Hereford, William de Swynderby, John Purney, John Straw, John Ball, and others, they were quickly disseminated through the mass of the people; and, in the short space of four years, from the opening of his mission‡‡, produced that rank harvest of insurrection, plunder, murder, and civil war, with which every one knows the reign of Richard II was disgraced. It is true, that only the chancellor and primate Sudbury, the lord treasurer Hales, and the chief justice Cavendish, amongst the ministers of state, were actually put to death by the misled rioters; but it is clearly proved,

* "Nullus est dominus civilis, nullus episcopus, nullus prælatus dum est in peccato mortali." *Opiniones et Conclusiones Mag. T. Wycliff.* error 7, Knyghton, col. 2648; Walsing. Hist. Ang. p. 283.

† "Ubi leges humanæ non fundantur in Scriptura Sacra subditi non tenentur obedire."—Walsing. Ibid.

‡ "Est contra Scripturam Sacram quod viri ecclesiastici habeant temporales possessiones."—Knyght. col. 2648. "Nunquam erit bona pax in regno isto, quousque temporalia ista auferantur a viris ecclesiasticis, et ideo rogabat populum, manibus extensis, ut unusquisque adjuvaret in istâ materiâ."—Walsingham, p. 284.

§ "Deus debet obedire Diabolo."—Hæres. Wycliff, Knyght. col. 2648.

|| Art. 27, Wycl. Condemn. In Concil. Constan.

¶ Ibid. art. 29.

** Hypodig. Walsing. p. 557.

†† "Quod si persona ecclesiastica deliquerit, et se non emendaverit, licitum est dominis secularibus hujusmodi radere per scapulas. Si dominus temporalis deliquerit, licitum est popularibus ipsum corrigere."—Knyght. col. 2657. A learned Protestant doctor, speaking of the laws against these innovators, says, "it was not for their speculative opinions, considered purely as such, that the followers of Wycliff were prosecuted, but because, in certain respects, they maintained opinions derogatory to the rights of princes, injurious to society, and contrary to the laws in force." He proceeds to quote Archbishop Parker (*Antiq. Britan.*) in proof that "the laws made against them were necessary, on account of the tumults they occasioned, and the terror they were of to civil government."—Dr. Fiddes's *Life of Card. Wolsey*, pp. 38, 39.

‡‡ The first preaching of Wycliff, is referred, by Walsingham to the year 1377.—Hypodig. p. 531. The insurrection of the populace took place in June 1381.

that their intention was to kill the king himself, with all the nobility, bishops, rectors, canons, and monks, who sinned against Wycliff's fundamental doctrines, as to the unlawfulness of retaining temporal possessions; leaving only the friars, who observed the strict poverty of which they themselves made profession, to officiate for them.*

These rebellions, which nearly proved fatal to the kingdom, are as evidently traced to the revolutionary and equalizing doctrines of Wycliff and his followers, as an effect is to its cause, in any other instance whatsoever; and the same is positively affirmed by contemporary writers, who had the best means of judging rightly on this point. One of them remarks the circumstance of the rebellion breaking out at the same time in all the different counties in which it raged, Kent, Essex, Hertfordshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire; and that this time was no other than the week appointed for the celebrating the institution of the blessed Eucharist;† which is well known to have been the chief article of the received faith which Wycliff declaimed against. But what alone is decisive in this matter is, that the main body of the rebels, under Wat Heyler or Tyler, had for their chaplain a professed Lollard priest, viz. John Ball, who, in his well-known sermon to them on Blackheath, preached up every crime which they actually committed or endeavoured to commit.

It is clear from our ancient historians, that the subsequent seditions, which marked this and the following reigns, are equally to be ascribed to the pestiferous doctrines of these democratical reformers. Two years after the grand insurrection above-mentioned, the populace of the metropolis were instigated by Wycliff and his followers, to fresh and violent outrages, chiefly out of hatred to the prelates. In the first year of our victorious Henry V, Wycliff's disciples, not content with claiming toleration for themselves, fixed advertisements to the doors of the churches in London, giving notice, that they were ready to rise to the number of 100,000 men against all those who did not relish their opinions. Nor was this a vain threat; for in the following year, 1414, they endeavoured to raise a rebellion in St. Giles's-fields, which place their leader, the celebrated Sir John Oldcastle, had appointed for their rendezvous. Being, however, prevented by the activity of their warlike prince, several of them were taken prisoners, and, after conviction, were executed as rebels. The communication between England and Bohemia, in consequence of the marriage of Richard II with a princess of that kingdom, caused Wycliff's doctrines to be speedily wafted thither. They were principally supported in the university of Prague, by John Huss, and they were supported upon the same motive of private resentment, which had occasioned the first publication of that of Oxford. They were productive, however, of still more fatal consequences in that kingdom, than they had occasioned in this. They first caused violent seditions, in which Huss himself took an active part.‡ They next excited a general insur-

* See the dying confession of John Straw.—Walsingham's Hist. Ang. p. 265.

† The octave week of Corpus Christi. Walsing. Hist. p. 266.

‡ Fleury, Hist. Liv. Conten. l. vi. § 40, 44.

rection of the populace; and they ended in a dreadful fanatical revolution, which for many years deluged the plains of Bohemia with blood.*

If John Huss and Jerom of Prague were put to death for heresy, it was not until the doctrines of that heresy were proved by their effects, as well as by arguments, to be utterly inconsistent with the peace of society, and the very existence of civil government.

But it is said that the emperor at least violated his faith, in causing John Huss to be executed, after the safe conduct which he had given him; and, in like manner, that the council itself was guilty of perfidy, in permitting Jerom of Prague to be put to death, who came to it as they say, "protected by the public faith of the council itself." Whoever has examined the different safe-conducts of these two innovators, must have seen, that the safe-conduct of Huss is nothing more than a common travelling passport, to protect him from seizure or violence on his journey to and from the council, in which he loudly boasted he should prove his faith to be orthodox; but not in any sort an exemption from the ordinary course of the law, in case he should be found guilty of heresy. Neither did Huss solicit, nor did the emperor ever think of granting, an exemption of that nature.†

With respect to the safe conduct of Jerom of Prague, which was granted at his request by the council, after he had imposed upon it by a feigned retraction, and had clandestinely withdrawn from it, a clause was inserted, to prevent the clamours which had been raised on the seizure of Huss, and to guard against its being considered as derogating either from the canon or the civil laws.

Another argument to prove that persecution is a tenet of Catholic faith, is drawn from the massacre of Paris, and the alleged approbation of it by a pope, namely, the celebrated reformer of the calendar, Gregory XIII. With respect to the horrid deed itself of blood and perfidy, I will not attempt to justify it, as the king, the queen-dowager, and the ministers of France, did, at the time when it happened, by pretending that the Huguenots were on the point of executing a plot to destroy them, and to overturn the government; because it is now clear from

* The Hussites began their career by murdering the mayor of Prague. They then overturned the government of the kingdom, after fighting several pitched battles against their sovereign in the field, and after everywhere burning down monasteries, murdering the clergy, and all those who protected them. *Æneas Sylv. ap. Fleury.*

† In the advertisements which Huss caused to be fixed on the churches of Bohemia, he says: "I am going to the council, to make it clear, whether or not I have held or taught any erroneous doctrines; which, if they can prove against me, I will readily submit to all the pains of heretics." *L'Enfant, Hist. Conc. l. i. § 21.* Before the council itself he declared, that, "if a heretic will not renounce his errors, he ought to be corporally punished." *Ibid. l. iii. § 7, art. 18.* It must also be observed, that the emperor explained his safe conduct in this sense to Huss himself; namely, that it had not been violated by his detention, since he had been convicted of heresy by the council. *Ibid. l. iii. § 6.* See also an answer to the Rev. W. Abernethy's letter, by the Rt. Rev. G. Hay, V. A. Edinburgh, 1778. It is proper to add, that if Huss had been provided with a safe conduct as ample as Protestants suppose it to have been, he nevertheless would have forfeited the benefit of it, by his attempt to fly from Constance; and still more, by his continuing afterwards to inculcate his errors in that very city, as was observed in the tenth session of the council. See *Contin. Fleury, l. cii. L'Enfant, l. i. § 29, &c.*

history, that no such plot existed at that particular time. I will not even extenuate its atrociousness, by expatiating on the two real conspiracies for seizing on this very king and his court, and for subverting the constitution of their country, which the Calvinists had actually attempted to execute; or on the four pitched battles which they had fought against the armies of this their sovereign; or on their treachery in delivering up Havre-de-Grace, the key of the kingdom, into the hands of a foreign potentate, Queen Elizabeth; or even upon the massacres with which they themselves had previously inundated all France.* So far from this, I am ready to exclaim with Thuanus, in contemplating the horrors of St. Bartholomew's-day;

"Excidat illa dies ævo, nec postera credant
Sæcula!"†

But, let the blame fall where it is due; on the black vengeance of the unrelenting Charles IX., and the remorseless ambition of the unprincipled Catherine of Medicis, who alternately favoured the Catholics and the Huguenots, as seemed best to suit her interest. The very calumny that I mentioned before, which the king and queen invented to excuse their barbarity, is a sufficient proof that they did not conceive it lawful to commit such crimes to serve their religion; for which, indeed, neither of them felt much zeal: neither was this villainy contrived with the participation of a single individual of the French clergy; on the contrary, this body was the most forward at the time to oppose its completion,‡ and has, ever since, been the most warm in reprobating it.§

Another common-place is the Inquisition, of which, however, we are told by a Protestant divine, (Dr. Sturges) that, "several Catholic countries, dreading the miseries which such a tribunal would produce, persevered in refusing to admit it." Is not this equivalent to a confession, that the Inquisition neither was, nor is considered to be any part of the religion of Catholics; any more than the court of high commission, which bore a near resemblance to it, both in its severities and in its forms, made part of the religion of Protestants? It is not then necessary to say more on this subject, than barely to animadvert on two considerable mistakes, as to matter of fact, into which Protestants have fallen concerning it. In the first place, it is not true, as they assert,

* Davila relates, that when, upon the death of Francis II., liberty of conscience was granted them, besides burning down churches and monasteries, they massacred the people in the very streets of Paris. Heylin relates, that, in the time of a profound peace, these people, taking offence at the procession of Corpus Christi, performed in the city of Pàmiers, fell upon the whole clergy who composed it, and murdered them; and that they afterwards committed the same outrage at Montauban, Rodez, Valence, &c. Hist. Presb. l. ii.

† Thuan. ex Statio.

‡ It is particularly recorded of Henoyer, a Dominican friar and bishop of Lisieux, that he opposed to the utmost of his power the execution of the king's order for the murder of the Protestants in his diocese, answering the governor of the province, when he communicated it to him: *It is the duty of the good shepherd to lay down his life for his sheep, not to let them be slaughtered before his face. These are my sheep, though they have gone astray, and I am resolved to run at all hazards in protecting them.*—Maimb.

§ See Maimb. Contin. Fleury, &c.

that St. Dominic was the founder of the Inquisition, or even that he was a member of it; for it did not exist until after his death. I grant that he vigorously opposed the pernicious errors of the Albigenses, and that he converted an incredible number of them; but he never made use of any other arms for this purpose than preaching, prayer, and the example of his virtues. On the other hand, it is a fact, that this tribunal, with all its severity, was not competent to pass sentence of death, or the loss of limbs, upon any person whomsoever.

I am not afraid of being disowned by the Catholic Church; on the contrary, I am convinced that I speak her sentiments, in adopting the language of Tertullian, of pope St. Leo, of our apostle St. Augustin, &c. and that I am influenced by her spirit in admiring the well-known conduct of the great St. Ambrose and St. Martin, both of whom refused to hold any communion, even to gratify an emperor, with Ithacius, a Spanish bishop, and certain other persons, who sought to put the Priscilian heretics to death. In a word I am persuaded, where any sect, whether of Christians or of infidels, is found under a Catholic dominion, separated from the great body of the Catholic Church, but upon mere questions of religion, without teaching any principle inconsistent with the fundamental laws of morality, or the peace of society, (as I am convinced is the case in the Church of England, though I am certain of the contrary with respect to the Albigenses, the Wickliffites, and the Hussites,) that it is equally the part of *prudence*, of *justice*, and of *charity*, not to persecute them in any shape whatsoever, nor to attack them with any other sword, than *the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God*.

I now come to speak of the furious and fatal persecution of Protestants in Queen Mary's reign. If I knew any more emphatical terms to express my abhorrence of it, than those which I have elsewhere employed, I would here make use of them. To convey to execution herds of poor weavers, sawyers, shoemakers, and other working people, women as well as men, for civil crimes, would be contrary to the established rules of a just and prudent government; how much more inhuman and unwise then was it, to do this on account of subtle controversies of faith, which the examination of a great part of the sufferers proves them not to have understood? However, if Mary was a persecutor, it was not in virtue of any tenet of her religion that she was so. The real cause of her departing from that prudent as well as humane line of conduct, which she professed and followed during the early part of her reign, was, the numerous provocations she met with from the effervescent zeal of her Protestant subjects. In fact, this spirit, however violent at first, would soon have cooled of its own nature, had it not been fanned by the breath of persecution. These assertions have often been proved, by arguments which to me appear demonstrative, and they are confirmed by the authority of some of the most learned and able advocates of the Established Church, who are loud in condemning the excesses here alluded to.*

But permit me to ask, whether, if the Catholic religion obliged the

* Heylin, Hist. Ref. p. 47. Collier, Ecc. Hist. New lights thrown on the history of Queen Mary.

queen in *conscience* to commence persecutor, the pope would not have given her some intimation of this sort, in the detailed instructions which he sent her for the regulation of her conduct, at her first accession to the throne? If this persecution had been set on foot in virtue of any tenet or obligation of the Catholic religion, would there not have occurred some regulation or articles concerning it in the synod, which was held in 1555, by the pope's legate, Cardinal Pole, and the other Catholic bishops, for regulating all matters relating to their religion? Look at the heads of that synod, as they are reported by Burnet himself, and see whether there is to be found a word of that matter. So far from it, this writer, with all his prejudices, gives credit to the cardinal for his toleration.* Now I desire to know how this primate of the English Church, and representative of the pope, could openly condemn in the *council*, as the Catholic preachers also did from the *pulpit*, the cruelties committed, had these been carried on in virtue of any tenet of their religion?† Finally, we have the substance of the arguments employed on both sides of the question in that cabinet council, which took the fatal resolution of employing fire and faggot against the new religion; but do the most violent advocates for persecution, do even Gardiner and Bonner once intimate, in opposition to the cardinal, that they have the *doctrine of the Church* on their side? No, they resort to no other arguments than those of *policy*, and upon these alone was the question fatally determined by Mary herself.‡

During the reign of Elizabeth, 200 persons were put to death for the profession of the Catholic faith.§

In fact, I have collected the names of 204 persons executed on that sole account, chiefly within the twenty last years of her reign. Of this number 142 were priests, three were gentlewomen, and the remainder esquires, gentlemen, and yeomen. Amongst them, fifteen were condemned for denying the queen's spiritual supremacy, 126 for the exercise of the priestly functions, and the rest for being reconciled to the Catholic faith, or for being aiding and abetting to priests. Besides these, I find

* Burnet, speaking of this synod, says: "By all this it may appear how well tempered the cardinal (Pole) was. He never set on the clergy to persecute heretics, but to reform themselves," &c.—Hist. Ref. p. ii. p. 326.

† Hist. Ref. ii. pp. 298, 305.

‡ Ibid. p. 299. Heylin, p. 48.

§ This list does not include the Catholics executed for any plot, *real or imaginary*, except the eleven priests who suffered, in 1581-2, for the pretended plot of Rheims and Rome; because that was so *glaring a forgery*, that even Camden allows these men to have been *political victims*, immolated to appease the populace, who were in a ferment at the idea of the queen marrying a Catholic prince, the brother of the King of France. It is proper here to remark, that these sufferers were in general persons of a very different description from most of Fox's martyrs, being thoroughly instructed in the doctrines of the religion for which they died, perfectly agreeing in their faith and discipline, and proving themselves possessed of the most edifying piety, modesty, charity, purity of life, allegiance to their sovereign, and obedience to the magistrates and laws in all matters except those of religion. Far the greater part of them, and particularly all the priests, were men of education, having for the most part been educated at the University of Oxford, previously to their retiring abroad, in order to embrace the ancient faith, and to receive those orders which they were not permitted to receive in their own country.

a particular account, together with most of the names, of ninety priests, or Catholic lay persons, who died in prison, in the same reign, and of 105 others, who were sent into perpetual banishment.* I say nothing of many more, who were whipped, fined,† or stripped of their property, to the utter ruin of their families. In one night, fifty Catholic gentlemen, in the county of Lancaster, were suddenly seized and committed to prison, on account of their non-attendance at church. About the same time, I find an equal number of Yorkshire gentlemen lying prisoners in York Castle on the same account, most of whom perished there.

These were, every week, for a twelvemonth together, dragged by main force, to hear the established service performed in the Castle chapel.‡ An account was published, by a contemporary writer, of 1200 Catholics, who had been in some sort or other victims of this persecution, previously to the year 1588, that is to say, during the period of its greatest lenity.§ I have heretofore given the number of the puritans or other dissenters, who were put to death for their religious opinions, during this period; and I shall have occasion to mention below the continuation of the persecution against Catholics, and the number of persons who suffered in it during the three subsequent reigns of the house of Stuart, and the interregnum of the commonwealth. Upon a comparative view of the persecutions which have been carried on in this country, since the reformation, on both sides, it will appear that many more Catholics than Protestants have suffered capital punishment on the score of religion; and if we take into consideration the whole effect of the different penal laws, in their numberless branches, we shall find that the sufferings of the former have been greater than those of the latter, beyond all estimation.

With respect to the greater part of the Catholic victims, the sentence of the law was strictly and literally executed upon them. After being hanged up, they were cut down alive, dismembered, ripped up, and their bowels literally burnt before their faces, after which, they were beheaded and quartered! The time employed in this butchery was very considerable, and, in one instance, lasted above half an hour. I must add, that a great number of the sufferers, who did not endure capital punishment, were racked in the most severe and wanton manner, in order to extort proofs against themselves or their brethren.||

* See Dodd's Hist. Challoner's Mem.

† The fine for recusancy alone was 20*l.* per month, besides pecuniary mulcts, on other accounts, without number.

‡ See a circumstantial account of their behaviour.—Memoirs, &c., vol. i. p. 429, &c.

§ See *Concertatio Ecc. Cath.*, by Dr. Bridgewater.

|| That torturing was then in practice, is confirmed by Camden, in his Annals, who, speaking of the famous F. Campion, says, that "he was not so racked but that he was still capable of signing his name." It appears, from the account of one of these sufferers, that the following tortures were in use against the Catholics in the Tower: 1. The common rack, in which the limbs were stretched by levers. 2. The *Scavenger's Daughter*, so called, being a hoop, in which the body was bent until the head and feet met together. 3. The chamber called *Little Ease*, being a hole so small that a person could neither stand, sit, nor lie straight in it. 4. The iron gauntlets. *Diar. Rar. Gest. in Turri. Lond.*

In some instances needles were thrust under the prisoner's nails.—See pref. to Mem. of Miss. With what cruelty the Catholics were racked, we may gather from the following passage, in a letter from John Nichols to Cardinal Allen, by way of extenuating the guilt of his apostasy and perfidy in accusing his Catholic brethren: "Non bona res est corpus isto cruciatu longius fieri per duos ferè pedes natura concessit." Sir Owen Hopton, Lieutenant of the Tower, was commonly the immediate instrument in these cruelties; but, sometimes, Elmer, Bishop of London, directed them. On one occasion, he caused a young lady, of good birth, to be cruelly scourged, when he could not prevail upon her to attend the public service.—See de Schism. Ang. pp. 319, 328.

(From the *Edinburgh Review*, Article VIII, titled "*Toleration of the Reformers*," No. 53.)

"Protestant writers, in general, are apt to describe the Reformation as a struggle for religious freedom. . . . Now, we humbly apprehend, that the free exercise of private judgment was most heartily abhorred by the first Reformers, except only where the persons who assumed it had the good fortune to be exactly of their opinion. . . . The martyrdoms of Servetus, in Geneva, and of Joan Bocher, in England, are notable instances of the religious freedom which prevailed in the pure and primitive state of the Protestant Churches. It is obvious, also, that the freedom for which our first Reformers so strenuously contended, did not, by any means, include a freedom to think as the Catholics thought; that is to say, to think as all Europe had thought for many ages, and as the greatest part of Europe thought at the very time, and continue to think to this very day. *The complete extirpation of the Catholic Church, not merely as a public establishment, but as a tolerated Sect, was the avowed object of our first Reformers.* In 1560, by an Act of the Parliament, which established the Reformation in Scotland, both the sayers and hearers of mass, whether in public or in private, were, for the first offence, to suffer confiscation of all their goods, together with corporal punishment, at the discretion of the Magistrate; they were to be punished by banishment for the second offence; and by death for the third! . . . It was not possible for the most bigoted Catholic to inculcate more distinctly, the complete extirpation of the opinions and worship of the Protestants, than John Knox inculcated as a most sacred duty, incumbent on the civil government, in the first instance, and if the civil government is remiss, incumbent on the people, to extirpate completely the opinions and worship of the Catholics, and even to massacre the Catholics, man, woman, and child. . . . If the government had followed the directions of the clergy, the Catholics would have been extirpated by the sword. . . . In the reigns of Charles the Second, and of his brother, a Protestant prelacy, in alliance with a Protestant administration, outstript the wishes of those arbitrary monarchs in the persecution of their Protestant countrymen. It is needless to weary ourselves or our readers with disgusting details which the curious in martyrology may find in various publications. Every body knows that the martyrdoms were both numerous and cruel, but perhaps the comparative mildness of the Catholic Church of Scotland, is not so generally known. Knox has investigated the matter with commendable diligence, but has not been able to muster more than eighteen martyrs who perished by the hand of the executioner, from the year 1500, when heresy first began, till 1559, when the Catholics had no longer the power to persecute. . . . It is, indeed, a horrid list; but far short of the numbers, who, during the twenty-two years immediately previous to the Revolution, were capitally executed in Scotland for the '*wicked error*' of separation from the worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church."

Tract 14.

[PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE CATHOLIC INSTITUTE
OF GREAT BRITAIN.]

A
SHORT TREATISE
ON
FASTING.



Stereotyped for the Catholic Institute of Great Britain.

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A SHORT TREATISE,

&c.

Is Fasting a *vain superstition of the Church of Rome*, or is it one of those Scriptural practices which no man can safely neglect? I am of the latter opinion, and I feel confident that any one who has paid that moderate degree of attention to Scripture which I have paid, will be compelled to acknowledge that, after the *merits of Christ*, *Fasting* is pointed out by Heaven as one of the best advocates which the sinner can bring along with him, when he approaches the throne of mercy, whether he comes to implore the forgiveness of his sins or to solicit aid in the hour of distress. Nay, he will be forced to acknowledge that, generally speaking, it is a necessary condition for ensuring even the advocacy of the merits of Christ.

I know that I have to deal with men who admit no evidence which is not deduced from the *written word*; but to the law and to the prophets let them appeal, and there I am ready to meet them.

I. Where is the *individual sinner* encouraged to seek, and where is he assured that he shall find, forgiveness? In *Fasting*, joined with prayer, from which it should never be separated.

Achab was a murderer, a robber, an idolater, nay, an apostate to idolatry, who had scandalized the people of God and led them into idolatry. In fine, the testimony borne to his character by the Holy Ghost, is, that "There was not such another for wickedness in the sight of the Lord." So that the Almighty had determined to make a public example of him, and to extirpate him and his noble race from the face of the earth. "But it came to pass that, when Achab heard these words (the sentence of Heaven announced to him by the prophet Elias), he rent his clothes, and put sackcloth upon his flesh, and *Fasted*, and lay in sackcloth." These are the means, by which Achab, guided by the Spirit of God, sought to avert the wrath of heaven: and see the effect. "The word of the Lord came again to Elias the Thesbite, saying: Seest thou how Achab humbleth himself before me? Because he humbleth himself before me, I will not bring the evil in his days, but in his son's days will I bring the evil upon his house." (1 Kings, xxi.) Is it then a *vain superstition* which thus wrests the shafts of vengeance out of the hands of an angry God?

In like manner David stood charged in the sight of the Lord with the

two most *mortal crimes* that a man can commit: he stood charged with the crimes of *murder* and *adultery*. And what was the sacrifice which he offered in atonement for these crimes? It was that of *Fasting*. "I humbled my soul with *Fasting*. When I wept and chastised my soul with *Fasting*, that was to my reproach.... My knees are weak through *Fasting* and my flesh *faieth of fatness*." (*Psalms* xxxv. and lxix.)

It would appear that there were men who scoffed at *Fasting* in David's days, as well as in ours, yet through *Fasting* David sought mercy, and through *Fasting* he found mercy. Do we despise mercy, or have we found an easier and more effectual way of ensuring it?

The Lord was with Josaphat because he walked in the *first ways* of David, his father (viz., the ways in which David walked, when the Lord said of him, that he was a man *according to his own heart*). But afterwards Josaphat enkindled the wrath of heaven against himself and his kingdom by espousing the cause of Achab, the impious king of Israel. To punish this crime the Lord brought the Ammonites and Moabites, in conjunction with the Syrians, to overwhelm him and his people. But Josaphat being seized with fear, betook himself wholly to pray to the Lord, and *he proclaimed a fast* of all Juda. (2 Chron., xx.) The result of the *fast* was, that the Spirit of the Lord came upon Jahaziel, and bid him say, "Fear ye not and be not dismayed at this multitude, for the battle is not your's, but God's," and the Lord gave them a bloodless victory by making their enemies turn their swords against each other. (*Ibid.*) Does the God of heaven, then, reward *superstition* by working miracles in its favour?

II. Where are *whole nations*, when steeped in crime, encouraged to seek and where are they assured that they shall find forgiveness? In *Fasting*.

When Joel received his prophetic mission, the crimes of God's people had so provoked the Almighty, that he sent his servant to propose to them the alternative, either of preparing themselves for *a day* (of vengeance) such as had not been from the beginning, nor should be after it, even to the years of generation and generation, or of averting the catastrophe by *Fasting*. "Now, therefore, saith the Lord, be converted to me with all your heart, in *Fasting*, and in weeping, and in mourning. And rend your hearts and not your garments, and turn to the Lord your God. For he is gracious and merciful, patient and rich in mercy, and ready to repent of the evil. Who knoweth but he will return and forgive, and leave a blessing behind him." This people, though apparently our equals in every other crime, had not been cursed with our self-conceit; they listened to the admonition—they sought the Lord by *Fasting*—and the Lord was zealous for his land and *spared his people*. (*Joel*, ii.) If the votaries of *bigotry* are those whom the Lord *spares*, may I live and die a bigot!

The *Fast* of the Ninivites, its cause and its effects are so well known that it is almost superfluous to record them. The Ninivites were an idolatrous people—a people so plunged in iniquities, which even Pagan ignorance could not palliate, that God declared that their wickedness had come up before him, calling for a vengeance which is thus announced:—

"The word of the Lord came to Jonas the second time, saying, 'arise and go to Ninive, the great city, and preach in it the preaching that I bid thee;' and the preaching was 'yet forty days and Ninive shall be destroyed;' and the men of Ninive believed in God, and they proclaimed a *Fast*, and put on sackcloth, from the greatest to the least. And the word came to the king of Ninive, and he rose up out of his throne and cast away his robe from him, and was clothed with sackcloth and sat in ashes. And he caused it to be proclaimed and published in Ninive from the mouth of the king and his princes, saying, 'Let neither men nor beasts, oxen nor sheep *taste any thing*. Let them not *feed* nor *drink water*. And let men and beasts be covered with sackcloth and cry to the Lord with all their strength, and let them turn every one from his evil way and from the iniquity that is in their hands. Who can tell if God will turn and forgive, and will turn away from his fierce anger, and we shall not perish?' And God saw their works, that they were turned from their evil way; and God had mercy with regard to the evil which he had said that he would do them, and he did it not." (*Jonas*, iii.) God, then, by *revelation* teaches the Jew to seek mercy by *Fasting*, and even reason teaches the ignorant and untutored Pagan to fly to the same *asylum*.

III. By *Fasting* the weak and oppressed are encouraged to throw themselves on the protection of heaven, and when they do so they do it not in vain.

Was it an arm of flesh that protected God's people in their march out of Babylon, under Esdras? Alas! for every man that they could muster, the enemy, who waylaid them, could muster thousands. But Esdras sought the protection of heaven by *Fasting*, and he sought it not in vain. "I proclaimed there a *Fast* by the river Ahava, that we might afflict ourselves before the Lord our God, and might ask of him a right way for us and for our children, and for all our substance. For I was ashamed to ask the king for aid and for horsemen to defend us from our enemies in the way, because we had said to the king—the hand of our God is upon all them that seek him in goodness, and his power and strength and wrath upon all them that forsake him. And we *Fasted* and besought the Lord our God for this, and it fell out prosperously unto us." (1 *Esdras*, viii.) Was it an arm of flesh that delivered God's people in the days of Judith? Not so! Ozias proposes to surrender after five days, but Judith *Fasts*; Holofernes falls, and the host of the Assyrians, whose multitude stopped up the torrents, flies before the face of a woman. But she was a woman who *Fasted* all the days of her life, except the Sabbaths, and new moons, and the feasts of the house of Israel. (*Judith*, viii. 6.) She was the advocate of a people who cried to the Lord with great earnestness and humbled their souls in *Fastings* and prayers, both they and their wives (*Judith*, iv. 8)—of a people whose high priest (how unlike modern preachers!) said to them, "Know ye that the Lord will hear your prayers, if you continue with perseverance in *Fastings* and prayers in the sight of the Lord." (*Judith*, iv. 11.)

Was it an arm of flesh, an arm which trusts to its own strength, and which seeks this strength in luxurious indulgence—was this the arm which rescued the Jews when the haughty and all-powerful Aman

had already extorted from Assuerus the fatal decree which, by a general massacre, was in one day to blot out the name of the Jews in their blood? No! It was Esther, a captive woman, who had insured the aid of heaven by *Fasting*. When the Jews had heard these things (the decree for a general massacre) "in all the provinces, towns, and places to which the king's cruel edict was come, there was great mourning among the Jews, with *Fasting*." (*Esther*, iv. 3.) And when Mordecai urged Esther to "go in to the king and entreat him for her people," she sent to Mordecai in these words,—“Go and gather together all the Jews, whom thou shalt find in Susan, and pray ye for me. *Neither eat nor drink for three days and three nights, and I with my hand-maids will Fast in like manner*, and then I will go in to the king against the law, not being called, and expose myself to death and danger.” (*Esther*, iv. 16.) So Mordecai went and did all that Esther had commanded him. On the third day Esther went in—the edict was recalled—Aman was hanged, and the Jews were allowed for two whole days to slaughter those who were prepared to slaughter them.

Was it an arm of flesh, pampered in the luxuries of the table, that repelled the foe in the days of Judas Maccabeus? Not so. But it was a handful of people who sought the protection of the Most High by *Fasting*. “The success of the war,” said Judas to his band of trembling followers, “is not in the multitude of the army, but strength cometh from heaven,” “and they *Fasted* that day, and put on sackcloth and put ashes on their heads.” (1 *Mac.*, iii. 19, 47.) “And they joined battle, and the Gentiles were routed.” (iv. 14.) By the same arms success was ensured to them throughout the struggle. Antiochus poured in his multitudes anew, hoping at last to terrify the people of God and to overwhelm them. But he found that they who seek the face of the Lord by *Fasting* are not to be terrified or overwhelmed. See the new invasion, the new *Fast*, and the new victory, thus described by the Holy Ghost:—“The king, with his mind full of rage, came on to show himself worse to the Jews than his father was. Which, when Judas understood, he commanded the people to call upon the Lord day and night.” And there mode of calling was this: “they craved mercy of the Lord with weeping and *Fasting*, lying prostrate on the ground for three days continually. This done, Judas exhorted them to make themselves ready. He went out, committing all to God. He gave, as the watch-word, ‘the victory of God.’ He set upon the king’s quarters by night, and slew four thousand men in the camp, with the greatest of the elephants, with them that had been upon it; and, having filled the camp of the enemy with exceeding great fear and tumult, they (Judas and his men) went off with great success. After this Antiochus fought with Judas, was overcome, and made peace.” (2 *Mac.*, xiii.)

IV. But *Fasting* not only disarms the wrath of God, when his hand is lifted up to smite *sinful individuals or nations*; it not only gives *strength and victory* to the *weakest* of mortals, but it brings heaven to our succour in all the trying occurrences of life. Do the clouds of adversity lower over our heads, and do their forebodings overwhelm us with depression of spirits? Let us *Fast*, and Heaven will dispel the gloom and show us the rays of approaching mercy.

Whose spirits were ever more depressed with grief than those of Daniel, when he viewed the sins of his people and their merited punishment? But he says "I set my face to the Lord, my God, to pray and make supplication, with *Fasting* and sackcloth and ashes,"—and he prayed and said, "Let thy wrath be turned away—hear the supplication of thy servant and his prayers and show thy face upon thy sanctuary which is desolate." And what was the return made by heaven to his prayer and *Fasting*? The angel Gabriel was immediately dispatched from on high to cheer him with this message:—"Seventy weeks are shortened upon thy people and upon thy holy city." (*Daniel*, ix. 3, 16, 17, 24.) And, as if it had been a small reward for his *Fasting* and prayers, to cheer him with a near view of his people's deliverance from temporal bondage, the same messenger had orders to cheer him with the near view of *their* deliverance, and that of *all mankind* from the spiritual bondage of sin through Christ.

It is not easy to conceive frail mortals placed in more perplexing circumstances than the two families of Tobias and Raguel. Imagine that you see each family pending on the life of a single child. Imagine the daughter of Raguel, already seven times married, and as often left a widow on the first night after her marriage. Imagine her now married, for the eighth time to young Tobias, the only son of her father's kinsman and dearest friend. Imagine her father already preparing the grave to which he expected to have, next day, the melancholy task of consigning the corpse of his son-in-law. Imagine, on the other hand, Tobias, the father, aged and blind, whose only son is at a distance, surrounded by dangers and for whose safety he entertains the most gloomy anticipations. But Sarah had, at last, learned from an angel how to ensure life and happiness to her spouse, and joy to herself and parents—by *Fasting*. "She went into an upper chamber of her house, and, for three days and three nights, did neither *eat* nor *drink*, but continuing in prayer, with tears, besought God that he would deliver her from this reproach," viz, that of dying without issue. (*Tob.* iii. 10, 11.) In like manner Tobias the elder, was about to have the happiness of seeing his son return safe, well married; and rich. And all this, together with the restoration of his sight, he had ensured by *Fasting*. (*Tob.* xi. 8).

V. I hope I have not to deal with those who, when pressed by evidence deduced from the Old Testament, are prepared, rather than relinquish their opinion, to throw it and its evidence to the winds. But if, among my readers, there should be any such, I shall now treat them with a few texts from the New Testament.

At a very early stage of the Gospel dispensation, *Fasting* and its rewards catch the eye of the attentive reader.

In the second chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, we are told that, Anna the Prophetess "departed not from the temple, by *Fastings* and prayers serving night and day." (v. 37), and she was rewarded with the privilege of confessing and proclaiming the Redeemer on the very day of his *Presentation*. *Fasting* is commended by Christ, with the promise of a reward from his Father. (*Matt* vi. 16, 17). We are told by Christ that *Fasting* casts out devils, when nothing else will do

it. (*Mark*, ix. 29. and *Matt.* xvii. 20.) By *Fasting* the apostles sought and obtained worthy co-partners in the ministry. (*Acts*, xiii 3.) By *Fasting* they sought and obtained the same all-important object. (*Acts* xiv. 22.) *Fasting* is the badge of a *true Christian*. (2. *Cor.* vi. 5, and 2. *Cor.* xi. 27.) Christ himself, instead of abolishing it as a part of the ceremonial law, condescends, on the contrary, to prescribe rules for it. (*Matt.* vi. 16, 17.) He declares that it shall be practised, from the day of his ascension *by all his true disciples*. (*Matt.* ix. 15.) And, finally, he began his own public career on earth by a *Fast* of forty days ; and no precept ought to be more binding in the eyes of a real Christian than the example of his *Master*.

The apostles and first Christians, *at least*, thought that his example was to be followed ; that his rule was to be practised ; that his badge was to be worn. St. Paul was no weak or superstitious man, yet he *Fasted*. (2. *Cor.* vi. 5, and xi. 27), and he deemed *Fasting* necessary for securing his *eternal welfare*. (1 *Cor.* ix. 27.) What, then, becomes of the arguments of those who think they have turned *Fasting* into ridicule by saying that, "Scripture nowhere recommends *voluntary sufferings*," that, "we are to use God's gifts," that, "God rejoiceth not in the grumbling of an empty stomach," Who will hear of nothing but "the *all-sufficiency* of Christ's merits." If such doctrine be good for any thing, what becomes of the crime of Eve, for which *she* paid so dear, and for which *we*, her descendants, are still paying? She only used God's gifts. But, you will say, she did it in disobedience. So do we, when we refuse to *Fast*. What becomes of the crime of the rich man of the Gospel? (*Luke*, xvi.) He only used God's gifts ; only gave his stomach what it craved ; observed no *Superstitious Fasts*, as we choose to call them. For we are not told that he was either a glutton or a drunkard. He only feasted *sumptuously* every day, yet he was *buried in hell*. (v. 22.) True it is that, "God rejoiceth not in the *grumbings* of an empty stomach." But he himself has punished, and daily punishes *our sins*, by imposing *Fasts* upon us ; for, every time that he subjects us to wants and privations, we may say that he imposes a *Fast* on us. And he rejoices that we should approve of and imitate his plan ; he rejoices that we should know our enemy, and give him no encouragement ; that we should keep in subjection, by extra mortifications, that appetite whose immoderate desires have been the source of all our sins ; that we should punish ourselves in the quarter whence our sins originated. The *merits of Christ* are *all-sufficient*. But *all-sufficiency* and indiscriminate interposition are very different things. He has only promised the interposition of his *all-sufficiency* on certain conditions, which we must fulfil. Hence, St. Paul tells us, that he laboured to fill up those things that were wanting of the sufferings of Christ in his flesh, that is, to perform those acts of penance which Christ required of him as a condition for the application of his *all-sufficiency*. I could say much more, and say it on Scriptural authority ; but I have said enough to convince the sincere ; and all that I could say would not be enough to convince the insincere and the scoffer. Only He who can change the heart can convince these.

If, then, we will not *Fast*, let us not say that it is because *Fasting* is not a Scriptural doctrine. If we will not *Fast*, let us seek the cause of our aversion in some other motive. But woe to that motive for the sake of which we are prepared to incur the evils which may be averted by *Fasting*, and to forego the benefits which it may secure. For it follows, from what I have shewn, that the language of Scripture is this. Do you wish to obtain from heaven the pardon of sins, whether private or national? *Fast*, and they shall be forgiven. Do you wish to avert the calamities which threaten you or your country? *Fast*, and the scourge shall be suspended. Do you wish to ensure blessing private or public? *Fast*, and your desires shall be granted. In fine, do you wish to establish your claim to the honour and privileges of a Christian? *Fast*, for *Fasting* is the Christian's badge, the Christian's livery.

I know the force of early prejudices and party spirit. I know it, and can sympathize with it. But real religion should rise superior to such considerations. Till this is the case, we may be of Paul or of Apollos, but we are not of Christ.

Who would not, every day of his life, raise his heart to heaven and exclaim: "From the *prejudices of education and party* deliver me, O Lord," when he sees the able, the sentimental, and otherwise pious Cowper consigning to a place *as gloomy as his own soul* (or, if this be thought severe,) consigning to eternal perdition all who do penance, and for no other crime but for doing penance? (See "*Truth*"—*Cowper's Poems*, vol. 1.)

And why this severity, this rabid severity? Because his religious teachers have dunned him into the persuasion, that *penance* can only be the suggestion of pride and a diffidence in the merits of the Redeemer. Now, in almost every text that I have quoted, we have seen that the Holy Ghost represents *Fasting* as the offspring of humility, and the Catholic Church recognises no merit in a pharisaical *Fast*.

Are the enemies of *Fasting*, then, prepared to bear the weight of the scourges which are averted by it? Are they prepared to forego the blessings which are obtained by it? Or have they discovered another more easy and safe way of averting the one and obtaining the other?

TRACT 15.

[PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE CATHOLIC
INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN.]

THE HIGH-CHURCH CLAIMS:

OR, A SERIES OF PAPERS

ON

THE OXFORD CONTROVERSY, THE HIGH-CHURCH THEORY
OF DOGMATICAL AUTHORITY, ANGLICAN CLAIM TO
APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION, &c.

BY NICHOLAS WISEMAN, D.D.

N^o. 1.

OCCASIONED BY THE CONTROVERSY RESPECTING DR.
HAMPDEN'S APPOINTMENT TO THE THEOLOGICAL
CHAIR AT OXFORD IN 1836.



[Stereotyped for the Catholic Institute of Great Britain.]

LONDON:

Sold by all Catholic Booksellers, price One Penny, or Five Shillings
per Hundred for gratuitous distribution.

PRINTED BY C. RICHARDS, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, CHANCERY CROSS.

INTRODUCTION TO THE TRACTS UPON THE HIGH-CHURCH CLAIMS.

It is not, perhaps, usual for articles published anonymously in a Review, to be avowed by their author, or reprinted with his name. Nor was there any intention originally on the part of the writer of the present series of Tracts, to depart from the customary practice. However he might look forward to the possibility of one day embodying the substance of them in a more systematic work, he never contemplated their issue in detached pamphlets, such as they at present appear. It was, however, thought by the Committee of the Catholic Institute, that publication in such a form, by affording facilities for dissemination, would more extensively benefit the cause they were written to support; and such a consideration was sufficient to induce the author to sacrifice all personal feelings, and allow his name to be prefixed to what was originally allowed to remain anonymous. Some alterations have been introduced into these Tracts, called for by the form they have now assumed: on the whole, however, they will be found the same as in their original publication.

London,
Feast of Our Lady's Nativity, 1839.

This and the five following papers, appeared originally in the *Dublin Review*; and the Publications Committee of the Catholic Institute have been kindly permitted by the proprietors of that work to present them to the public in their present shape, with a few alterations, by the reverend and learned author, as stated in the above introduction. The Committee gladly avail themselves of this opportunity of recommending the *Dublin Review* to the Catholics of the empire, as well worthy of their support.

TRACT N^o. I.

OCCASIONED BY THE CONTROVERSY RESPECTING
DR. HAMPDEN'S APPOINTMENT TO THE DIVINITY
CHAIR AT OXFORD IN 1836.

WE feel obliged to confess, that, in looking over the controversial tracts which the appointment of Dr. Hampden to the theological chair of Oxford has called into being, our minds have been crossed by feelings, which we scarcely know how to reconcile together, or even to analyse, with satisfaction to ourselves. On the one hand we see learned and zealous, and we have reason to believe, in some instances, amiable men, contending, in the spirit which belongs to a better Church and a better cause, in favour of a rigid adherence to principles and doctrines which we must approve; yet, thereby departing from the consistency of their professed faith, and betraying how powerless they are in wielding the weapons which it has long since blunted, and then thrown aside. On the other side, we see the professor *elect* accused, not unjustly, of rash and dangerous opinions in his earlier works, but yet most unjustly cited to answer for them, upon principles which his accusers themselves had no right to adopt. For he is charged not so much with heterodoxy in faith, as with violating articles, that can pretend to no power of binding the internal belief.

But the anomalies of the system, which this controversy has exposed, are still farther exhibited by the new position, wherein the professor *installed* has placed himself. His inaugural discourse appears; in it all is conformable to what his opponents could require; the doctrine of the Trinity is no longer the result of "a combination of the judgments of speculative reason, with the prescriptions of authority," or "an exact scientific view of the principle of causation,"* the sacramental influence is no longer the consequence of a "general belief in magic in the early ages of the Church;"† transubstantiation is no more a doctrine which, as "a simple opinion, might have had no harm in it,"‡ but all is just what the most zealous supporter of the Church articles could desire; the Trinity, as in them taught, cannot be denied "without expunging the Scriptures themselves,"§ the sacrament of regeneration is efficacious as a means of grace, through Christ's blessing, "so as to be indispensable to

* Theological statements, pp. 17, 19.

† *Ib.* p. 61.

‡ *Ib.* p. 58.

§ Inaugural Lect. p. 9.

all within the reach of it,"* and, as a peace-offering perhaps to more relentless spirits, transubstantiation is "rejected as a fond notion."† Not only in these points, but in many others, the impartial reader of the works before us will see manifest variations of opinion, not to say glaring contradictions.

But is the blame of this to be cast upon Dr. Hampden? Assuredly not. Had he been a teacher in our Church, had he made his profession of faith amongst us, we might have been startled at such a change; because we could have discovered no principle in the mind of a Catholic theologian, whereby it could be justified. But where the religion itself admits the possibility of variation in the whole collective Church, and supposes, that to-day it may be plunged into idolatry or gross superstition, and to-morrow rise regenerated and purified from the laver of a reformation, it is surely unreasonable to expect, that its individual teachers shall have preserved consistency through the growing experience of life. We do not mean to insinuate that the professorial chair can have, or has had, a magical influence upon the opinions of its occupant, or that it is an infallible nostrum for the cure of heterodoxy. For the professor's adversaries absolve him from all *formal* guilt in this respect, as the schoolmen call it. Dr. Pusey says, that what they have written, "it should be plainly understood, has not been done with any idea of passing judgment upon the personal faith of Dr. Hampden." "On the contrary," he adds, "we believe that the earlier faith planted in the soul yet survives, and we trust and pray that it may survive, unharmed if possible, by the later philosophical system, which has been admitted into the intellect."‡ The report of the Committee appointed, March 5, by the Corpus meeting, makes the same declaration, and is careful in stating that "they are far from imputing to Dr. Hampden personally those unchristian doctrines, with which his system" (characterised in the preceding paragraph as the *theory of rationalism*) "is closely connected, or the consequences inevitably flowing from it."§

Here, then, is an admission of inward orthodoxy in the accused professor, while his outward teaching is in direct opposition to the principles of faith which he has professed, and to the articles of religion which he has solemnly subscribed. Yet even here there is no inconsistency, upon the principles maintained by distinguished divines of the English Church: though the usual order of proceeding is obviously reversed. For Dr. Hampden is acknowledged inwardly to believe according to the doctrines prescribed, and only charged with outwardly professing what is at variance with them; whereas, the more ordinary theory is, that the subscribers of the articles may in their heart reject them, while outwardly they shape their teaching in conformity to them. Which species of discrepancy between the heart and the hand is the more reprehensible, we leave candid readers to determine. Bishop Bramhall says of the thirty-nine articles, that they are "only pious opinions fitted for the preservation of unity; neither do

* Inaug. Lect. p. 14. † Ibid. ‡ "Theological Statements," p. iii.

§ "Letter to His Grace the Archb. of Canterbury," p. 32.

we oblige any man to believe them, but only not to contradict them.* Dr. Hey, when actually Norrisian professor of theology in the sister university, asserted in his Lectures, that "the sense of the articles is to be determined by circumstances." Dr. Balguy is still more explicit; for he says, "the articles are not exactly what we might wish them to be. Some of them are expressed in doubtful terms; others are inaccurate, perhaps unphilosophical; others, again, may chance to mislead an ignorant reader into same erroneous opinions; but is there any one among them that leads to immorality?" Such is his opinion of the articles; now, hear what he says of subscription and mental adherence to them. "I am far from wishing to discourage the clergy of the Established Church from thinking for themselves, or from speaking what they think, nor even from writing. I say nothing against the right of private judgment or speech, I only contend that men ought not to attack the Church from those very pulpits, in which they were placed for her defence."

Now, Dr. Balguy, as Dr. Milner remarks,† was the most strenuous opposer of those clergymen, who, in 1772, petitioned the legislature to be relieved from the burthen of subscription; and his sermons, from which this passage is drawn, were dedicated to the King. The theory therefore of these, and many other divines of the establishment, whom we could quote, is that the articles are not obligatory on the conscience, but only "articles of peace," which need not be believed, but must not be publicly, or rather *officially*, impugned. And if in Dr. Balguy's text we simply substitute *chair* for *pulpit*, Dr. Hampden's justification is complete; nay, he may go on still philosophising on the articles, and analysing them in speech and writing, till he has sublimated them into a vapoury breath, so long as from the chair which he now holds, he shall not gainsay their solidity!

Surely this is strange doctrine; but it is not ours; it is the strait to which the right of freedom in religious opinion, on the one side, and the exacted submission to subscription on the other, have, by alternate and repeated blows, driven the theological science of the Establishment. It is the doctrine not merely of this, but of foreign communions too; the clergy of Geneva continued to subscribe to the Divinity of our Lord, long after belief in that doctrine had been openly disavowed among them: Michaelis maintains that the adhesion, by subscription, to formularies of faith, only extends to outward profession, and not to interior conviction;‡ and Semler bitterly complained that men should be compelled to subscribe such documents, when according to the very principles of the Reformation, it was tyrannical to exact a profession of belief even in the inspiration of Scripture.§ But if such has been the belief of so many

* This is the language so severely blamed in Dr. H. "Pious opinions," (such as "the doctrinal statements of our articles") are not parts of revelation."—"Elucidations," p. 43.

† "End of religious controversy," Let. xi.

‡ In an Essay on the Possibility of Effecting a Union of Religions, in his "Commentationes, R. S. Götting. prælectæ." Not having the work at hand, we cannot refer more accurately.

§ In his Preface to his Abridgment of Semler's Commentary on Proverbs.

dignitaries and lights of the Protestant Church, Dr. Hampden has surely no reason to be challenged and summoned before any tribunal, for acting in conformity to it. On the contrary, we fancy he has not come up to the measure of dispensation to which those opinions and declarations seem to entitle the conscience; for, once more, we observe, that he is acquitted of believing anything at variance with the established creed.

How, then, are we to solve this mystery, and account for the jealousy now felt regarding the *former* opinions of Dr. Hampden? Did not a prelate of the English Church, of whom, as lately taken from among the living, we wish not harshly to speak, translate and make known in this country one of the most dangerous, because one of the most covert and moderate rationalists of Germany? and did not his notes, partly by not reaching through the entire work, partly by the dilutedness of their antidote, by their illustrating rather than removing the danger, greatly add to the mischief? And yet if Dr. Herbert Marsh was the importer and propagator of rationalism, was not the Margaret Professor, and Bishop of Peterborough, a zealous churchman, and the unrelenting foe to popery? Ought not this example to have given hopes of others, that when placed in high places of responsibility, the spirit of their order would come forth, and flourish perhaps the fresher, for their early and partial blight? But it is not difficult to discover the secret springs which have been here at work; and inasmuch as therein are found the latent germs of principles which we would gladly see avowed in the face of heaven, we must feel an interest in watching the course of the accusation.

That the individuals, who call Dr. Hampden to account, are leading men among the High Church party, is sufficiently understood. The history of this section of the Anglican Church it is not our province to trace; but we believe that we may compare it to the theory, which Dr. Gilly, and other fanciful writers, have imagined for that Church itself.* For, these gentlemen, unable to get rid of the universal domination of popery during so many centuries, have devised a species of mythological protestantism; which, like the Homeric deities, was invisible save occasionally, as a thin vapoury phantasm appearing amidst the turmoil of controversial warfare, but yet really existed in its Idas and Olympuses amidst the mountains of Savoy, until it came forth, in bodily substance, as a celestial Avatar, from the head of Luther. And so, do we really believe, that the party in the Church, to which Dr. Hampden's impugnors belong, hold their only true and semi-visible Church to have existed pure, until this day, amidst the wilder theories of protestantism; always bearing with it some precious remnants and relics of good old catholicity, upholding the authoritative teaching of Christ's Church, and the true efficacy of his sacraments, and reverencing and perhaps regretting many of those institutions, which the hurricane of the reformation recklessly swept away.

The genealogy of this Church-party is easily traced, with occasional breaks, from one advocate to another of principles too obviously Catholic;

* See the Rev. James Wheeler's short, but triumphant, reply to Dr. Gilly's work entitled, "Our Protestant Forefathers." Durham, 1835

sometimes the depreciators of ecclesiastical rule are for a brief space the lords of the ascendant; at others the star of the Church culminates in the political and literary sphere; but still it has ever continued to live, and the opinions, which this controversy have brought out, have circulated, with alternations of languor and of activity, through the body of the Establishment. In the "Report" above alluded to, the head and front of Dr. Hampden's offending is, his having no "regard to those rules and principles of interpretation, which have guided *the judgments* of Christ's Holy Catholic Church in all ages of its history, and under every variety of its warfare."

Again, the committee write as follows:—

"They (the Committee) suggest and submit it (a declaration) to you, as a measure, which, while it removes from us a charge of supineness or indifference, may warn the younger part of our students against immediate danger, and will solemnly declare to the world *our resolution to hold fast those great laws of Scripture-Interpretation and Scripture-Proof, which we inherit from our ancestors in the faith.*"—p. 33.

Is this Oxford or Salamanca that speaks? Is it Corpus Christi College or the Sorbonne? First, a dogmatical condemnation of opinions; secondly, a censure on the same; thirdly, the *judgments* of the Church; fourthly, this is no other than the *Holy Catholic Church*; fifthly, this Church guided *through all ages* by the same *sound* principles, for this is implied in the jealousy wherewith they are to be guarded; sixthly, these same *sound* principles in all ages observed *in every warfare*, therefore against Berengarius, Wicklif, the Waldenses—why not Luther? seventhly, these principles to be derived from ancestors in the faith; eighthly, no law of Scripture-proof to be admitted, save what is thus inherited;—surely these are not the distinctive principles, and acts, and terms of a Protestant clergy, and a Protestant university! We doubt not that those who signed the Report would reply in the affirmative, and seriously and earnestly maintain that such has always been the conduct and the belief of their Church. Alas! we wish it had been so. For had these principles been always practically upheld in England, never would the sad separation have occurred, which has rent this country from its mother Church. Others, however, will not so easily see the conformity between these principles and those whereon the Reformation was originally based, but will refuse to believe that the thick wall of separation which it was intended at the era of that event to place between popery and the new religions, was in reality so thin a film, as it must here appear. The author of the Letter to His Grace of Canterbury, above referred to, reads catholicity in every line of the Report. For thus he writes:*

"I venture to affirm, without risk of contradiction, or at least of confutation, that the doctrine involved in both the above cited passages is much more manifestly at variance with the characteristic principle of Protestantism, and with the practice of the English Established Church, than any other doctrine extracted from Dr. Hampden's writings."—p. 37.

* "Letter," p. 32.

Again—

“The Roman Catholic doctrine would, if such admission were made, have a manifest advantage over every Protestant Church, inasmuch as the rules and principles of her interpretation, and her interpretation itself, if not more ancient or more uniform, have unquestionably been more prevalent during many ages of the Church, and have been more distinctly inherited from ancestors in the same faith, than any articles, expositions, or confessions of faith, adopted by the Church of England, or recommended by any Protestant community on earth. I know not to what conclusion a theory like Dr. Hampden’s, founded on the belief of the Scriptures, and entire freedom in interpreting them; might lead a rash or intrepid disputant, but I am morally certain that the slavish doctrines propounded in the Corpus Report would compel every consistent reasoner, who adopted it, to acknowledge an *infallible* Church. When we once start on the line of *infallibility*, it is obvious at what goal we must arrive.—*Tendimus in Latium*. We may bawl out No Popery! on the road, but we must put up at the Old Lady of Babylon’s at last.”—p. 40.

This is consistent reasoning; and we can forgive some words in it which we like not, in consideration of its general sense. It is only another illustration of what Catholics have repeatedly observed, that if two contending parties arise in the Protestant Church, the one is driven to tax the other with Socinianism, and that other retorts with the accusation of Popery. It only confirms what every Catholic must feel, that the rejection of a principle of authority necessarily leads, theoretically at least, to the rejection of all mystery, and so to Socinianism, while its adoption obliges its supporter to reason on principles purely Catholic. This tendency of the party at Oxford to run into Catholic principles for shelter, has necessarily attracted the attention of many. It has been developed by the author of a pamphlet intitled a “Pastoral Epistle from His Holiness the Pope to some Members of the University of Oxford.” Imitating in some respects, Sir R. Steele’s device of a letter to the Pope, complaining that the Protestant Church laid claim to as much authority and infallibility as himself, the writer introduces the Sovereign Pontiff in person, accepting and commending the opinions set forth in the “Tracts for the Times,” by members of that University. In reading this curious production, we could not help sometimes imagining that a better feeling than mere love of sarcasm came over the writer’s mind, and that his imagination gradually warmed with his subject into an enthusiastic regret, that he could not say in truth what seemed so beautiful even in sportive phrase. One instance of text and commentary will suffice to explain our meaning. The Tracts write as follows:—

“The Catholic ritual was a precious possession; and if we who have escaped from Popery have lost not only the possession, but the sense of its value, it is a serious question, whether we are not like men who recover from some grievous illness with the loss or injury of their sight or hearing;—whether we are not like the Jews returned from captivity, who could never find the rod of Aaron, or the ark of the covenant, which indeed had ever been hid from the world, but then was removed from the temple itself.”—Tract, No. xxxiv.

Upon this passage, the Pope is thus imagined to comment:—

“Oh, when you have returned to the temple; with what joy will you behold

the rod of Aaron and the ark of the covenant still preserved in its mystic depositaries. With what delight will you behold the splendour of our ritual! What new sensations of piety will throb within your bosoms, as you prostrate yourselves with reverence before our holy altar. The ark of the covenant will be presented to your view; the real cross will offer itself to your vision; the relics of martyrs will animate your devotions; nor will you be pained by the absence of prayer (which you say has been excluded from the English ritual) 'for the rest and peace of all those who have departed this life in God's faith and fear.' You have justly remarked, that 'prayers for the dead' formed a portion of those liturgies which have emanated from St. Peter, St. James, St. Mark, and St. John;* and when you join us in these devotions, you will feel a new proof within you, that the Church, which has retained this office, is alone worthy of your regard."—p. 25.

Sincerely do we hope that the writer of these words, in true dramatic feeling, invested, or rather identified himself, with the character which he personated, and could not but feel the æsthetic beauty, at least, of the ordinances which he recommends. Gladly do we adopt his language, and with all the earnestness of sincere zeal, and all the cordiality of brotherly charity, express our assurance that what he writes is but the truth, and that the emotions which he describes are the real and consistent consequences of a practical adoption of what that party theoretically approve.

We are not chimerical in our views, or over sanguine in our expectations; but we are confident that if the divines, who have censured Dr. Hampden, would calmly look upon their principles, without the dread of Popery in their hearts to stifle better feeling; if they would fearlessly pursue their own doctrines to their farthest consistent conclusions, they would surely find that they have unguardedly, perhaps unknowingly, rejected the principles of the Reformation, and returned to thoughts and feelings which belong to other times, or at least to another Church. Unfortunately, experience, trite and vulgar as it may be, has sanctioned the aphorism that the repulsive action between two religions, the *odium theologicum*, (the substantive we reject most heartily on the Catholic side) is in the inverse ratio of the square of their distance: and therefore we fear, that any one of those who have been zealously trying Catholic weapons against the alleged semi-Socinianism of the Regius Professor, would turn round and be as ready to close with us in wager of battle, did we but tap him on the shoulder, and politely hint that he had taken, by mistake, our sword and buckler. But we are willing to hope that times are mended; and that a better spirit, a generous love of truth, has descended among our generation, and that we may safely argue our cause, without danger of exciting any unworthy feelings. Let us then gird up our loins, and contend together in a friendly spirit.

Nothing can be more clear, as we before explained, than that, in the Established Church, there has been a series of learned divines whose opinions approximated greatly to catholic truth; who thought that the

* Tracts, No. lxiif.

Reformation, however necessary, overdid its work. They have regretted the licentiousness of religious opinion which it introduced, by removing the wholesome and necessary restraint of a dogmatic authority in the Church. But is it fair to identify the opinions of these men, however learned, with the establishment to which they belonged? Were they, in the first place, ever considered otherwise than as a party, or, if you prefer it, a *part* of the Anglican Church? Were there not always many who opposed them in their views? Can it even be said that the great body of the flock followed them in their doctrines, and claimed not, rather in their despite, the privilege of individual judgment? And has not the growing increase of sectarianism proved that the body of their Church insists on this right, and exercises it to the utmost? And, in the second place, is not the very complaint, so constantly uttered by this party, of too much having been done at the Reformation, the regret that outward pomp of worship, and many religious institutions, were then abolished, a sufficient proof that they represent not those who caused and accomplished that unhappy revolution?

No one, we believe, save themselves, will maintain that they represent the English Church, such as the Reformation intended it to appear in harsh and unyielding contrast to the Catholic doctrine on the subject. But let us proceed in our examination. It is supposed, then, that the Church of England, as conceived by these divines, holds and maintains an authority in matters of faith. Several important questions immediately arise.

First, we would ask, where does this definitive power reside? The Catholic not only believes that his Church possesses such an authority, but at once, unhesitatingly declares where it is deposited. He holds that the pastors of the Church, in council assembled, are assisted by the Holy Spirit to a certainty of decision. The case is contemplated and provided for: he can tell you who may call such an assembly—who must preside at it—by whom its decrees must be ratified—how they are to be promulgated—what extent of obligation they may impose. All is as clear, as definite, as regular, as the provisions of the statute-book for the legislative functions of our national council. The dogma is complete, it is carried fearlessly, like every other Catholic principle, to its farthest consequences. But if the Protestant English Church has authority, in whose hands is it placed? Suppose that a serious controversy arose within it;—suppose that these its zealous members wished to pronounce judgment upon Dr. Hampden's opinions, whose duty would it become? Would the convocation meet for the purpose; or would each university have dogmatical authority? Would the Archbishop of Canterbury be justified by precedent, or by usage, or by inherent right, to call a council of the English Church, and at its head pronounce an authoritative decision? Surely, if their doctrine were that of their Church, there would have been proper provision made in its articles for it; and a Protestant child would be able to tell you, as a Catholic one can, where the authority of his Church reposes. Instead of this, we have a vague clause in the 20th Article, that it has autho-

rity in matters of faith. But this very clause is most probably *spurious* and interpolated;* and its power is completely annulled by its contradictory restrictions.†

In the next place, we would ask, how is this power to be exercised? If it exists, or is believed to exist, God knows there have been plenty of occasions in our days to call it into activity. We cannot, indeed, consider more urgent cases for its application than many which have arisen. Socinianism has stalked abroad in open day, and in the high places of the Church; fanaticism and self-sufficiency have rent vast masses from its communion into sectarianism; latitudinarianism has crept like a subtle poison through its ranks; and yet we never see, or have seen, this Church arouse itself to exercise its privilege of dispelling error, and sealing with its sanction the orthodox faith. Nay, it has been even cogently urged, how came it that Dr. Hampden, after delivering his "theory of rationalism" in the Bampton Lectures, was successively made Principal of St. Mary's Hall, Doctor of Divinity, and Professor of Moral Theology?‡ If the Church take cognizance of opinions, or claim the right of condemning erroneous doctrines, either it is sadly inefficient for its purpose, or it must wait very extreme cases for the exercise of its power. Then what is the form in which its decisions are issued? Are they merely declarations of its belief, or are they positive definitions in the name of God, and with the supposed guidance of his Spirit? Would they be binding on the consciences of men, or only motives to be weighed by them in coming, in their private judgment, to a right decision? These again are all matters which a Catholic well understands, simply because his Church claims and exercises a right of deciding in matters of faith; and they would be as explicit in the Church of England, did it pretend to a similar power.

After this, we would ask, how is this right, if exercised, to be enforced? For, as a wise old poet writes,

"The law lives only where the law doth breed
Obedience to the works it binds us to."

Do those who have signed the Corpus declaration or report, imagine that the body of Churchmen are aware of a deposit of principles being in their hands, "inherited from ancestors in the faith," which alone are available to Scripture-proof, and Scripture-interpretation; so that all will bow implicitly, upon some one endowed with proper authority—who, we know not—coming forward and stating, in a dogmatical tone, that such only is the true doctrine, *because* it is that of the Church? Would not such a decision be as the apple of discord among their ranks, and raise the war-cry of Popery against them?

How different the case is in the Catholic Church, the experience of our own times may abundantly declare. It is not long since a bold and

* See the "Lectures on the Principal Doctrines and Practices of the Catholic Church, by N. Wiseman, D.D." Lect. II. p. 29, note.

† *Ib.* p. 29, 30.

‡ *Lettice*, p. 5.

mighty genius, after having fought and conquered the rampant infidelity of the last age, and indifference, its baneful progeny in this, had gathered around him a band of fresh and youthful minds, free from either taint, panting after what is pure and holy, and eager to be led, under his banner, to the sacred war. In an ill-fated hour, he swerved, like Tertullian, from the very principles by which he had so often confuted error, and suffered the suggestions of an enthusiastic imagination to prevail over the former convictions of his mind. The Head of the Church pronounced his award of disapprobation—he yielded not; but he has ever since stood like a scathed and shattered oak, which the lightning has touched, the energies of his mind exhausted, the intellectual sap dried up; and of all those whom he trained and cherished, not one has followed him in his disobedience; they have all wept and mourned over his fall, but their principles have been stronger than their affections, and they have remained banded together, but under the best and only sure guide—the Church itself which they defend.*

Another, and a more remarkable instance has occurred. At Strasbourg, the love of philosophising in religion, precisely the fault found with Dr. Hampden, had led away into rash opinions one whose learning and virtues were an ornament to the clergy; and as one great star may draw after it a third part of the host of heaven, so had he brought into the same dangerous opinions others of a kindred spirit. His Bishop condemned and expostulated, and the authority vested in him soon triumphed. On the 18th of last November, the erring parties signed a declaration, wherein they virtually renounced their opinions, and this was the next day published by the Bishop to his flock, for their edification. The most striking circumstance, however, is that the chief of this party was a convert, at a rather advanced period of life, from Protestantism; his mind had not been accustomed from infancy to habitual respect for such authority; but so essential must this feeling appear to any one that embraces Catholicity, and so fast does it seize upon his mind, that its power becomes superior to every other influence, and secures him against its action. And to the Catholic, the man who could thus sacrifice every selfish idea and feeling of pride to this beautiful and most sacred principle, is greater in mind and soul, than all the glories of a brilliant philosophy could ever make its founder.

Here then is manifestly a Church which claims to rule by authority and power. The entire system of its construction shows this vital principle. But try to trace the necessary organs for a corresponding action in the Anglican Church, which some affect to think lives by a similar power, and you will blunt your dissecting knife in vain. You will not discover any means, nor any force, requisite for such a principle. In fact, nothing, we believe, is generally considered more clear, than that this belief or theory is an opinion *in* and not *of* the English Church; nay that it goes greatly to overthrow or weaken the fundamental principles of the Reformation.

* It is this hopeful phalanx, in great part, which undertook and has carried on the publication of the learned Journal, entitled the *Université Catholique*.

It is, indeed, easy, and, we will add, distressing, to see how carefully the terms used by Catholics on these subjects are shunned; there seems to be a fear of too plainly betraying the esoteric doctrines of the sect; nay more, a dread of fairly looking them in the face, lest they should resemble Popery. It is manifest, that if the principles of these learned Collegians were boldly pushed forward to their last and consistent consequences, the establishment of the Catholic doctrine must necessarily ensue. Divines of this class, whether living or dead, have been more than once subservient to the spread of Catholicity. The late Mr. Vaughan of Leicester, was ever most assiduous in preaching to his Protestant flock, on the High-Church doctrine of authority in matters of faith, on the sin of dissent, and the unsafety of those who submitted and adhered not to the Church; and the consequence was, that several of his congregation, convinced by his arguments, but following them up to their real conclusions, passed over to the Catholic faith, and became zealous members of our holy religion. We had the pleasure of being acquainted with one who for years had exercised the ministry, in the Established religion, but became a convert to the truth, and, in his old age, took orders in the Church. We asked him, on one occasion, by what course he had been brought to embrace our religion, with so many sacrifices. He informed us, that he had always been a zealous High-Churchman, and had studied and held the opinions of the old English Divines. He had thus firmly upheld the authority of the Church; he had believed in the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the blessed Eucharist; he had regretted the destruction of ceremony and religious symbols in worship, and had fully satisfied himself, on the authority of his leaders, that many Catholic practices, usually much decried, were blameless, and might be even salutary. His religious principles being thus formed upon the doctrines of that school, he could not avoid noticing that, practically, they were not held by the Church in which he had learnt them; he looked around him for some place where they might be found, and, to his astonishment, discovered, that among Catholics his theory of Christianity alone existed, in a perfect and harmonious scheme. He had little or nothing to change; he merely transferred his allegiance from a party to a Church, and became Catholic that he might remain a consistent Protestant!

Dr. Hampden, in his inaugural discourse, seems to us no less confused and fearful of boldly facing his opinions, in his declaration regarding the relative value of Scripture, and of authority. He obviously wishes to give a certain weight to the latter; and, did our space permit us, we should be glad to analyse his consequences, mutually contrasted. It would be found, that the authority attributed to the Church is so vague and ill-defined, as to amount to a mere name; that it is but an interpretative authority, which resides no one can tell where, and is to be exercised nobody knows how.*

A similar contradiction is discoverable in his professions regarding the blessed Eucharist. On this subject he thus writes:—

* See his Inaug. Lecture, p. 18.

"Our Church, indeed, has rejected the fond notion of transubstantiation ; but does not, therefore, the less hold a *real vital presence* of Christ in the sacrament. The Church forbids our holding the doctrine of a *corporal presence*, and yet does not presume to overlook the strong words of Christ, declaring 'this is my body,' 'this is my blood,' 'and he that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me and I in him ;' and will not, therefore, incur the impiety of emptying this holy sacrament of its gifted treasure of grace. And thus, it is asserted in the catechism, the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper."—Page 14.

Our blessed Saviour yet exists in the body ; at the right hand of the Father he sits with our glorified flesh, from which he is no more to be severed. To say that he is *really* present, and yet not *bodily* present, is a new mystery, involving delicate points of sublime theology, nowhere revealed in Scripture. Dr. H. admits the force, not only of the instituting formula, but even of the long contested sixth chapter of St. John, which he here applies towards proving, that the sacrament is not a mere symbol, but contains the *real* presence of our Saviour. But surely so accurate a distinction between one sort of presence and another should have been drawn in the New Testament : And to conclude, inductively of the Eucharist, "*here is the body of Christ*," when he said, "*This is my body*,"—and reject as *fond* the doctrine which takes the latter proposition quite literally, is a strange perversion of all logical propriety. For, are the words to be taken literally, so as to include a real presence ? Then transubstantiation, which so takes them, is no fond notion. Are they to be interpreted figuratively ? Then there is no farther ground for Dr. Hampden's *real ; vital* presence. To say they shall be taken literally so far, and no farther, is drawing a line, of which we require a demonstration. Moreover, if according to the learned doctor, the *real* presence is evinced by a passage which tells us that Christ's *flesh* and *blood* are received, it is not easy to see how such an expression, at the same time, condemns a *corporal* presence. It would be difficult more positively to express this than by its constituents, *flesh* and *blood*. There is another error in this paragraph. We are told that the English "Church forbids our holding the doctrine of a corporal presence ;" and yet the catechism is quoted to prove that the body and blood of Christ are really taken. Now, we believe that it is pretty well ascertained, that the catechism was so framed upon this head, as to allow, by the wideness of its meshes, Catholics to enter into the net : that the doctrine of the Eucharist was purposely kept so vague, as to be reconcilable with our belief ; and that, therefore, the cited words were purposely intended to *include*, and not to forbid, the Catholic dogma of a corporal presence. The entire catechism offends more by omission than by actual error, at least if we except one answer, which, after all, is equivocal. We allude to the number of sacraments, as there stated ; "Two only, as *generally necessary for salvation*, that is to say, baptism and the supper of the Lord." This may be so interpreted as not to exclude the other five, but only to declare those which are necessary for all ; and in this sense the answer is correct.

It is time, however, for us to conclude. Of Dr. Hampden we say once more, that whatever discrepancy there may be between his former doctrines and the Church articles, or the opinions of his opponents, it should not be laid to his charge, where latitude of opinion has been always considered a privilege and a right. The Government has been severely blamed for appointing him to a chair, after the University had conferred three successive dignities on him, since his ill-starred Lectures. This censure we think likewise unjust. We think sincerely, that, had the government appointed any of those who signed the Report, or appealed to His Grace of Canterbury, they would have sanctioned a wider departure from the acknowledged principles of Anglicanism than they can possibly have sanctioned now. For the doctrines which that party maintain, however they approximate nearer to what we hold for truth, are as widely dissentient from the very basis of Protestantism, as those of the new Professor.

Do we mean then to join in the clamour which has been raised against them? Assuredly not. We gladly close our eyes to all consideration of personal motives or feelings which have been thought to prevail in this controversy, and we are willing to look upon it as a study of contending principles. For we believe that sincere regret has been felt by this party, at what they consider the exaltation of opinions hostile to their views of the Church and of its doctrines. But if they would look steadily at their own position, now rendered more manifest by the issue of the contest, they would feel that they are vainly trying to raise their Church to the standard of influence and power which their affections have devised. They would feel that they are only one small section of it, tending to dissent from its essential principles. We can sympathise with their feelings. We can well conceive the painful disappointment which an ardent spirit must feel, when having fixed its eagerest ambition upon the establishment of a favourite theory, it finds a clog upon its efforts in the very cause it has espoused. We can well imagine a youthful mind, after having lived, in spirit, amidst the heroes of ancient Christianity, after having studied in the conduct of an Athanasius, how the Church may clothe her arm with thunder, when heresy assails her, after having satisfied himself that the Bible never was the rule of faith, but the Church its teacher,* try to apply in practice these lessons and convictions, and sigh to discover that the machinery is broken in pieces, and the springs all relaxed, which then seemed to act with such mighty force. We can conceive the inward regrets of one who has picked out with beautiful skill, and woven into a golden chain, the few grains of poetic feeling which the torrent of the Reformation tore from the ancient Church, and has preserved in the dry and sandy desolation of its "Christian year;" upon seeing how much fit matter for a muse like his has been indiscriminately and unfeelingly swept away, how much nobler and more moving themes he would have pos-

* See "The Arians of the Fourth Century," p. 49 et seqq.

sessed, had that touch been gentler, which broke off the flowers, when it pretended but to prune the plant.

But only let these ideas be indulged to the utmost; let those who thus reason, and who thus feel upon religion, only boldly pursue their respective trains of thought unto their ends. Let them construct, in mind, the Church which would realize their conceptions, the religion which would embody their ideas of perfection: and there can be little doubt what the result would be. They would pass from the dreams of theory to a reality which would satisfy their warmest longings, and fill the measure of their just desires.

TRACT 16.

[PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE CATHOLIC
INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN.]

THE
HIGH-CHURCH CLAIMS:
OR, A SERIES OF PAPERS

ON
THE OXFORD CONTROVERSY, THE HIGH-CHURCH THEORY
OF DOGMATICAL AUTHORITY, ANGLICAN CLAIM TO
APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION, &c.

BY NICHOLAS WISEMAN, D.D.

N^o. 2.

OCCASIONED BY A SERMON BY THE REV. JOHN KEBLE, M.A.
ENTITLED, "PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY RECOGNIZED
IN HOLY SCRIPTURE," ETC.

(From the "Dublin Review.")



[Stereotyped for the Catholic Institute of Great Britain.]

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No. 2.

*Occasioned by a SERMON by the REV. JOHN KEBLE, M.A.
entitled "Primitive Tradition recognized in Holy Scripture,"
and an Article in No. XL. of the "British Critic," upon DR.
WISEMAN'S Controversial Lectures.*

THE fearless and uncompromising revival of High-Church principles by a small body of youthful, learned, and as far as we have opportunity of knowing, amiable clergymen, in the face of much unpopular feeling, of great alienation from their brethren, and of little encouragement from their superiors, does credit to their sincerity and to their zeal. They have placed themselves in a prominent position, and in the post of honourable danger. They have endeavoured to throw outworks beyond the acknowledged precincts of their Church's walls, to protect them against the encroaching lines of dissent; and they have manned them, we think in forlorn hope, determined to keep the pressure of the attack at a greater distance. We, indeed, on our side, complain, and their more immediate adversaries—their rebels as they consider them—agree, that they have seized, for this purpose, upon a territory, not their own, but of our legitimate possession. They disclaim the charge, and affirm that they stand in a middle position—between "Romanism," as they choose to call it, and dissent. But, when they speak thus, it is not as a school, or a party; they boldly profess to declare the real sentiments of their church, "the Anglican," as they style it, considering it a part of the Catholic or universal Church of Christ dispersed over the world. Of this Church, "the Roman" is acknowledged to be a part, though they think it has not preserved purity of doctrine. But we must specify more in detail the principles of this school, and we trust we shall be found to do it with perfect impartiality.

First, then, "in the sense in which it is commonly understood at this day, Scripture is not, on Anglican principles, the Rule of Faith."* It is, however, "its only standard, test, or depository."† There is, consequently, "a guide, though not an infallible one, but subordinate to Scripture. English theology considers that Scripture is not an easy book, and, as so considering, believes that Almighty God has been pleased to provide a guide. The twentieth article declares that the Church 'hath authority in controversies of faith.'"‡

Secondly, "the English doctrine does not encourage private judgment in matters of (necessary) faith, but maintains the Church's authority."§ In this respect the Anglican doctrine is "as distinct from Catholicism,||

* British Critic, p. 398. + P. 385. † P. 377. § P. 378.

|| Where we write 'Catholic' or its derivatives, the *Critic* has 'Romanist' and 'Romanism.' It is evident that these terms are not used in scorn; but our ears are not accustomed to hear them employed in any other way, and we trust we shall be excused if we refuse to admit them, and decline every other appellation but our own, simply '*Catholics*.' By this substitution we feel we are doing an act of justice

as from common Protestantism. The Catholic gives to the existing Church the ultimate infallible decision in matters of saving faith; the Ultra-Protestant to the *individual*; and the Anglican to *antiquity*, giving authority to the Church as being the witness and voice, or rather the very presence of antiquity among us.* The authority of the Church is, however, "subordinate to Scripture," inasmuch as she "may indeed pronounce doctrines as *true*, which are not in Scripture, so that they are not against it; but she may not declare points to be necessary to salvation, and act accordingly, unless she professes to derive them from Scripture. Her decision in such extra-scriptural matters is not secure from error; is entitled to veneration, but has not, strictly speaking, *authority*, and therefore may not rightly be *enforced*."† All this, nevertheless, is not to be understood of any particular Church, but gives as its results, "that the whole Church, all over the world, will never agree in teaching and enforcing what is not true."‡

Furthermore, the Church of England, being "an independent apostolic Church, a branch of the Catholic Church of Christ,"§ "claims the spiritual allegiance of the people, to the exclusion of *all rival claims*;" "the duty of communion with her is founded upon reasons derived from absolute religious obligation;" and hence we Catholics, "of these countries, are very justly charged with schism;"|| while "Wesley was a heresiarch."¶

Such we believe to be an accurate summary of the doctrines, maintained by the party whose organ is the *British Critic*, concerning the Rule of Faith. We have woven into our account the very expressions of that journal, because it seems so excessively jealous of any mistake about its principles, and reproaches its opponents repeatedly for drawing their ideas on the subject from authorities which its friends reject. Before, however, analyzing, as we intend, this scheme of Church authority, we must be allowed to dwell at some length upon Mr. Keble's sermon.

Its text is 2 Tim. i. 14, "That good thing which was committed unto thee, keep by the Holy Ghost which dwelleth in us." Before he closes with the real subject of his discourse, the Professor endeavours to establish a parallel between the circumstances of Timothy, when addressed in these words, and the clergy of the Anglican Church in these its calamitous times. He then divides his discourse into three parts, proposing these enquiries: *first*, what is the deposit or charge committed to Timothy; *secondly*, are the English clergy at present partakers of it; *thirdly*, have they the Holy Ghost dwelling in them for a faithful discharge of duty?

After some interesting remarks upon the word used for "deposit," in the text, and the probability of its being a conventional, ecclesiastical term, Mr. Keble concludes that the committed treasure consisted of *doctrine*. (p. 17.) This interpretation he farther confirms by the testimonies of the ancient fathers. "Upon the whole," he concludes, "we

to the "British Critic" and its party. For any of our readers who found in our extracts the term '*Romanists*,' and had not read the entire article, would confound its writer with that common herd of Protestant controversialists, who think there is an argument in a nickname. We use the term '*Anglican*,' because it is that adopted by the critic himself, when speaking of his own Church.

* P. 384. † P. 379. ‡ P. 380. § P. 434. || P. 435. ¶ P. 402.

may assume with some confidence, that the good thing left in Timothy's charge, thus absolutely to be kept at all events, was the treasure of apostolical doctrines and Church rules; the rules and doctrines which made up the character of Christ's kingdom." (p. 20.)

2. Is a similar deposit yet in the hands of Christian ministers? "Some," says Mr. Keble, "will reply to this question at once. We have the Holy Scriptures, and we know for certain that they contain all that is important in Timothy's charge." He then asks, "Can this be proved? Must it not be owned, on fair consideration, that Timothy's deposit did comprise matter independent and distinct from the truths which are directly scriptural?" (p. 21.) In answer, we will give the preacher's own words, when he urges the reflection that the New Testament was not written at the date of this epistle.

"The holy writings themselves intimate that the persons to whom they were addressed were in possession of a body of truth and duty totally distinct from themselves, and independent of them. Timothy, for instance, a few verses after the text, is enjoined to take measures for the transmission, not of Holy Scripture, but of things which he had heard of St. Paul among many witnesses. The Thessalonians had been exhorted to hold the traditions which they had received, whether by word or apostolic letter." (p. 22.)

Here follow other texts usually urged by Catholics, after which the preacher proceeds as follows:

"If the words, the commandments, the tradition which the latest of these holy writers severally commend in these and similar passages, meant only or chiefly the Scriptures before written, would there not appear a more significant mention of those Scriptures; something nearer to the tone of our own divines, when they are delivering precepts on the rule of faith? As it is, the phraseology of the Epistles exactly concurs with what we should be led to expect, that the Church would be already in possession of the substance of saving truth, in a sufficiently systematic form, by the sole teaching of the Apostles. As long as that teaching itself, or the accurate recollection of it, remained in the world, it must have constituted a standard or measure of Christian knowledge, though it had never seemed good to the Almighty to confer on us the additional boon of the books of the New Testament."—p. 23.

The sentiments of the Fathers are then appealed to, as confirmatory of this opinion. "Do they not employ Church tradition," asks Mr. Keble, "as parallel to Scripture, not as derived from it? and consequently as fixing the interpretation of disputed texts, not simply by the judgment of the Church, but by the authority of that Holy Spirit which inspires the oral teaching itself, of which such tradition is the record;*" Again: "If we will be impartial, we cannot hide it from ourselves, that this *unwritten* word, if it can be anyhow authenticated, must necessarily demand the same reverence from us," (as the written must have done from the early Christians, when they ascertained it,) "and for exactly the same reason—*because it is his word.*"†

But here the learned professor introduces a limitation necessary to prevent a last step over the Rubicon of Protestantism. When the Scriptures were thus written, they were so written as to "contain every fundamental point of doctrine;" so that now, "nothing is to be insisted on as a point of faith necessary to salvation, but what is contained in, or

* P. 24. † The words in *italics* throughout these quotations are so in the original.

may be proved by, canonical Scripture."* This second part of the discourse then closes by reducing to three classes the objects for which apostolical tradition is a rule. 1. "The system and arrangement of fundamental articles;" 2. "Interpretation of Scripture;" and 3. "Discipline, formularies, and rites of the Church."

This outline will leave in our readers no room for astonishment, that Mr. Keble's sermon should have been openly charged with Catholicism, or "Romanism." Now, we declare that, to a very great extent, the charge is well-grounded. Strike out a few sentences, in which he tacks his theory to the Thirty-nine Articles, and the sermon might have been preached in St. Peter's at Rome. Whether these few passages neutralize the body of the discourse, we leave it to the members of his Church to decide. How far his opinions are ours, that is, Catholic, we have a right to judge; how far they are, at the same time, those of his professed religion, let others see. But, in the mean time, we will offer some remarks which may be of use towards the passing of a rightful judgment.

Mr. Keble acknowledges that tradition preceded Scripture, and attested its canon. (p. 28.) The authority, too, of that tradition, was divine; it was based upon the commission given to the apostles to teach, "he that heareth you heareth me." (p. 32.) The tradition itself was God's "unwritten word." This authority, then, was paramount, for it had no co-ordinate: it was sole. Nay, more, it was all-sufficient; for it was the only "standard and measure of Christian knowledge." After a considerable lapse of time (according to the learned professor, "in the interval between Clement and Ignatius on the one hand, and Irenæus and Tertullian on the other, that is, after about TWO HUNDRED YEARS after Christ), "the canon of the New Testament had first become fixed and notorious;" † and then tradition lost its prerogatives, and Scripture became the sole standard. We ask, on what authority the assertion rests, or how is this substitution justified? Was the divine commission or authority withdrawn from the pastors, whose teaching, till now, had been the test or standard of truth? Had it been said, "he that heareth you heareth me, till a New Testament be written, after which your delivering of a doctrine will cease to be a ground for believing?" A right clearly conferred, and not limited by, or made dependent on, contingent events, requires a clear abrogation before it ceases. Traditional, authoritative teaching, *was* clearly appointed; the substitution of Scripture *never* was; ‡ how then can this have abrogated, or even limited the other?

But, farther, Mr. Keble himself allows that "the all-sufficiency of Scripture is nowhere expressly affirmed in Scripture itself."§ Where, then, is it affirmed? If in tradition, let it be shown. Let us have passages sufficient to verify the rule *quod semper, quod ab omnibus, quod ubique*, declaratory that the Church despoiled herself, or considered herself despoiled, of that *complete* authority and *supreme* place which she had occupied in teaching truth, according to Mr. Keble's admission, previously to the decision of the scriptural canon. If no such passages, either many or few, can be quoted, as we are sure they cannot, we have nowhere any limitation made to the first authority, nor any

* Page 30.

† Page 30.

‡ See note E. p. 59.

§ Page 29.

ground at all for the all-sufficiency of the Scripture in dogmatical teaching. Let us balance the admissions of this sermon—on the one hand, that originally, tradition, or a body of doctrines held in deposit by the Church, was the appointed and sufficient standard of faith, with a divine sanction—and on the other, that Scripture never claims all-sufficiency, or declares the cessation of the previous commission to teach; and we leave it to a candid reader to judge, whether the acknowledged rights of the earlier method of preserving truth can have been superseded by the introduction of the second. But if, as Mr. Keble intimates, (p. 31.) this substitution of Scripture for tradition, as the sufficient standard of dogma, is to be gathered from tradition itself, and if this doctrine of the articles is to be considered matter of faith, or rather the foundation of all Protestant faith; then we have an instance of a point of faith “not contained in, nor proved by, canonical Scripture,” but based upon tradition alone. In a word, we have the all-important assumption of Protestantism, that Catholics err by preserving to tradition its original virtue, made to rest upon this very tradition! For, we repeat it, it is acknowledged that, by Scripture, its own all-sufficiency is nowhere expressly declared.

We affirm, that the method pursued by the reverend professor in this part of his argument, will not bear a strict investigation. In fact, it is by innuendoes, assumptions, and surmises, rather than by close reasoning, that he attempts to engraft his Church's opinions concerning Scripture, as exclusive dogmatical authority, upon his theory of “primitive tradition.” It is an ill-jointed piece of work: it is new wine in an old bottle, which can ill stand such fellowship. The following is the passage in which the task is performed; we note by *italics* the expressions to which we beg to direct attention.

“On the one hand, *it is no less evident*, that Scripture, being once ascertained, became, in its turn, a test for every thing claiming to be of apostolical tradition. But on this part of the subject *there is less occasion to dwell, it being, I suppose, allowed on all hands*. . . . The character which our article justly assigns to the Bible, of so ‘containing all things necessary to salvation, that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation,’—this character the Bible could not, from the very force of the terms, acquire, until a sufficient portion of its contents had appeared, to include in one place or another, every one of such fundamentals. *Nor are we sure* of this condition having been fulfilled, until the appearance of St. John's gospel and epistle. This consideration *may serve to account* for the comparative rareness of quotations from the New Testament, in the writings of the first century.”

Here follow some proofs of this scarcity, and of the appearance of more frequent appeals to Scripture in Tertullian and St. Irenæus; after which the author continues:

“*From all this I gather*, that in the interval the canon of the New Testament had first been fixed and notorious, and that the fact had been observed which is stated in our article that every fundamental point of doctrine is contained in the unquestioned books of that canon, taken along with the Hebrew Scriptures. And this observation *being once made, would of course immediately suggest* that golden rule, not of the Anglican only, but of the Catholic Church, that nothing is to be insisted on as a point of faith, &c. *At any rate it is unquestionable*, that by the time of Irenæus, i. e. towards the

end of the second century, the fact had been universally recognised, and the maxim thoroughly grounded and incorporated into the system of the Catholic Church.*—p. 28-31.

If the Church of England is willing that this should stand for its demonstration of its Article, on the exclusive dogmatical authority of Scripture, we heartily congratulate it on the state of its foundations. Let the argument be inculcated in church and school, let it be urged upon the laity, and recommended to the clergy; and we Catholics may fold up our arms, and patiently wait its effects. Let it be preached in every Anglican congregation, that originally, for nearly two hundred years, the very rule of faith propounded by us was the only one, the Church being the sole depository of truth, and tradition its only standard; and that these were fully guaranteed by Divine sanction: but, that *we may gather*, from the growing abundance of scriptural quotation in writers of the second century, that a certain fact (which, be it remarked, is by them nowhere recorded or alluded to) had been observed, to wit, that Scripture contained all the essential doctrines of religion;—farther, that *such an observation being made*,—of which there is no evidence,—*would of course suggest* the golden rule of the 20th Article;—finally, that the result would be a transfer of the dogmatical deposit from divinely-sanctioned tradition to Scripture, which nowhere declares itself all-sufficient,—which transfer takes place about the time of St. Irenæus, though no ecclesiastical act or declaration, no historical record, no voice of attesting witnesses, has preserved a note of such an important revolution! Grant all this—grant our rule two centuries of undisturbed, authorized possession, and then we may safely allow such a tissue of unsupported assumptions and conjectures to deprive it of its rights—if they can!

With the third division of Professor Keble's sermon we deal not; it is time for us to return to the declarations of the BRITISH CRITIC.

In looking over the theory of Church authority, set forth in the pas-

* In a note on this passage (F. p. 60), the author develops his appeal to St. Irenæus. First, he quotes a passage which speaks only of two ways of studying Scripture, but applies in no way to dogmatical teaching, or the grounds of faith. He then refers to the well-known passage of St. Irenæus, given by himself in the sermon. (p. 24.) St. Irenæus asks: "What if the Apostles had left us no Scriptures?" &c.; upon which Professor Keble thus reasons: "The mere question, If we had not the Scriptures, must we not follow tradition? implies that, having the Scriptures, we have the substance of truth, necessary to salvation, and, so far, depend not at all on tradition." Perhaps it might have been so, had St. Irenæus shewn that he meant to draw this consequence, and not exactly the contrary. For he puts the question in order to prove that "it is easy to receive truth *from the Church*,"—not from Scripture; and that, even in his time, "whoever willed might receive from her the waters of life, since therein, as in a rich depository, the Apostles did most abundantly lodge all things appertaining to truth." (p. 24.) Surely this does not prove that St. Irenæus imagined the Scripture to have impaired the Church's rights as the depository of truth. It can hardly be considered fair to draw an inference from a writer's words, as though he had not himself done it; it can be still less fair to draw one exactly at variance with the one he draws. Nor, after all, could Mr. Keble's argument be, under any circumstances, correct, for St. Irenæus says nothing at all about "the substance of truth necessary to salvation;" and if his words prove the substitution of Scripture for Church authority, there is nothing to restrict them to this one object, but they would imply the complete abrogation of *all* traditional teaching, which it is not the professor's desire to admit. He had no right to introduce any such restriction, and the context gives no sanction to it. St. Irenæus is the only Father whom he quotes.

sages which, higher up, we wove together from the *British Critic*, and which indeed on many other occasions are proclaimed by that journal and its friends, two things particularly strike us ; *first*, the attempt which they make to palm their peculiar and unauthorized sentiments upon the Anglican Church ; and *secondly*, the utter inconsistency and fallacy of the scheme of Church authority which they claim in its behalf. We will offer a few obvious remarks upon these two points.

I. Before the present inquiry can be satisfactorily solved, it is necessary to have some criterion, by which the avowed principles of a religion can be known, in contradistinction to the opinions tolerated within its pale. Now we apprehend that the fairest and surest test is universality of consent or diversity of opinion in teaching, concerning it. If the symbolical documents of a Church, that is, its avowed definitions, or authorized expositions of faith, decide, or seem to decide a belief, and the great body of its pastors or teachers agree in one interpretation of that definition, and allow none other to be taught, that we hold to be the doctrine of that Church. If it allow two most different, or even contradictory sentiments, to be publicly taught, the holders of neither have a right to call theirs more than opinions *in* the Church. We can illustrate this rule either from the Catholic or from the Anglican Church.

The Catholic Church holds a dogma often proclaimed, that in defining matters of faith she is infallible. No one would be allowed by her to teach any other doctrine ; whoever does, ceases practically to be Catholic ; and if he be a pastor, and prove obstinate in his error, must be removed from his office. At the same time, while all agree that this infallibility resides in the unanimous suffrage of the Church, whether united in council or dispersed over the world, the Italian doctrine extends it to the plenitude of authority residing in its Head, and makes his dogmatical decrees of force antecedently to the expressed consent, or implied acquiescence, of the other pastors. The Gallican denies this, and maintains that time must be given for the Church to assent or dissent : and only in the former case considers the decree binding. Practically, as experience has proved, either opinion leads to the same results ; but manifestly the assertors of neither can demand that their peculiar theory be received by others as the defined or acknowledged principles of the Church, neither think we that they could reasonably charge with "misunderstanding their *Church's doctrines*," such as would not so receive it. But let us take an example from the English Church.

Her 22nd article "at one fell swoop" pounces upon purgatory, indulgences, veneration of images and relics, and invocation of saints, and utterly condemns them all, most irremissibly. The 30th article asserts the use of the cup to be of equal importance, by divine institution, with the receiving of the other element in the Lord's Supper. The 28th, that transubstantiation is opposed to God's word. Few articles probably are subscribed with greater unanimity and heartiness, by churchmen, than these ; never have we heard of a single bold spirit among them flying in the face of their letter, and presuming to deliver in church a word in favour of what these condemn. Were any one of them to preach on the existence of purgatory, or the right of administering the Eucharist under the form of bread alone, we have no doubt but his diocesan would soon reprove him, and should he turn out obstinate, remove him from his situ-

ation. The contrary opinions then to these points are articles of belief of the Anglican Church, on which no difference of opinion is tolerated in any of her ministers. But take on the other hand justification, election, and predestination, and you will find them, according as they belong to the evangelical or high-church "connexion," holding and teaching the most conflicting doctrines, to neighbouring flocks, without being removed, or even chid for either set of opinions, which they may have chosen to embrace. It is true that the former points are but as "mint and cummin" compared to these "weightier things of the law:" but it is no less true that the Church of England allows a latitude of doctrine respecting these, which forbids us to admit the holders of either opinion as exclusively in possession of its declared sentiments. In like manner, *supposing* that Church to have defined that it "bath authority in matters of faith," and yet to allow the public teaching of two opinions within its bosom, by its legitimate ministers, one to the extent of the *British Critic's* assertions, the other to the extent of a total denial of them; we must, even in charity as in good sense, refer this matter to those on which diversity of opinion is tolerated, and refuse to accept either as the doctrine of the Church. Each can pretend only to be a doctrine taught *within* it.

There are two ways of ascertaining this variety of opinions, upon this, as upon any other point; by the examination of living teachers, and by the appeal to more ancient testimonies. We are willing to take either test.

But wherefore any need of proof, when, to use the *Critic's* expression, we have *confitentem reum*? In p. 384, he finds it necessary to explain his denial that the Bible alone is admitted by the Anglican Church as the rule of faith. "Now let us understand here," so he writes, "we know full well that this is a popular mode of speaking at this day; we know well it is an opinion *in* our Church; but it is by no means universally received, much less a principle." This reserve and caution of expression, for which we give the journal sincere credit, this serious protestantism that the opinion contrary to its own is *not* universal, this acknowledgment that nevertheless it is "popular," is more than sufficient to prove that its own theory is not that of the Church, but one among conflicting systems permitted to live and contend, and yet nestle together in her easy bosom.

We may, perhaps, be reproached by our readers, for extending this argument to such a length; if so, they must kindly bear with us a few moments more, while we discuss the appeal made from living witnesses to the illustrious dead. The *British Critic* indeed discards the Hornes, the Tottenhams, and others; but it refers the question of Church authority to the Bulls, the Beveridges, the Lauds, the Jewels, and a few other ancient divines. They, at least, prove, by their testimony, that the Church maintains its claim to dogmatical authority. It takes the trouble of making considerable extracts from their works.

We do not deny that on many occasions they seem to speak a language eminently Catholic: but we say no less that they stood in their generation as the Oxford knot do at present, as men of one way of thinking, amidst as many or more, who maintained a different or even contradictory opinion. Laud was considered by many in the Church as little better than "a papist," and was suspected, whether truly we do not pretend to say, of hankering after the institutions, and dallying with the proffered

dignities, of the Roman Church. Certain it is, that upon the Episcopal Bench of his time were found some to treat with the Papal agents about a reconciliation with the Holy See.* Many other Anglican divines, the fear of the "Geneva discipline," and Presbyterian or Socinian opinions, drove to take shelter in tradition, and to claim rights for their Church, upon the authority of antiquity. At any rate, before we can admit these writers to be urged against us, as representatives of the true Anglican doctrine, we must be satisfied that the body of that Church considers them such. Of this we have as yet no proof.

Let Anglicans themselves clear up these points, and decide—first, *wh* are their acknowledged theological authorities, and then *what* these teach, and we may allow them to charge us with unfairness for not drawing our statements exclusively from them. The *British Critic* is, indeed, hard to please upon these matters. If Dr. Wiseman quotes Baxter, who has received the commendations of Barrow, Wilkins, and other Anglican divines, or Jones, whom Dr. Maltby has praised,† it is an insult to Beveridge to place him in such company. (p. 392.) If Dr. Beveridge himself is cited, it happens to be a work written by him when a young man, and not published by himself. (p. 390.) As to the latter circumstance, people very seldom *do* publish their own "Private Thoughts," but rather leave them to be given after their deaths; and as to his age, we might allow the plea in matters of research or thought, but scarcely in treating of an acquaintance with the principle of faith held in one's own Church. Certes, St. Thomas Aquinas was not much, if at all, older, when he composed many of his treatises; yet we do not think that either Catholic or Protestant looks to the chronology of his works, when he quotes him as a testimony of what his Church teaches and taught. And surely, that cannot be very clearly the principle of faith of the Anglican Church, which Beveridge, about to take orders, did not know to be such, and only discovered by maturer studies.

Let that Church, *as a Church*, detach itself from all other sectaries in its reasoning against us, let it avow disapprobation of their principles, let it be as unanimous in its doctrines concerning tradition and Church authority—we will not say as we are, but as it is itself on the rejection of Transubstantiation, and then we will acknowledge its right to record a separate plea from the great body of Protestants, when the Catholic arraigns them together for a breach of religious unity.

From Baily's‡ to Milner's "End of Religious Controversy," from Jewel's "Apology" to Burgess's "Charges," we meet no traces of this distinction between Anglican and Ultra-Protestant. The line of demarcation is clear and bold; "the Bible alone" on one side, "Church authority" on the other, defines the challenge of the combatants; the Protestant never haggles about the terms, the Catholic never flinches from his ground. "With this sword" (Scripture) says Jewel, "did Christ put off the devil, when he was tempted of him; with these weapons ought all presumption which doth advance itself against God to be overthrown and conquered. 'For all scripture,' saith St. Paul, 'that cometh by the

* As Bishop Montague.

† The Clarendon press, at which Jones's work was printed, is under the direction of persons appointed by the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University.

‡ "An End to Controversy." Downy, 1654.

inspiration of God, is profitable,' &c. Thus did the Holy Fathers always fight against the heretics, with none other force than with the Holy Scriptures."* Harding understands these words in the usual "popular" sense of the rejection of all *authority* but Scripture, and refutes them accordingly. Nor, if we remember right, does Jewel complain of misrepresentation. If he appeals to the Fathers, it is more as a question of fact than of right; he wishes to show that they are with Protestants and not with Catholics; but he does not allow them as judges or umpires between the two.

But, after all, religion is a practical, and not merely a speculative, institution; and we think that the doctrines of a Church may best be learned from what its pastors generally teach, and its followers generally believe. And on this view, we are satisfied, that the Church of England, as it exists at present, must be enumerated under the general head of Protestantism, and cannot be placed in a distinct class. But its article, which declares that "the Church hath authority in matters of faith?"—to it we oppose, *first*, the doubtfulness of its authenticity, or rather the strong probability of its spuriousness, whereof *we* are nearly convinced. *Secondly*, the latitude of interpretation which we have already seen permitted in the Church, and which allows the Ultra-Protestant principle of private judgment to be publicly taught by its authorised ministers. *Thirdly*, the difficulties of the system to which it leads, as explained by the *British Critic*—difficulties which will not allow dogmatical authority to be the principle of the Anglican Church.

II. This last objection forms, if our readers remember, the second head of our general animadversions upon the system presented by the periodical organ of the High Church party. Our first exception to it arises from its evident obscurity, in the mind of its expositor himself. Take the two following passages:

"Will he (Dr. W.) reply, that the Roman church does *not* grant that it can decree things *contrary* to the scripture? True, but it claims to decree points of faith *beyond* scripture. And this is the authority which we deny it." p. 378. * * * *

"We consider that her (the Church's) decision in such extra-scriptural matters is not secure from error; is entitled, indeed, to veneration, but has not, strictly speaking, *authority*, and therefore may not rightly be *enforced*. This distinction is made at the end of the twentieth Article:—'As it (the Church) ought not to *decree* anything against the same, so *besides* the same ought it not to *enforce* anything to be believed for necessity of salvation.' The Church must not enforce beyond scripture; *it may decree*, i. e. *pronounce beyond it, but not against it.*"—p. 379.

And yet in the same breath we have been told, that this is the very authority which is denied to the Catholic Church. The writer would, perhaps, reply, that it is the *authority* which is denied to us, and is not claimed by the Anglican Church. But, to a simple, unsophisticated

* On the contrary, Professor Keble writes as follows:—"As often as Tertullian and Irenæus have false teachers to reprove, or unevangelical corruptions to expose, do they not refer to the traditions of the whole Church, as to something independent of the written word, and sufficient, at that time, to confute heresy, even alone? Do they not employ Church tradition as parallel to Scripture, not as derived from it?"—Sermon, p. 23.

reader, such a distinction will hardly occur; and we confess that we read over the paragraph repeatedly, with the conviction, that its termination flatly contradicted its beginning. And even now it leaves upon our mind the conviction, that the writer has not very clear notions of what he should deny to the Catholic Church, and what he should claim for his own.

Nor is this perplexity imaginary. The Church may *decree*, but it may not *enforce*. What if its decrees be disregarded? What, if men, as did the Presbyterians under Elizabeth and James, overlooking the distinction, pronounce that to be contrary to Scripture which the Church decrees as only beyond it? Must it stop short? Is it powerless in *enforcing* the observance of its injunctions? If so, then is that reasoning not unjust, of which the *Critic* so loudly complains, that "each one has to judge for himself, whether the Church be contradicting the express doctrines of Scripture; and that, consequently, each person is thus constituted judge over the decisions of his Church."* Has the Church the right of enforcing upon the individuals? Then is the *Critic's* distinction futile and vain.

In fact, the idea of a Church, or any other governing authority, possessed of a power to *decree* more extensive than its power to *enforce*, is self-repugnant. It may *recommend* or exhort to an extent beyond its authority to put in execution; but it must not talk of enacting or *decreeing*.

This obscurity of the system may be further evinced from the heaviness of the commentary which overclouds the simplicity of the text. The article, if genuine, simply says, that "the Church hath authority in controversies of faith." This is vague enough, heaven knows; and gives little scope for practical inferences, but abundant for theories. Professor Keble engrafts upon it all his doctrine of tradition, and the threefold order of truths to be derived from it, and the necessity of studying diligently the writings of the Fathers. The *British Critic* builds upon it a more massive theory of the Anglican Church's referring "the ultimate infallible decision in matters of saving faith to antiquity, giving authority to the Church, as being the witness and voice, or rather the very presence of antiquity amongst us." (p. 384.) This "limitation," or rather amplification, of the article, is to be drawn from one of the Canons of Convocation. (p. 379.) Be it so; but the Canon would have done well to tell us, when, where, and by whom, this appeal to antiquity, or rather this summons of attention, to its yet speaking voice is to be made: the *Critic* might have shown us how the Church makes it at the present day, in order to the confutation and overthrow of those rampant errors which have long torn her in pieces.

For, this we think a still weightier objection to the system, that it is theory, and nothing but theory. It has no life, no vigour, no active existence. We may weary our readers by insisting so often upon this idea; but it is one never to be lost sight of, in controversy with this party. The Church which they describe, and which they idolize, is imaginary and exists only upon paper. Perhaps in its beginning it may have exhibited its vital powers, by stoutly combating, and, with the aid of the secular arm, repressing, the innovations of seceders from its pale;

* Dr. Wiseman's Lectures, p. 30.

out long has it given proof that such a vigour was external and adventitious, depending upon the interest which the State felt in its exercise of influence. Since it has been left to itself, although within it and around it, through dissension and dissent, its articles have been impugned, its discipline decried, its usefulness disputed, its ministrations contemned ; no voice of authority has been raised within it, no outstretching of its arm has been witnessed ; never once has it assumed that attribute of dignity, that imposing mien of command, which the imagined depository of an apostolic teaching, and an establishment of heaven-guided ministers, might be supposed entitled to assume.

Has it been so with the Catholic Church ? Was Jansenism, not half so perilous or so pernicious as Arianism, allowed by wily arts to seduce the faithful, while no one spoke ? On the contrary, although but little more than a century before the Church had lost a large portion of her dominion, through the unhappy Reformation, and she seemed ill able to afford another defection, she did not hesitate to trace out the hidden error, and cut away, with steady hand, the cancer which had stretched its subtile roots through a part of her otherwise healthy frame. It was an operation, indeed, more painful and more difficult, than the previous cutting off of a useless and diseased limb ; but she shrank not from the performance of her stern duty. Though the sectaries were anxious not to break communion with the Universal Church, though they successively retreated from plea to plea, the Holy See, supported by the Bishops of the Catholic world, tore off every disguise under which they sought to lurk, and overthrew every pretence for resistance, till the evil was removed, and without loss to the Church clean destroyed. When attempts were made by Ricci and the Pistoians, to revive in Italy what had been foiled in France, Pius VI, by his noble constitution *Auctorem Fidei*, vindicated the dignity of the Apostolic See, and united the suffrages of the whole Church in their condemnation. And that condemnation was the destruction of the dangerous novelty.

Such are, indeed, practical and vigorous proofs, not merely of a system of authoritative teaching in the Church, but of its healthy action. And such was the method pursued in that antiquity, which we are told yet raises its voice in the Anglican Church. For it was not then deemed sufficient to frame a symbol or code of articles, and then leave it to its fate, and pursue the detection and repression of error no further ; but every new heresy was met by a new remedy, every poisonous invention led to the publication of a new antidote ; and singly was each starting error beaten down, and in general effectually. Nay, the symbols of the Church were never mere “articles for the avoiding of diversities of opinion ;” they were not acts for settling the basis of belief and government, but they were occasional exercises of authority called forth by the rise of new and unheard-of opinions. Even in the case of national Churches, the same, in a subordinate degree, was their practice. The Donatists of Africa were energetically attacked and condemned, in the first instance, by the authoritative decisions of the Church in that country. If then Anglicanism holds the same principles, why does it not, as well as Catholicism, continue to act upon the same system ? God knows that it cannot have been from want of opportunity or necessity. Authority is an active instrument ; it requires exercise for its maintenance ; it is as a bow, which, if for ages left unstrung, will snap whenever the attempt be

made again to bend it. If the English Church have all along believed herself possessed of so rich a deposit as this apostolic power to teach, how will she answer for having folded it up in a napkin, and buried it so long in the earth? If not, whence has a new light burst upon her now, or upon some of her divines, and convinced them she has always possessed the treasure?

How comes it, too, that never in her articles is allusion made to the manner of exercising this authority, or to the places or circumstances under which the exercise should be made? We should rejoice, indeed, by way of experiment to see such a trial made as the *Critic* somewhere proposes, of an Anglican national synod. We should like to see the Church condemn Calvinistic and Semi-Arian principles, and deprive all ministers who teach them; endeavour to introduce the practices commended in the Oxford "Tracts for the Times;" order such a reformation as would restore the cathedral service to its original forms, binding the wealthy canons to residence, and cutting down pluralities; then openly denounce, with the *Critic*, Wesley as "a heresiarch," and consequently his followers as heretics, and boldly pronounce that anathema of the Church, which the Review now mutters against such as believe and profess not, in accordance with the Anathasian Creed. Let all this, we say, be done by a national Council of the Anglican Church; and let its decrees be based upon "primitive tradition, as well as Scripture, and her authority claimed as a rightful inheritance ever held by her since apostolic times;" and then we shall indeed see, whether her own children will justify her wisdom, or whether the attempted blow will not be rather considered as the "telum imbellis sine ictu,"* of one who sinks in venerable dotage at the foot of his vanquished domestic altar.

But the practical inutility of this speculative system of authority is far from ending here. Whoever claims a right to control others, whether in judgment or in action, must offer at least some advantage in return. The Protestant has an obvious right to ask the ministers of the Anglican Church, "If I surrender my opinions and reasonings into your hands, if I abandon my conventicle and embrace your formularies of worship, what certainty have I gained that I am securer of the truth than I was before?" Now the answer, if honest and explicit, should, according to the principles of the *British Critic*, be as follows: "The Anglican Church is a part of the true Church; it is a national independent branch thereof. She pretends not, however, even collectively, to immunity from error. For it is one of her articles, that 'as the Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, have erred,' and as 'also the Church of Rome hath erred . . . in matters of faith,'† so the Anglican, which pretends to no more infallibility than she allows to them, may err no less in matters of faith. But then this immense advantage will result from your joining the national Church, that though it, as a particular Church, may fail, and teach what is erroneous in faith, yet 'the whole Church all over the world will never agree in teaching and enforcing what is not true.'"

Now, we ask any unprejudiced mind, whether this is not like toying with men's consciences and good-sense at once? In fact, we have not gone far enough in the concessions of this imaginary, but consistent, answer. For some Anglican divines hold the Church to be of a revolutionary character—not in the political, but in the scientific, sense

* Æneid. II. 544.

† Art. xix.

‡ British Critic, p. 380.

of the word—moveable, like the Jewish tabernacle, from one place to another; and England is allowed by them to have had her turn, and to be probably on the point of losing it. Thus writes Dr. Daubeny; though we cannot be sure that he is on the *Critic's* list of the orthodox, and whether we may not be charged with unfairness in presuming to quote him, as an authority in the Church, whose champion he stands forth:—“Though this Church, from the days of its first settlement, hath been passing from country to country, as the inhabitants of each became respectively unworthy of its longer continuance among them; yet for our comfort we are assured that the gates of hell shall not completely prevail against it. In one part of the world or another, they will be found to the end of time. How long it may be in the counsel of God to continue it in this country He only knows. But the present divided state of Christians, so much lamented by all sound members of the Church, together with that too general indifference for all religious opinions, which, under the fallacious term of *liberality of sentiment*, now prevails, holds out to us no very promising prospect.”* Therefore, not only *may* the Anglican Church fail, but it is highly probable that it *will*. But what matters it to the individual, that the Church all over the world will not concur in teaching error, so long as in this circumstance he has no pledge that the particular branch of it, which he is called upon to join, is secure from failure? Or what claim can the latter establish, by the proof of this universal security, to a particular confidence? Could men be compelled, as a solemn duty, to carry their disputes before any given court of judicature, upon the ground that all the courts throughout the world could not concur in an unjust decision? It is *personal* security, his *own* safety, that each one is bound to seek in matters of faith; and to *exact* submission and obedience in judgment and deed, as a duty strictly binding, where that equivalent professedly is not given, is not only tyrannical but contradictory.

The only way in which this duty of adhesion to an insecure Church, on the ground that the body, whereof it is a corruptible member, is itself incorruptible, can be justified, appears to be this: That the universal Church of Christ, being indefectible, every particular Church which *actually* forms a part of it, must be considered safe; and thus the communion with the fallible becomes a participation in the universal security of the infallible. Such, we suppose to be the reasoning of the Reviewer, when he insists upon the Anglican Church being a branch of the Catholic or universal Church. But where is the proof that the Church of England is in communion with other Churches in the world, excepting its own colonies, and perhaps the Episcopalians of North America? It has no more to say to the Greek, or Armenian, or Syriac Churches, than it has to the French or Italian. There is neither common belief nor common discipline to cement it into unity with them. There is no acknowledgment of communion, there is no interchange of friendly offices, there is no intercourse of epistolary communication. There is no sympathy in distress, no common joy in prosperity, no acquaintance with one another's state and feelings. Take, if it please you, Dr. Isaac Barrow's Utopian “Discourse concerning the Unity of the Church,” and apply his enumeration of the duties of this unity, and

* “Guide to the Church,” 1804, vol. i. p. 159.

see if from them can possibly result that the Anglican Church is in possession of a single link connecting it with the rest of Christ's Church. "If any where any heresy or bad doctrine should arise, all Christians should be ready to declare against it.....especially the *pastors of the Churches* are obliged with one consent to oppose it.....Thus did the bishops of several Churches meet to suppress the heresy of Pope (*Paul?*) Samosatenus. This was the ground of most synods."* When has the Anglican Church joined any such confederacy with any other Churches, for the suppression of error or infidelity?

"If any dissension or faction doth arise in any Church, *other Churches*, upon notice thereof, should yield their aid to quench and suppress it." Is there any Church that would, under such circumstances, ask for aid from the Anglican, or accept its proffered assistance?

"All Christians should be ready, when opportunity doth invite, to admit one another to conjunction in offices of piety and charity; in prayer, in *communion of the Eucharist*, &c. St. Polycarp being at Rome, did communicate with Pope Anicetus."† Where is the *Episcopal* Church which would admit an English Protestant bishop to officiate at the altar, or to participate in its Eucharist, knowing him to reject as fond and superstitious so much of its belief and practice?

"If dissension arise between divers Churches, another may interpose to reconcile them; as did the Church of Carthage, between that of Rome and Alexandria. If any bishop were exceedingly negligent in the discharge of his office, to the common danger of truth and piety, his neighbour bishops might admonish him thereto; and if he should not reform, might deprive him of communion."‡ Does the Anglican Church admit in "any neighbour bishops" this right of interference, or does she pretend to it herself, or has she ever thought of using it? Would she expose herself to the certain rebuff she would receive, upon endeavouring to interpose, as a mediatrix, between any two foreign Churches?

"In cases of doubt or difficulty one Church should have recourse to others for advice, and any Church should yield it." Is there any example, or any chance, of such confidence existing between the Anglican or any other Church?

Such are pretty nearly his proofs of unity between different establishments supposed to form collectively "the Catholic Church;"† and, therefore, did we call Dr. Barrow's treatise Utopian, because believing, as we suppose, his Church to be one of such establishments, he gravely proposes tests of her pretensions which can only exist in imagination, and must show her to have no pretensions to a real place in this universal community. The Dissenter, then,—for we must be allowed to smile when the *Critic* or Dr. Barrow has the simplicity to call *us* schismatics,—the dissenter is solemnly urged, under grievous peril of his soul, to join the Anglican Church, not because she is safe from error, but because the entire Church is, of which she forms a part. And if he call for proofs that she is a part of the Universal Church, characteristics are proposed to him, as criterions of her claim, not one of which exists in her; or rather the absence of which proves that she is *not* in com-

* Barrow's Works, Tillotson's Ed. vol. i. p. 766.

† P. 767.

• Be it remembered, that the *Critic* approves of Dr. Barrow's conclusion drawn from this very treatise, that Catholics are to be considered as schismatics.—p. 434.

munion with this Universal Church, wherever it is to be found. The unsuccessful tampering of old with the Greek Church, through Cyril Lucaris, will prove, to the scholar, that our commentary upon Dr. Barrow's text has good foundation.

But if a dissenter, thus staggered, not to say shocked, at the boldness of the system which asked so much, and gave him in return so little, were desirous to look about him elsewhere for something of what is here described, he would not be long in discovering a Church, composed of many national Churches, possessed individually of rights and liberties, and forming complete governing communities; but so cemented together in steadfast unity of faith and discipline, as to verify what Dr. Barrow has written of religious unity. In our Church, he would find in practice and in truth, what, spoken of the Anglican Church by one of her own divines, must sound as a cruel jest. The Churches of France and Ireland, of Italy and South America, of Germany and Syria, of Spain and Poland, of Belgium and Cochin China, are in full enjoyment of almost every characteristic* of religious unity which we have transcribed; the subjects of any one could communicate, the clergy could celebrate at the altar of any other among them. The pastors could meet as brethren, and sit at one council-board; they *do* consult one another in cases of difficulty; they assist and receive one another in distress, and sympathise with their respective sufferings.† But the sects or Churches that are not within this pale—and the Anglican is one—have and can have no participation in these advantages of communion with them, nor do they affect any among themselves. The Patriarch of Constantinople, or the Synod of Moscow, would be greatly astonished if the Convocation consulted them about the Thirty-nine Articles, or if his Grace of Canterbury, travelling in their parts, should ask to read the communion service in one of their churches.

But we are not sure that we should make the insecurity of such as obey the Church of England's summons to join her, end here. For even this imaginary connexion, which she cannot prove, with the Universal Church, ought, according to her principles, to be no guaranty. In her twenty-first Article, she says, that "general councils," that is, assemblies of the bishops of the *whole* Church, "so farasmuch as they be an assembly of men whereof all be not governed by the Spirit and Word of God, *may err*, and sometimes *have erred*, even in things appertaining unto God." The Critic, indeed, says, that this Article speaks only "histori-

* We, of course, except such acts of high jurisdiction as no Church now-a-days could pretend to in respect of another, such as the deposition of bishops in another country, &c. Such extraordinary power is only vested in the Sovereign Pontiff. But would the Anglican, under any circumstance, allow the American bishops to interfere in England to such an extent?

† A beautiful example of this truly Catholic feeling has lately taken place. Some of the New States of South America had, during their contest with another country, banished all Spaniards from their territories, not excepting clergymen. Since they have been freed from all alarm, they have zealously set about restoring their religious establishments, and particularly the regular orders. For this purpose, agents, with large sums at their disposal, have been sent to Italy, to procure members of these orders to cross the Atlantic. They have been instructed to give preference to Spaniards who have been ejected from their religious houses by the present Spanish Government. And whenever any of them have sought an asylum in the new States, they have been received with marked kindness and hospitality. Thus has the Catholic spirit triumphed over obstinate national prejudices.

cally of professed and pretended general councils." But, with due deference, we beg to dissent from this interpretation. For though the clause, "and have erred," may be only historically added, yet the definition that "they *may* err," is an enunciation of a belief or general principle, inasmuch as it is based upon the circumstance, that all the individuals composing a general council are not guided by the word and spirit of God. Now, as this will apply to every possible general council, as well as to any actual one since that of Jerusalem, we must conclude that the Church of England does not attribute security from error, even to the entire Church of Christ in council assembled. How much less, then, can union with her be an imperative duty, on the ground that thereby the individual is secure through union with the Universal Church?

There is another inconsistency in this new scheme of Church authority. The Church in general is allowed to be indefectible, upon the strength of that text, in which our Saviour promises to be with his apostles to the end of the world (p. 395), and other similar passages. When he says, "He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me;" the consequence is, that the Church to which these words are addressed, is at all times to be listened to, as the living voice of Christ; and thus it is indefectible. But, upon these very texts, the High-Church party claim authority for the particular pastors of their Church, as legitimate successors of the Apostles. But how shall these texts, addressed to one only body, be it what it may, confer two perfectly dissimilar things, on two distinct classes of persons, to wit, indefectibility to the collective, universal Church, and authority to each component part thereof? If the Anglican hierarchy lay claim to one of the gifts, they have as much right to the other. But this is not our present question. We ask on what ground are these texts thus made to cut two ways, to answer two different purposes, without any warranty for the distinction in the texts themselves? Whatever Church is declared to be indefectible, is invested with authority, and none other; and as the Anglican Church does not pretend to the one quality, it can have no claim to the other. If the indefectibility which is the consequence of Christ's teaching through the pastors, be not distributable among particular Churches, how is it proved that authority in faith, which is that very teaching, is so distributable? But if the two reside united in the same body, as in consistency they ought, then we say the result is INFALLIBILITY. For indefectibility secures the existence of *objective* truth in the Church at all times; and authority to teach, in conjunction, secures *subjective* truth. In other words, the latter obliges each individual to believe whatever it teaches, while the former assures him that it can never fall into error.

In fact, infallibility is the active manifestation of indefectibility through authority. Where the fund of wisdom and truth is imperishable and incorruptible, its outward communication must be so too. If the Church is to be heard, because Christ teaches in it, the Church is *infallible*,—even as Christ is. All this is in exact harmony with Catholic truth. In this there is no disjunction of what God hath ordained; no drawing of authority for individual Churches, and of indefectibility for the Universal Church from one indivisible text. Both, indeed, are proved; but both in favour of one—of the Catholic Universal Church: and

with these the natural result of the two conjoined—*dogmatical infallibility*. In their pastors, the flock recognise the connecting link between them and this great community; they are ruled and taught by them in strict harmonious unity with the entire Church.

But the Anglican Church can show, as we have already observed, no connexion with any other Church, to prove that it forms a part of any larger religious communion. Either she alone is the Universal Catholic Church, or she is out of its pale. If the first, she should claim indefectibility; if the second, she must renounce authority.

By way of conclusion, let us transfer the inquiry to another country. We were at first inclined to choose Ireland or Italy; but particular exceptions might be taken against both these points of comparison; therefore, we will place the controversy in France. The French Church has a hierarchy, less interrupted in apostolic succession than the Anglican can possibly pretend to be. The Bishops of Gaul may be traced to the second century, or even to the immediate disciples of the apostles; whereas the Anglicans do not pretend to trace their succession further back than the Roman mission under St. Gregory the Great. The succession too in France has no awkward passage to explain in its history, such as the turning out of all the bishops by civil persecution, and tacking to the succession a new set, who pretended to inherit the sees, while they rejected the religion of those before them. But putting aside all these odious comparisons, we will only assume, that the Church of France has as good a right at least to claim apostolic succession, with all its rights of authority and obedience, as the Church of England. We ask, therefore, are not the French Protestants chargeable with schism, since they "separate themselves from the Church, and make congregations contrary to their canonical bishops?" (p. 435.) Are they not "bound," as much as, according to the *Critic*, the English Catholics are, "to unite themselves to the French Church?" (p. 434.)

It will not be said that the French Church does not maintain its independence as a national Church, or that by its submission to the Supremacy of the Holy See, she has forfeited her rights over all separatists within her dominions. For Barrow expressly says: "Yet those Churches, which by voluntary consent or command of princes, do adhere in confederation to the Roman Church, we are not, merely upon that score, to condemn or reject from the communion of charity or peace, for in that they do but use their liberty."* Now the French Church is not bound certainly by any compulsion to the Roman See; and, therefore, the French Protestants cannot refuse it obedience on this score. But then, perhaps, the French Church "maintains impious errors," or "prescribes naughty practices,"—which the learned doctor adds as a sufficient reason for treating a Church as "heretical or schismatical." And who is to pronounce this judgment for the French Protestant? He himself individually? Then we have private judgment set up against and above the decision of the national Church; and thus is the Dissenter's plea made good against the Anglican Church. The body of Christians to which he is attached? Then must similar bodies in England have the same right: and Catholics cannot be

* Ubi supra, p. 783.

schismatics who use this right, and proclaim the Anglican Church to teach "impious errors," and therefore to be itself "heretical and schismatical." Some foreign Church, as the Anglican? Then may the English Catholic be equally guided by the decisions of her more numerous foreign Churches. And, moreover, according to the theory of independent national Churches, each has a right to command full obedience from its own immediate subjects free from foreign controul. But, says the *Critic*, "The Romish Church *generally* is regarded as schismatical, in exacting, as terms of communion and articles of faith, doctrines which are of uncertain authority (p. 435). By whom is it so generally regarded? *By the Anglican Church!* And is this then an infallible Church, which has a right to set up its decision against the combined decisions of so many other certainly *no less* apostolic Churches, which concur in not considering those articles as of uncertain authority, and in condemning the Anglican as heretical? Or are Protestants in Catholic countries bound to recognize in her an authority to rule their belief against the decisions of the hierarchy in them, while the Catholics or Dissenters in England have no similar resource in any other country? If so, the Anglican Church comes within the gripe of Barrow's conclusion,—that if Churches be "turbulent and violent, trying by all means to *subdue and enslave other Churches* to their will or their dictates; in such cases we may reject such Churches as heretical and schismatical, or wickedly uncharitable and unjust in their proceedings."

One of two things. Either it must be left to the individual to decide whether a Church proposes or not "doctrines of uncertain authority," and then his private reason is constituted superior to the Church, and a judge over her decision; or else the decision of any foreign Episcopal Church has as much right to controul the individual judgment of each person, and then Protestants in Catholic countries are acknowledged to be heretics. In the first supposition, Dissenters are not heretics or schismatics with regard to the Established Church; in the second, the French Protestants are bound to subscribe to their belief in Purgatory and Transubstantiation, which the Anglican Articles condemn. In either, the writer in the *Critic* has, we imagine, a hard alternative. To use his own words, "we differ from him in logic, as much as in divinity." (p. 397.)

Let us place the question under another aspect. These High-Church divines say, that their Church draws its explanations of Scripture from antiquity, of which it is the witness and depository. It builds therefore upon this testimony its belief in the Eucharist, and its interpretation of the words employed by our Lord in its institution. But the Catholic Church, that is, the union of many other Churches, appeals to precisely the same authority and test for its interpretation and belief. This is not a question of first principle, as whether any thing is to be enforced or not, which is not clearly proved from Scripture: it is a matter of application of a rule equally admitted. The Zwinglián maintains the Eucharist to be a naked symbol, a merely commemorative rite. The Catholic and the Anglican contradict him; the former says that tradition has ever taught in his Church, a real and corporeal presence of Christ in that sacrament: the Anglican that his Church has learned from the same source to believe in a *real* but not a *corpora*.

presence. Who is to decide between the two? Is it the duty of the individual to unravel the mystery for himself, and trace out the testimony of tradition through the first ages? Then private judgment again comes in, and again is exalted as the umpire between conflicting Churches! Shall the Anglican Church have the preference? But she renounces all claim to infallibility. And what other plea can she urge which shall not assume her being the only true Church, and her principle of faith being the only correct one,—which is the very matter of inquiry?

The fact is, that there is no middle point between private judgment and the infallible authority of a living Church, which, being universal, can command particular Churches as well as individuals. We would willingly exclude the name of Mr. Blanco White from our pages, but he seems to us at this moment to be a “sign,” though not a “wonder,”—a monumental record of this principle, practically illustrated in his double apostasy. He seems to us to have satisfactorily demonstrated, that on the march from Catholicity to Socinianism, and the unlimited use of private judgment, the Church of England presents no resting-place. It may indeed be passed through on the road, and its curious imitations of the place just left may detain the wanderer's and outcast's attention for a brief space, as it did Mr. White's; but on he must go, if he be borne forward by a consistent principle, till he reach the other extreme.*

Many observations which have come before our minds we have been compelled to omit, for really there is no end to the incoherences and impracticabilities of the High-Church scheme. It presents one inextricable confusion of rights belonging to the Universal Church with those of particular parts or national establishments. The Church is ever spoken of as indefectible—as the depository of truth—the voice of antiquity,—and all this is said of the Universal Church. But when we come to the deference due to it in consequence of these prerogatives, by a process of logical jugglery, the Anglican contrives to step in to receive it as its right. If these divines would keep the two distinct in their argument, they would find it miserably lame.

We were not a little surprised to see the vulgar misstatement repeated in the *Critic's* pages, that Catholics believe their Church empowered to *create* articles of faith (p. 383). They claim for her no more of authority than she exercised in the early ages, that of defining what had been believed within her from the beginning, and thus *declaring* articles of faith. The symbols of the ancient councils, as we have before observed, were only framed against heresies as they rose; and certain points were thus defined and proposed, for the first time, in clear formal terms, to the acceptance of the faithful. Other matters, such as the Eucharist, grace, justification, were omitted, because on them there was no error. Had any existed, the doctrine regarding them would have been as clearly laid down. And there can be no doubt but that a new obligation would thus have fallen upon all Christians, to believe definitively with the Church, on points whereon, before the definition, they could not be so well instructed, nor so accurately know the faith of the Church dispersed. Hence it is not an uncommon

* See his “Observations on Heresy and Orthodoxy,” p. 7.

remark of judicious and primitive writers, that the Fathers spoke more loosely upon certain subjects, before they had been clearly defined by the Church. If this declaration of matters, ever believed, but not before defined, be called a *creation* of new articles, we have no objection to the *Critic's* phrase. But if by this term is signified, that, according to Catholics, their Church may propose that to be believed which before was not believed, it is a gross perversion of truth to apply it to us.

In fact, we believe the Church, in regard to her authority, to have no past and no future. She is always one; and whatever she had ever a right to do, after the Apostles' time, she has a right to do at present. When the *Critic*, or Mr. Keble, sends us back to antiquity as the rule of faith, joined to Scripture, and thereby means the doctrine of the three or four first centuries, we beg to remind him, that these times were once the *present* of the Church. The faithful of those days did not, could not, look to "antiquity," which then was not, but to the *living* Church. What was their rule of faith is ours; three hundred years, or eighteen hundred, from the time of Christ, cannot make a difference in a principle; it was nowhere appointed, or decreed, or foretold, that for so many centuries the *existing* Church should teach, and that, after that time, she should lose her authority, and be only the witness to antiquity. Yet so much must the *Critic* pretend, by boasting that the Catholic "gives to the existing Church the ultimate infallible decision in matters of saving faith . . . and the Anglican to antiquity, giving authority to the Church as being the witness and voice . . . of antiquity." What that antiquity held, we hold, for it could not acknowledge any authority but the *existing* Church.

Moreover, the High Church principle only removes the difficulties of Protestantism, or as these divines prefer calling it, of *à'la-Protestantism*, another step; but it does not obviate them completely. Antiquity, as deposited in the writings of the early ages, is a dead letter as much as the Bible: it requires a living interpreter no less. It has its obscurities, its perplexities, its apparent contradictions as much; it requires a guide no less to conduct us through its mazes. It cannot step in and decide between conflicting opinions and rival claims; it can, at most, be a code which requires a judge to apply it. It is more voluminous, more complex, more uncompact than Scripture; it needs more some methodizing and harmonizing authoritative expounder. If national Churches can separately fulfil these offices, and sufficiently discharge these duties, they surely ought not to come to contradictory conclusions. Yet the Anglican stands in stark opposition to every other Episcopal Church throughout the world;—its own daughter in America perhaps excepted.

And yet narrow as are the limits of this Church, its principle of faith has not secured to it the blessing which should be its destined result, a steadfast unity of belief among its members. We speak not merely of the prevalence of dissent, but of the vast differences which the controversies, treated of in this article, have shown to exist between the members of the Anglican Church. The *British Critic* proposes a synod of that Church, as the best means of settling its present difficulties. Once more we say; let it be called, and we shall see how the Kebles and the Russells, the Newmans and the Arnolds, the Puseys

and the Bickersteths, will agree in defining the first principle of faith, the ground on which all other controversies should be decided.

At the same time, comprehensive, nay, vast as is the pale of Catholicity, and embracing, as it does, every zone, and every quarter of the globe, let a council be called of its pastors, and you would see how differently *its* rule has attained the end of its existence, in the universal harmony it has produced in belief and practice. There you might interrogate a bishop from New Spain, or a Vicar Apostolic from Sweden, a professor of the Sorbonne, or a country curate from the Abruzzi: you might consult the catechism taught to the child in Ireland, or to the native convert in the Philippine Islands, without discovering any wavering or hesitation on the question of Church authority, or any doctrine by it defined.

And by this comparison, it may be seen how in the Catholic Church the manifestation of the Son of Man, the living Word of the Father, is "as the lightning which cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west," one single, indivisible and unsearchable blaze of light, pervading the entire heaven of human intelligence from hemisphere to hemisphere. But if, on the one hand, when we are told, "Lo! He is in the desert," in camp-meetings and field-preachings and revivals, amidst the mad exuberance of ultra-Protestant zeal, "we go not forth;" so, on the other, we hope to be pardoned, if, on being modestly assured that "He is in the secret chambers" of one or two colleges in Oxford, where alone his doctrines may be had in their purity, "we believe it not."*

There is one point on which we fully agree with the *Critic*, and as it forms the beginning of his article, so shall it form the conclusion of this Tract. In common with many recent writers, he is of opinion that the controversies between our two Churches are only now fairly commencing. He thinks justly, that hitherto we have been assailed "rather by the power of the civil sword than by the arguments of divines." (p. 374.) The privilege of even attacking has been till now all on the other side, and we have been condemned, as a caste, to the ignobler labours of apology and defence. The staff of the oppressor hath now, however, been broken, we stand upon more equal ground, and it is our own fault if we follow not up our advantages. If the battle,—of reason, we mean, and argument,—has now to be fought, we, at least, will not steal away from the field; our habits and feelings would suggest another course, and prompt us, like Tasso's shepherd, to seek seclusion from the war, in the humbler task of our own improvement, or of mere domestic duties. But there are times when every citizen is a soldier, in the spiritual as in civil warfare; and a crisis like this is one. The course which we shall pursue shall be consistent and persevering. We seek not the wealth of our Anglican neighbours, nor their establishment, nor their political power, nor their usurped influence. All these things we esteem as dross. But we covet their brotherhood in the faith, and their participation in our security of belief, and their being bound to us in cords of love, through religious unity. For these things we will contend, unceasingly, and to the utmost of our power; and GOD DEFEND THE RIGHT!

* Matt. xxiv. 24, 26.

TRACT 17.

[PRINTED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE CATHOLIC
INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN.]

THE HIGH-CHURCH CLAIMS:

OR, A SERIES OF PAPERS

ON

THE OXFORD CONTROVERSY, THE HIGH-CHURCH THEORY
OF DOGMATICAL AUTHORITY, ANGLICAN CLAIM TO
APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION, &c.

BY NICHOLAS WISEMAN, D.D.

N^o. 3.

OCCASIONED BY THE PUBLICATION OF THE "TRACTS
FOR THE TIMES."

(*From the "Dublin Review."*)



[Stereotyped for the Catholic Institute of Great Britain.]

LONDON:

Sold by all Catholic Booksellers, price Three Halfpence, or Seven
Shillings and Sixpence per Hundred for gratuitous distribution.

PRINTED BY C. RICHARDS, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, CHURCH CROSS.

TRACT N^o. 3.

Occasioned by the publication of the "Tracts for the Times."

THE times, Heaven knows, are sufficiently bad. It is a work of charity to try to mend them. The well-known collection of "Tracts for the Times," was published for this purpose. As a well-intentioned attempt, it deserves our sympathy. It is a proof of great zeal, of considerable intrepidity, and of some research. The *Tracts* are the production of a well-known knot of divines at or from Oxford, the determined foes of dissent, the inconsistent adversaries of Catholicity, and the blind admirers of the Anglican Church. In other words, they are written by staunch assertors of High-Church principles.

Will they succeed in their work? I firmly believe they will: nay, strange to say, I hope so. As to patching up, by their prescriptions, the worn-out constitution of the poor old English Church, it is beyond human power. "*Curavimus Babylonem et non est sanata,*" (*Jer.* li. 9) will be their discovery in the end. It is no longer a matter of rafters and partition-walls; the foundations have given way, the main buttresses are rent; and I am not sure but that one who has been, for three centuries, almost deprived of sight, and kept toiling in bondage, not at, but under the grinding wheel, has his hands upon the great pillars that support it, and having roused himself in his strength, may be about to give them a fearful shake. I speak only of moral power, but it is of the immense moral power of Truth.

How, then, will they succeed? Not by their attempts to heal, but by their blows to wound. Their spear may be like that in Grecian fable, which inflicted a gash, but let out an ulcer. They strike boldly and deeply into the very body of dissent, and the morbid humours of Protestantism will be drained out. Let this be done, and Catholic vitality will circulate in their place. They show no mercy to those who venture to break unity in their Church, and like all unmerciful judges, they must expect no mercy. Why did *you* separate from the Roman Church? is a question that every reader of these volumes will ask twenty times. He will find, it is true, what is intended for an answer given him as often: but he will be an easily-satisfied enquirer, if any of these answers prove sufficient for him.

The scope of these *Tracts* seems to be two-fold. First, they endeavour to revive in the Anglican Church a love of ancient principles and practices, by showing on how many points it has departed from them, and how wholesome it would be to return to them. Secondly, they endeavour to place their Church upon the foundation of apostolical succession, enforcing their claims to authority upon the laity, and pressing the clergy to a maintenance of it as a right. Antiquity and authority are their watchwords. They consequently maintain that the English Church has suffered great change during the last century, in having

become too Protestant (*Tr.* 38.) The Fathers of the Reformation, as they are called, are said by them to have kept close to primitive practices, and consequently to have separated less (this they are obliged to own) from the Romish—that is the Catholic Church—than their successors. The Anglican Church, therefore, already stands in need of another reformation, (*Tr.* 38) which shall lead it back to what those Fathers made it. There must have been a sting in this confession. But still it is made boldly—with profession, however, that such an approach to Catholicity, would only be so inasmuch as we have better preserved primitive forms.

The two heads which I have just rehearsed, as embracing the subject-matter of these books, often run into one another, and it is not always easy to separate them. For authority, based upon apostolical succession, is necessarily a part of antiquity, and ancient practices and doctrines are upheld by an appeal to authority. Wishing as I do, to treat of these two matters distinctly, I shall endeavour to examine each upon its own peculiar merits; and perhaps I shall better succeed in keeping them distinct, by making each the subject of a separate Tract. I shall, therefore, confine myself at present to the desire of bringing back the Anglican Church to ancient practices.

The enquiry into this sentiment presents itself to my mind under the form of a very simple question. What was gained by the Reformation, considered as these authors would have it, that is, as a purgation of such malpractices and errors as time had introduced into primitive usages and belief, and a return to the purity of the early ages? Two things should seem to have been necessary to authorise the naming a religious change by such a title. First, all that was really abuse should have been skillfully removed, yet so as to leave all that was ancient and good. If a surgeon, in cutting away a gangrene, cut off a sound limb, he would be said rather to destroy than heal. Secondly, such measures should be taken, as that similar or worse abuses should not again return. If it had required a thousand years to deform the Church, so as to call for a first reformation, this would have proved a sorry work, if, in a couple of hundred more, things had become as bad again. Still worse it would be, if the very Reformation itself had opened a door to similar or worse abuses.

It will be a curious and unexpected result of such mighty convulsions in the religious and political world, as the *Reformation* caused, that the great safeguards of revealed truth should have been pulled down; the stable foundation of divinely appointed regiment in the Church plucked up; rites and ceremonies coeval with christianity abolished; practices come down from the first ages discontinued and discountenanced; and ordinances, believed of old to have been apostolical, abrogated and condemned. And yet all this must be called a “godly work of Reformation,” that same “Reformation” signifying a repristination of primitive christianity! But will it not be stranger to see the old religion, which needed such an operation, preserving all these good things intact, to the jealousy of the Reformed; in such wise, that when this one wished to return to purer or perfecter forms, it must needs seek its models in the other? Shall we upon examination find things so? Let us see.

1. Episcopal authority is justly considered by the Tract-writers as the foundation of Church government. Of its present state in their Church

they write as follows, having quoted passages from St. Clement of Rome, and St. Ignatius martyr.

"With these and other strong passages in apostolical Fathers, how can we permit ourselves in our present *practical* disregard of episcopal authority? Are not we apt to obey only so far as the law obliges us? Do we support the Bishop, and strive to move all along with him as our bond of union and head? Or is not our every-day conduct as if, except with respect to certain periodical forms and customs, we were each independent in his own parish?"—No. 3. p. 8.

"We who believe the Nicene Creed, must acknowledge it a high privilege, that we belong to the Apostolic Church. How is it that so many of us are, almost avowedly, so cold and indifferent in our thoughts of this privilege? . . . Scripture at first sight is express" (in favour of the divine ministerial commission.) . . . "*The primitive Christians read it accordingly: and cherished with all affectionate reverence the privilege which they thought they found there. Why are we so unlike them?*"—No. 4, p. 1.

"I readily allow, that this view of our calling has something in it too high and mysterious to be fully understood by unlearned Christians. But the learned, surely, are just as unequal to it. It is part of that ineffable mystery, called in our creed the communion of saints, &c. . . . Why should we despair of obtaining, in time, an influence far more legitimate, and less dangerously exciting," (than that obtained by the upholders of the holy discipline) "but equally searching and extensive, by the diligent inculcation of our *true* and *Scriptural* claim? For it is obvious that, among other results of the primitive doctrine of the apostolical succession, thoroughly considered and followed up, it would make the relation of pastor and parishioner far more engaging, as well as more awful, than it is usually considered at present."—p. 76.

It is certain that all here desired, existed in the English Church down to the time of the Reformation; it is certain that it exists in all countries that have remained Catholic; it is certain that it exists among those who have clung to the old faith in these islands. What, then, was gained by the Reformation on this score? Had you remained Catholic, you would have had no "practical disregard of episcopal authority," nor would each clergyman have acted "as if independent" of his bishop. Had you remained Catholic, you would have found no difficulty in causing this article of the Nicene Creed to be heartily believed and followed up, nor found yourselves so "unlike the primitive Christians" in your feelings and conduct respecting it. You would have had no need of treating as a matter not desperate, the prospect of one day acquiring the influence over your flocks which unepiscopal teachers have acquired. A reformed, apostolic Church not to *despair* of acquiring an influence which it possessed before it was *reformed*! If, in regard to episcopal authority and its practical influence, the Reformation did no good, did it do any harm? Clearly so. For if this authority was practically lost only after the Reformation, and only where the Reformation was adopted, it must evidently be charged with having caused the practical abandonment of one of the articles of the Nicene Creed, and produced a great dissimilarity between its followers and the primitive Christians. We unreformed have continued to resemble them. How obstinate of us not to embrace the Reformation!

2. The sad effects of this loss of practical authority in the episcopacy, are even more awful than the cause itself. This authority, it is often repeated through these volumes, is not so clearly contained in Scripture as might, *a priori*, have been expected. Men are thus easily led to

reject, or, at least, to despise it. This, of course, they would not, if they laid a proper stress on tradition. The consequence of this departure from traditional teaching, in one respect, leads to a similar departure in more important ones: for instance, regarding the doctrines of the blessed Trinity and the Incarnation. Consider well what follows.

“What shall we say, when we consider that a case of doctrine, necessary doctrine, doctrine the very highest and most sacred, may be produced, where the argument lies as little on the surface of Scripture—where the proof, though *most conclusive*, is as indirect and circuitous as that for episcopacy, viz. the doctrine of the Trinity? Where is this solemn and comfortable mystery formally stated in the Scriptures as we find it in the creeds? Why is it not? Let a man consider whether all the objections which he urges against episcopacy may not be turned against his own belief in the Trinity. It is a happy thing for themselves that men are inconsistent: yet it is miserable to advocate and establish a *principle*, which, not in their own case indeed, but in the case of others who learn it of them, leads to Socinianism. This being considered, can we any longer wonder at the awful fact, that the descendants of Calvin, the first Presbyterian, are at the present day in the number of those who have denied the Lord who bought them?”—No. 45, p. 5.

“For the present, referring to that ineffable mystery (the Incarnation), from which, on this day especially, all our devout thoughts should begin, and in which they should end, I would only ask one question: *What will be the feelings of a Christian, particularly of a Christian pastor, should he find hereafter, that, in slighting or discouraging apostolical claims and views (be the temptation what it may), he has really been helping the evil spirit to unsettle man's faith in THE INCARNATION OF THE SON OF GOD?*”—No. 54, p. 12.

These are, indeed, awful consequences of the unsettling of men's minds caused by the Reformation. And they are clearly traceable and imputable to that event. For be the doctrine of Anglicanism what it may, respecting Scripture and tradition, it is evident that in it, as in all Protestant communions, exclusively, could exist this haggling about proofs, because not clear in the written Word. This is manifest; that among Catholics it is not usual for the faithful, still less for pastors, to question, or to “slight, or to discourage, apostolical claims and views;” nor has any one, so far as I know, contended that the dogmas of the Trinity and Incarnation have been perilled amongst us, through insufficient views of Church polity. These, therefore, are peculiar blessings introduced by the godly Reformation. In the English reformed Church a door has been opened to Socinianism, which was close barred before it became reformed, and the unreformed Catholics still contrive to keep well shut. With such confessions, is it strange that we should not be enamoured of the *Reformation*?

3. The constitutional weakness of the body episcopal could not but be followed by the enervation of its right arm. It has long ceased to wield the thunderbolt of ecclesiastical reproof and public censure against incorrigible sinners or open apostates.

“CHURCH REFORM.—All parts of Christendom have much to confess and reform. We have our sins as well as the rest. Oh that we would take the lead in the renovation of the Church Catholic on Scripture principles.

“Our greatest sin, perhaps, is the disuse of a ‘godly discipline.’ Let the reader consider—

“1. The command.—‘Put away from yourselves the wicked person.’ ‘A man that is a heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject.’ ‘Mark them which cause divisions and offences, and avoid them.’

"2. The example, viz. in the primitive Church.—'The persons or objects of ecclesiastical censure were all such delinquents as fell into great and scandalous crimes after baptism, whether men or women, priests or people, rich or poor, princes or subjects.'—*Bingham, Antiq.* xvi. 3.

"3. The warning.—'Whosoever shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven.'—No. 8, p. 4.

Until the Reformation, this godly discipline was in use. Even as yet, in Catholic countries and in our own, ecclesiastical censures are in force, and may be incurred by the violation of the ecclesiastical law. Sometimes they are inflicted by special decree, and are held in the greatest awe by priests and people. I have seen, on the Continent, excommunication taken off before a vast concourse of people, with all the solemn ceremonial of the ancient Church. The king-queller Napoleon felt the power of the Pontiff's arm, and staggered beneath the blow of his excommunication. Not long ago the present Pope pronounced it in general terms against all the participators in an outrage upon his authority; and numbers, conscience-struck, secretly entreated for absolution. The "godly discipline" was lost at and by the godly Reformation: the Church of England went back from "the example of the primitive Church," when it pretended to return to primitive Christianity: it soon forgot the divine "command" in its eagerness to combat the supposed human commands which it imputed to the Catholic Church. And the latter, which pertinaciously opposed this strange return to primitive Christianity, somehow or other has contrived to keep to this example of the early Church.

4. Another great departure from primitive Christianity, caused by the Reformation, was, according to the Tract-writers, the curtailment of the Church services:—"The services of our Church," they write, "as they now stand, are but a very small portion of the ancient Christian worship: and, though people now-a-days think them too long, there can be no doubt that the primitive believers would have thought them too short." (No. 9.) The writer then explains himself farther, by observing that the early Christians taking literally the scriptural intimation of praising God seven times a day, instituted the canonical hours. "Throughout the Churches which used the Latin tongue," he adds, "the same services were used with very little variation: and in Roman Catholic countries they continue in use, with only a few modern interpolations, even to this day." (p. 2.) Here, then, is a plain confession. The first Christians, in conformity to Scriptural suggestion, instituted a certain form of prayer, divided into seven portions, and of considerable length. This was in actual use at the time of the Reformation, with very little variation. Well, the restorers of ancient practices, the purgers of all modern abuses, sweep away the whole system: the unyielding Catholics keep hold of it, and possess it till this day. Which was right?—or what good did the Reformation do here?

Towards the end of the paper I have quoted, there are several statements respecting these offices which need emendation. It is pretended that already before the Reformation the offices of the Church had been compressed into two groups, called matins and vespers, and the spirit which had ordered them in their primitive form had been lost. That

consequently, "conscious of the incongruities of primitive forms and modern feelings, the reformers undertook to construct a service more in accordance with the spirit of their age. They adopted the English language; they curtailed the already compressed ritual of the early Christians, &c.

As to the first part of these reflections, I observe, that it is by no means common in religious communities to group the offices together as stated. Matins are generally sung alone, by many orders at midnight, by some over-night, by others early in the morning. Prime is sung at daybreak, and the shorter canonical hours later, with mass interposed; often a solemn mass between every two. Vespers and complin are also performed separately. In collegiate churches, where the canons reside at some distance from the church, the offices are more brought together. It may be said that the writer of the Tract spoke only of the state of things at the Reformation. If so, I have not the means at hand to verify his assertion. But I will take it as well-grounded: what follows? Why, that the Catholic Church contrived to correct abuses then existing, without abolishing the ordinances they affected. That she at least knew the difference between destruction and reformation. Why could not Protestants do the same? In their zeal to return to primitive practices, why did they abolish them? Surely the Catholic Church proved that it was not necessary to humour modern feelings, by such sacrifices. Which, then, is the true lover, follower, or restorer of early Christian observances?

On the latter part of our extract I frankly own, that when first I perused it, I was quite mistaken. I fancied that the writer meant to cast some censure on the adoption of the English language, in preference to that uniform speech "which had reversed the curse of Babel." By Dr. Pusey's vindication of the Tracts, I learn that such was not the author's meaning, but that the passage in question was favourable to the change of language. (vol. iii. p. 17.) I think any dispassionate reader would not have so understood it. However, it is plain that if the reformers found it necessary to abridge the services of the Church, in compliance with the spirit of the age, it could not have been the spirit of a *papistical* age, as Dr. Pusey there explains it. For our Church, which he thus designates, has found no need of curtailing, or of farther compression, but rather found means to correct abuses.

But this matter of ancient Church offices lost at the Reformation, is treated more at length in the 75th and following Tracts. In these, the entire office for Sunday, for the dead, and for several festivals, is given by way of specimens. But the introductory sentences to the explanation there premised of these offices, are unmatched in controversial assurance. They are as follow:—

"There is so much of excellence and beauty in the services of the Breviary, that, were it skilfully set before the Protestant by Romanistic controversialists as the book of devotions received in their communion, it would undoubtedly raise a prejudice in their favour, if he were ignorant of the circumstances of the case, and but ordinarily candid and unprejudiced. To meet this danger is one principal object of these pages; in which whatever is good and true in those devotions will be claimed, and on reasonable grounds, for the Church Catholic in opposition to the Roman Church, whose real claim above other Churches is that of having adopted into the service certain additions and

novelties, ascertainable to be such in history, as well as being corruptions doctrinally. In a word, it will be attempted to wrest a weapon out of our adversaries' hands; who have in this, as in many instances, appropriated to themselves a treasure which was our's as much as their's; and then, in our attempt to recover it, accuse us of borrowing what we have but lost through inadvertence."

The only real claim of our Church above other Churches (e. g. the Anglican) consists in having made some addition to the breviary! The having known how to appreciate it, and having kept it, go for nothing. Suppose a case in point.

Two brothers are in joint possession of a noble estate, descended to them from their remote ancestors. The younger, prodigal-like, considers it not worth having, abandons it with contempt, and by public deed, takes instead of it a new paltry patch of uncultivated ground. After 300 years, his descendant comes out, and says to the other's heir, "Sir, I will thank you to understand, that your fine ancestral mansion and broad domains are mine quite as much as yours. It is exceedingly impertinent of you to call your own what once belonged to my family as well as to yours. I claim it 'on reasonable grounds,' for my ancestors lost it 'through inadvertence.' Nothing is yours except certain additional buildings, which it was a great presumption in you to erect." "This is indeed a strange claim," the other might reply; "I was by no means prepared for it. But surely, sir, you will allow that three centuries of undisputed and exclusive possession, and no small labour and expense in cultivating and preserving it, give *some* little superiority of right to the property, over that of former coproprietorship, 'inadvertently' (that means, I suppose, *very foolishly*) cast away, by one who publicly chose a substitute for it?" "None upon earth, my dear sir," the claimant rejoins, "none upon earth, as you must clearly see. It is true that if *you* had not kept it uninterrupted in your family so long, and if your fathers had not bestowed great pains upon it, I should not now have known where to put my hands upon it. But that only makes it a matter of greater convenience for *me*; it can give no right to *you*. Now that I choose to have the property again, I shall be extremely obliged to you, if you will no longer call it yours. As for your additional buildings, I shall take them down at the earliest opportunity."

Such is the reasoning which these grave divines pursue, to wrest from us the breviary of which they are jealous. Every single *reformed* country, through "inadvertence," lost this collection of offices. We have never heard of an Anglican, German, Swedish, Danish or Dutch breviary. Had all Europe followed the example of reformation, it is clear that the breviary would have been known only from manuscripts, or a few black-letter editions. Virtually it would have been lost in the Church. Yet it is a service which "seems to have continued more or less, in the same constituent parts, though not in order or system, from apostolic times." (p. 3.) Now, the dear old obstinate Roman Church, could not be brought into the strange inadvertency of reforming itself, by casting away this apostolic institution. She tried another plan. The Council of Trent passed measures for its correction. St. Pius V carried them into effect, and subsequent pontiffs completed the work. Every ecclesiastic in the Catholic Church is bound to the daily recital of

the breviary. In fact, the writer in the Tracts cannot give it any intelligible name but that of the "*Roman breviary*." And yet it is no more ours than theirs, who no longer possess it!

However, we are not disposed to quarrel seriously about our rights on this head. Let it first be restored, and practically enforced, in their Anglican Church. Let us first learn that in all the collegiate churches it is daily sung with the punctuality that it is in those of France or Italy. Let us see published a "*Breviarium Anglicanum ad usum Ecclesiæ Cantuariensis*," as we have one for St. Peter's Church at Rome, or Notre-Dame in Paris. Let us be informed that each portly dignitary has furnished himself with a Plantinian quarto, and that every curate pockets, on leaving home, a Norwich duodecimo. Put yourselves upon a footing of equality with us in point of *possession*, and it will be quite time enough to discuss the question of *right* to the property.

5. Intimately connected with this matter, which, perhaps, we have too lengthily examined, is another,—the loss of daily service.

"Since the Reformation, the same gradual change in the prevailing notions of prayer, has worked its way silently but generally. The services, as they were left by the Reformers, were, as they had been from the first ages, *daily* services: they are now *weekly* services. Are they not in a fair way to become *monthly*?"—No. 9, p. 3.

If, at the sixteenth century, there was a tendency to shorten and diminish the services, this tendency was completely stopped in all *Catholic* countries, and only went on "working its way" in *Protestant*. Which gained on this score,—those who reformed, or those who refused to do so? Again, the services of the Catholic Church yet remain what they then were, daily services. Every cathedral, collegiate, and generally every conventual, church, all over Catholic Christendom, has daily performed in it the divine office, with a numerous attendance of the members who form the chapter or community. Besides this, every church and chapel is open daily to the devotion of the faithful, and the divine Eucharistic sacrifice is daily offered in each. We, therefore, are in no danger of seeing *our* offices become monthly, or even weekly. The *25th Tract* contains an extract from a sermon of Bishop Beveridge, in which this neglect of daily prayer is condemned as a breach of duty. After quoting the rubrics concerning this matter, the bishop thus urges it on the clergy. "But notwithstanding this great care that our Church hath taken to have *daily Prayers* in every parish, we see, by sad experience, they are shamefully neglected, all the kingdom over; there being very few places where they have any Public Prayers upon the week-days; except, perhaps, upon Wednesdays and Fridays; because it is expressly commanded that both Morning and Evening Prayers be read *every day* in the week, as the Litany upon those. And why this commandment should be neglected more than the other, for my part I can see no reason. But I see plain enough that it is a great fault, a plain breach of the known laws of Christ's Holy Catholic Church, and particularly of that part of it which, by his blessing, settled among us." We leave it to the sensible reader to conclude whether the Reformation did good or harm in this part of Christian duty. We will trust him also with the decision, as to which Church has stuck closest to the primitive practice.

6. Besides the performance of daily service, the daily celebration of

the Lord's Supper was appointed at the Reformation, with the practice of daily, and still more, weekly communion. It is allowed, that when the Reformation was introduced, these practices were followed in England. For, another extract from the same bishop, published in the 26th Tract, acknowledges this. "Where we may observe, first, that in those days there was daily communion in cathedral churches, and other places, as there used to be in the primitive Church." (p. 9.) Proof is then given of this practice in St. Paul's. "From whence it is plain, that the communion was then celebrated in that church every day. And so it was even in parish churches." Of which likewise proof is given. The loss of this primitive practice, is called in capital letters, "**A SIN OF THE CHURCH,**" (Tr. 6, p. 4.) that is of the Anglican. For it is the practice solemnly to celebrate the Eucharistic rite, or, as we express it, to say Mass, every day, in every Catholic Church over the world, as it was in England when the Reformation took place. And as this custom is acknowledged to have been primitive and apostolic, we presume it will be granted that, in this respect, as in the preceding, the unreformed have been more successful than the reformed.

7. Let us proceed with rites or practices belonging to this Blessed Sacrament. And first, take a less important one.

"A poor woman mentioned, with much respect, her father's practice never to taste food before receiving the Lord's Supper, adhering unconsciously to the practice of the Church in its better days, and, indeed, of our own in Bishop Taylor's time."—Tr. 66, p. 11.

These better days were the earliest ages. The abuses introduced into the Church of Corinth are groundedly supposed to have led to the practice here mentioned. Tertullian describes the Eucharist as that which was received, "*ante omnem cibum,*" before every other food. Thus has another primitive observance, held in England till the Reformation, and even continued for some time after, through the impulse of preceding better principles, been completely lost. So much for the efficacy of the Reformation in retaining primitive practices. What shall we say of its ability to return to them? We need not add, that this practice is rigidly followed in the Catholic Church, just as it was "in better days."

8. When the spirit of reformation invaded England, the country was in possession of a liturgy, precisely that which we Catholics now use. On this, let us have the opinion of the Tract-writers. "All liturgies now existing, except those in use in Protestant countries, profess to be derived from very remote antiquity." (No. 63, p. 1.) After this preliminary sentence, the writer proceeds to show, from a comparison of the different liturgies, the justice of their claim. He thus speaks of ours: "Another liturgy, which can be traced back with tolerable certainty to very remote time, is the Roman Missal." Manuscripts are then referred to, which prove the Mass to have been essentially the same when revised by Pope St. Gregory the Great in 590, and a century earlier by Gelasius, and even under Pope St. Leo the Great. "It also deserves to be noticed, that, at the time when the Roman Liturgy was undergoing these successive revisions, a tradition all along prevailed attributing to one part of it an apostolic origin, and that this part does not appear to have undergone any change whatever. Virgilius, who was Pope between the times of Gelasius and Gregory, tells us, that the 'canonical prayers,' or what is

now called the 'Canon of the Mass,' had been handed down as an apostolical tradition. And much earlier we hear the same from Pope Innocent, who adds, that the apostle from whom they derived it was St. Peter." (p. 5.)

On this precious deposit of apostolical tradition, received from St. Gregory by the English Church, on its conversion, the Anglican reformers laid their sacrilegious hands. These worthy champions of primitive usages, these pious vindicators of the early ages, these zealous restorers of apostolic piety, recklessly (shall we say "through inadvertence?") rejected and abolished this venerable monument of antiquity, and substituted a patch-work liturgy, or "communion service," in which hardly a rite or a prayer is observed that existed in the old. In pages 8 and 9 of the cited Tract, are tables to prove this. The four principal ancient liturgies are compared together, viz. St. Peter's or the Roman, St. James's or the Oriental, St. Mark's or the Egyptian, and St. John's or the Ephesian and Mozarabic. The result is, that in *eleven* points connected with the consecration and communion, they all wonderfully agree. This number might have been probably increased; but we are content to take the statement of the Tract. The communion service discards *five* of these points, alters and mutilates some of the remainder, and arranges the little it has preserved in a different order from any. The statement of this modification is coolly introduced by these words: "The English Reformers prefer an order different from any of these." (p. 8.) We will not enter into any discussion about their right to do so. Oh, no! it would have been quite a pity, if, by any chance, they had preserved in a modern religion practices of such venerable antiquity. But, at any rate, do not call such men *Reformers*. If you will, do not tell us that the purpose of the Reformation was only to clear away modern abuses, and to retain and restore all that was primitive and apostolical! You yourselves say, "it may perhaps be said without exaggeration, that next to the Holy Scriptures, they (the ancient liturgies) possess the greatest claim to our veneration and study." (p. 16.) Yet they whom you call your Fathers, made no scruple of abolishing or completely disfiguring them!

On the other side, we need hardly remind our readers, that the Catholic Liturgy or Mass, as now used, and translated in pocket missals, is nearly word for word identical with that of Gelasius, referred to in our Tract. This subject, however, deserves a fuller discussion than we can at present afford it.

9. Among the points excluded from the Liturgy at the Reformation one is thus specified: "And likewise another prayer (which has been excluded from the English Ritual) 'for the rest and peace of all those who have departed this life in God's faith and fear,' concluding with a prayer for communion with them." (p. 7.) On this subject Dr. Pusey enlarges in a letter, now prefixed to the third volume of the Tracts. He allows that this prayer was excluded from the Anglican Liturgy, by "yielding to the judgment of foreign ultra-reformers." We need not observe that Catholics have retained the practice and the words. Nor shall we find it difficult, in a proper place, to disprove Dr. Pusey's assertions respecting the object of these prayers in the ancient Church, and to show that it was the same as Catholics now propose to themselves.

10. When the most solemn of all Christian rites was thus rudely and irreverently treated, it must not surprise us to find others, less important, handled in like manner. Dr. Pusey has divided into three Tracts (67-69) a long treatise on "Scriptural views of Holy Baptism." It deserves, in many respects, our highest praise; and we freely give it. At pages 266 and following, he presents, in parallel columns, those baptismal rites which were very generally, if not universally, observed in the ancient Church, and which we have retained. The Anglicans, too, kept them for a time. But naturally they could not understand their worth, and sacrificed them to the good pleasure of Bucer. Dr. Pusey thus laments the loss of those primitive observances: "We have lost by all those omissions. Men are impressed by these visible actions, far more than they are aware, or wish to acknowledge. Two points especially were thereby visibly inculcated, which men seem now almost wholly to have lost sight of,—the power of our enemy Satan, and the might of our Blessed Redeemer." (p. 242.) Thus we see what a practical influence on faith these omissions may have. Again: "It has undoubtedly been a device of Satan, to persuade men that this expulsion of himself (by the exorcisms prefixed to our baptism) was unnecessary; he has thereby secured a more undisputed possession. Whether the rite can again be restored in our Church, without greater evil, God only knoweth; or whether it be not irrevocably forfeited; but this is certain, that until it be restored, we shall have much more occasion to warn our flocks of the devices and power of him against whom they have to contend." (p. 243.)

Hence, in another Tract, these authors feelingly deplore the loss, or better to speak, the rejection, of the Catholic Ritual. After quoting passages from the Fathers upon the origin of many ceremonies still retained by us, they conclude: "that, as a whole, the Catholic Ritual was a precious possession, and if we, who have escaped from Popery, have lost not only the possession, but the sense of its value, it is a serious question whether we are not like men who recover from some serious illness, with the loss or injury of their sight or hearing; whether we are not like the Jews returned from captivity, who could never find the rod of Aaron or the Ark of the Covenant, which, indeed, had ever been hid from the world, but then was removed from the temple itself." (No. 34.)

These are grievous lamentations. Thank God, *we* have no reason to make them. The deposit of traditional practices which we received from our forefathers we have kept inviolate. We have rejected no rite, we have hardly admitted one, in the administration of the sacraments, since the days of Gelasius or Gregory.

11. Another primitive practice avowedly neglected in the English Church, is that of fasting, and other austerities. Dr. Pusey has written several Tracts upon the subject. In one, he says: "I would fain hope that there will not long be this variance between our principles and our practice." (No. 18, p. 21.) Again: "the other fasts of the Church require the less to be dwelt upon, either because, as in Lent, her authority is in some degree recognized, although it be very imperfectly and capriciously obeyed," &c. (p. 23.) In this *Tract*, as in many others, a captious spirit in relation to Catholics is observable. We lament it. It is but little creditable to the writer. "To urge," he writes, "that

"fasts were abused by the later Romish Church, is but to assert that they are a means of grace committed to men, &c. It was then among the instances of calm judgment in the Reformers of our Prayer-book," (we have seen specimens of this calm judgment,) "that, cutting off the abuses which before prevailed, the vain distinctions of meats, the luxurious abstinences, the lucrative dispensations, they still prescribed fasting,"... "The Reformers omitted that which might be a snare to men's consciences; they left it to every man's Christian prudence and experience *how* he would fast, but they prescribed the days upon which he should fast, both in order to obtain an unity of feeling and devotion in the members of Christ's body, and to preclude the temptation to the neglect of the duty altogether." (p. 7.) Yet, on the whole, the duty, as a general one, is neglected. The Common-prayer book prescribes, as days of fasting or abstinence, "All the Fridays in the year, except Christmas-day." Is this observed in the Anglican Church? The forty days of Lent; are they observed? The Ember days; are they observed? Yet among Catholics, in England, as on the Continent, all these days are strictly observed; all Fridays by abstinence, and all the rest by fasts. The appointment of days, then, was not sufficient. The Reformers, with all their calm judgment, went wrong in not prescribing *how* men are to fast. But, in reality, they rooted up in the Church all the principles by which alone fasting could be practically preserved in it. There is something, therefore, to say the least, ungenerous and unhandsome in praising the Reformers at the expense of the Catholics, for "cutting off abuses which before prevailed," when this amputation was so clumsily performed as to lead to the total destruction of the thing itself. And this unhandsomeness is doubled by the consideration, that if these abuses existed till then, Catholics were able to correct them without any such violent effects. For if dispensations were then lucrative, they certainly are not so now, either in this country or abroad. There is a heavy penalty in Italy, renewed every year, not only upon every ecclesiastical authority receiving a fee for giving a dispensation from abstinence during Lent, but upon any medical man demanding it for a certificate of weak health, intended for obtaining such dispensation. The difference, then, between our Church and the Anglican, has been this: that *supposing* dispensations till the sixteenth century to have been lucrative, *we* wisely removed the lucre, but kept the necessity of dispensation by ecclesiastical authority, and thereby preserved the practice itself. The Anglicans, retaining the ecclesiastical precept of fasting on stated days, with what Dr. Pusey considers "calm judgment," vested in each individual the dispensing power, lest it should be lucrative to pastors, and of course, lost all ecclesiastical power of enforcing an ecclesiastical precept. When each man is constituted his own judge, when selfishness is made the supreme umpire between the appetites and an irksome, painful duty, it is easy to foresee the decision. We are sure that a Protestant clergyman would be astonished, if one of his parishioners called upon him at the commencement of Lent, or in an Ember week, to ask his permission, as a pastor and organ of his Church, not to fast. He would probably be more astonished to find that he had a parishioner who thought about fasting at all. Indeed, we have little doubt that Dr. Pusey and his friends would be very glad to place the duty of fasting once more under the safeguard of the Church's jurisdiction; by

bringing men to the practical conviction that, whatever the Church has enjoined, no faithful son ought to neglect, without a reason which she herself has approved. Did every one fast, who had not obtained this approbation of his neglect, the precept of the Church would not be a dead letter.

Then as to "vain distinctions of meats," surely Dr. Pusey is fully aware that, in the primitive Church, pretty nearly the same distinctions existed as do now among Catholics. St. Chrysostom (*3d Hom. to the People of Antioch*), St. Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.* 4), St. Basil (*1st Hom. on Fasting*), and Hermes, an apostolic Father (*Pastor.* l. iii.), not to quote many decrees of councils and other authorities, tell us that flesh-meat was forbidden on all fast-days. St. John Baptist did not consider distinction of meats vain, when he chose locusts and wild honey for his diet; nor did God when he instituted the old law. The rule for the English Church St. Gregory gave to our apostle St. Augustine, the same as is found in Canon Law. "We abstain from flesh-meat, and from all things which come from flesh, as milk, cheese, and eggs."

What is meant by "luxurious abstinences?" That the rich will often turn into a luxury what is meant for humiliation, must not surely be cast as a reproach upon the duty, nor alleged as a sufficient motive for its abolition. Because the voluptuous who loll upon velvet cushions in well-fitted pews, are better at ease when kneeling in church, than the poor are in their hard beds at home, should the custom of kneeling at worship be abolished? If occasionally conviviality is more indulged on a day of abstinence than becomes it, to the generality it is truly a day of restraint and penance. A Catholic can seldom invite a friend, certainly not a Protestant, to his table on those days, and is generally precluded from accepting an invitation from others. I know Catholics not a few, who, so far from considering fish a delicacy, from being obliged to confine themselves to the use of it on certain days, will not allow it on others to be served on their tables. And many, too, I know who, week after week, find pain in complying with the duty of abstinence. In fact, so generally has this been felt, that within these few years, the Holy See has assented to the petition of the British and Irish Catholics, for the abolition of the abstinence on Saturdays. And the dispensation thus granted, though on such a great scale, was not a "lucrative" one, for it did not put a stiver into the papal treasury.

Dr. Pusey's own *Tracts* afford us sufficient proof of the vast wisdom in his Church, when she "left it to every man's Christian prudence and experience *how* he should fast." The natural consequence has been, that those who wish to do it, know not how. The *Tract* 66 is in answer to a letter by a clergyman (mark that!) who, through the *British Magazine*, desired many illustrations of No. 18. Among these queries are,—“In what is the abstinence of fasting to consist?” “Is there any difference between abstinence and fasting?” The answer to this question is in these different terms,—“Not, I imagine, in our Church.” Now, all this uncertainty, or rather ignorance, proceeds from the Anglican Church not having thought it proper to define *how* men were to fast. A very indifferently instructed Catholic would be ashamed to ask such questions; much more a clergyman.

In conclusion, Dr. Pusey finds himself obliged to answer the objection

that "fasting is Popish." Of course, he denies it. He is right. It may belong to any one who chuses to practise it. Is it Anglican?

12. To the practice of fasting is joined that of other works of mortification, such as "hard lodging, uneasy garments," (hair shirts?) "laborious posture in prayer, sufferance of cold," &c., and it is called "part of the foolish wisdom of the day to despise these small things, and disguise its impatience of restraint under some such general maxim as—'that God has no pleasure in self-torture or mortification.'" (No. 66, p. 9.) These sentiments hardly call for a commentary. Few Protestants will read them without pronouncing them popish; no Catholic, without admitting their general truth.

We pass over other points of less importance, in which the defection of the Anglican Church from primitive practices is openly or tacitly acknowledged. There are one or two matters, however, which I think it right to notice, before coming to my concluding remarks.

In the first place, there is constantly a desire manifested to bring the rite of ordination as nearly as possible to the definition of a sacramental institution. Thus, we are told that "ordination, though it does not precisely come within our" (*i. e.* the Anglican) "definition of a sacrament, is, nevertheless, a rite partaking, in a high degree, of the sacramental character, and it is by reference to the proper sacraments that its nature can be most satisfactorily illustrated." (No. 5, p. 10.) The difference seems to be placed in the circumstance, that in the other sacraments the essence lies in the words or form, while in ordination it is placed in the imposition of hands, or outward rite. (No. 1, p. 3.) This is rather a bungling view of the sacramental theory, and leads to important consequences respecting the Eucharist. Of these I shall find a proper place to speak. Dr. Pusey, in his vindication of the *Tracts*, goes even farther, and shows that, according to St. Augustine's definition, ordination might well have been numbered among the sacraments. This definition is no other than that of our Church, "a visible sign of invisible grace." (Vol. iii. p. 11.) On the whole, we should conclude, that the Anglican Church would have done better to have kept St. Augustine's definition. It would have acted in conformity with antiquity, and it would have better preserved the dignity of its supposed priesthood.

Secondly. The retention of ancient doctrines and rites by Catholics is clearly acknowledged. Thus, speaking of the visible Church, we have what follows:—

"Now, the Papists have retained it; and so they have the advantage of possessing an instrument, which is, in the first place, suited to the needs of human nature; and next, is a special gift of Christ, and so has a blessing with it. Accordingly, we see that in its measure success follows their zealous use of it. They act with great force upon the imaginations of men. The vaunted antiquity, the universality, the unanimity of their Church, put them above the varying fashions of the world, and the religious novelties of the day. And truly, when one surveys the grandeur of their system, a sigh arises in the thoughtful mind, to think we should be separated from them. 'Cum talis sis, utinam noster esses!' But, alas, AN UNION IS IMPOSSIBLE. Their communion is infected with heterodoxy; we are bound to flee it as a pestilence. They have established a lie in the place of God's truth; and by their claim of immutability in doctrine, cannot undo the sin they have committed. *They cannot repent. Popery must be destroyed, it cannot be reformed.*"—No. 20, p. 3.

This last phrase I hail with a mixed feeling of pity and satisfaction.

Of pity for those who possess not the same stability as ourselves: of satisfaction at here finding a plain and manly declaration of the attitude in which we mutually stand. To us is left the blessed hope of bringing others into unity with us by gentle arts of persuasive argument; to themselves they reserve, as an *only* resource, the ungracious work of destruction.

Thirdly: The spiritual and devotional character of the Catholic worship and religion is openly avowed. Of the approaching contest between the English Church and ours, it is said:—

“The same feelings which carry men now to dissent will carry them to Romanism—novelty being an essential stimulant of popular devotion; and the Roman system, to say nothing of the intrinsic majesty and truth, which remain in it amid its corruptions, abounding in this and other stimulants of a most potent and effective character. And farther, there will ever be a number of refined and affectionate minds, who, disappointed in finding full matter for their devotional feelings in the English system, as at present conducted, betake themselves, through human frailty, to Rome.”—No. 71, p. 4.

Let me now apply myself to drawing general conclusions from the view which we have given of these *Tracts*. Observe, I have only treated of their proposed return to ancient practices, now lost among the Anglicans. I resume, then, the query proposed at the beginning of this Tract. What has been gained by the Reformation, considered as an attempted return to primitive purity? We have here a clear confession that, upon a dozen points, affecting nothing less than the constitution of the Church, and the authority of its hierarchy, the grounds upon which the most solemn dogmas rest, the public offices of the Church, the frequent use of the Eucharistic sacrament, the performance of daily service, the observance of fasting, and other great moral precepts, the Anglican Church, under the mask of a reformation, contrived to place things in a worse state than they were before, and than they now exist in the Catholic Church. What title can be established to the name of reformation in all these particulars?

But I fear lest, in often repeating this query, I may have been guilty of a mistake, small in itself, but more important in its results. I have spoken of our Church as the unreformed, in opposition to the Anglican, as *professing* to be reformed. By applying to ourselves the negative epithet, I only meant to speak of such reformation as led to the deplorable effects acknowledged in the *Tracts* to have taken place in Anglicanism. We disavow any reform amongst us, wrought on the principle it adopted, of destroying, or abolishing, all in which there was abuse, real or pretended. No Catholic will deny that, in many matters of Church discipline, relaxation had crept into religious practices, before the Reformation. The Church, in many ways, through Papal constitutions, particular synods, and chiefly by the council of Trent, issued decrees of reform. Whoever opens the statutes of the council, will see in every sheet “*Decretum de reformatione*.” The Catholic Church, however, went to work upon principles totally different from the Anglican. The religious orders were supposed to be lax in discipline, and open to abuses. England suppressed them, seized their revenues, turned upon the world thousands of inoffensive men and women who had long abandoned it, and abolished the ascetic life, which the *Tracts* after

Bingham, acknowledge to have existed in the primitive Church. (*Records of the Church*, No. XI, p. 3.) The Catholic Church inquired into the abuses, framed the wisest regulations for their correction and prevention, and only suppressed, where, as in the case of the Humiliati, real crime or gross degeneracy could be established on proof. The education of clergy was a matter much neglected in many dioceses. The English reformers took not a single step towards establishing a system of clerical education, unless it was the suppression of schools and chantries. The Catholic "reformers" at Trent, obliged every diocese to erect and maintain an ecclesiastical seminary, in which the young aspirants to the clerical state should live in community, dividing their time between study and spiritual exercises, under the watchful eye of the bishop, and persons deputed by him.

There had been grievous abuses complained of in the collation of benefices, from the pluralities accumulated on one individual, or their collation on absentees, such as officers of the Papal court. The Anglicans have left all these evils,—perhaps have aggravated them. They allow many benefices, with cure of souls, to devolve on one man's head; and Cheltenham, and Leamington, and Brighton, will bear testimony to the Irish rectories and vicarages, which allow their incumbents to live beyond the reach of their flocks' complaints. Since the council of Trent, those abuses have been completely cut off in the Catholic Church, and pluralities, with cure of souls, are totally unknown among us.

I could run on through some hundred such comparisons, to show the opposite characters of our two reforms. Ours was a *conservative reform*; we pruned away the decayed part; we placed the vessel in the furnace, and, the dross being melted off, we drew it out bright and pure. Yours was *radical* to the extreme; you tore up entire plants by the roots, because you said there was a blight on some one branch; you threw the whole vessel into the fire, and made merry at its blaze. Now that you go to look for it again, you find nothing but ashes. And you are surprised at this!

Gladly, too, would I institute a comparison between the instruments of our respective reformations. I would put St. Charles Borromeo against Cranmer, or Bartholomew de Martyrilus against Bucer; the first as agents, the latter as auxiliaries. It has often appeared to me, that Divine Providence was graciously pleased to give the lie to those who, under pretence of grievous abuses and errors, caused schism in the Church, by raising from its bosom, at that very moment, and soon after, such men as no Reformed Church can boast of. The tree might have been known by its fruits; an evil tree could not have brought forth such worthy fruits of charity, of pastoral zeal, of penitential spirit, as then came to adorn the Catholic Church. And two things strike us principally in this matter. First, that they flourished exactly after the western continental Church is supposed by these Anglican writers to have set on itself the seal of reprobation, by sanctioning heresy at Trent. Nay, some among them, as St. Charles, were the most active promoters of its decisions. Secondly, that these extraordinary men were all distinguished for their attachment to this Church, and made it their glory that they belonged to it. We meet in their writings with no regrets at a single step it had taken, no intimation of a thought, that it had inadvertently let slip a particle of primitive truth

They were really a crown, aye, a crown of gold, to their mother; not as the fading garlands of Ephraim, put on the head in a moment of intoxication. They were heroes, whose names, after three centuries, are fresh in the mouths of men. Who, among the ordinary class of Anglicans, speaks of Parker, or Jewel, or Bancroft, or Cranmer, or Bramhall, as of men whose good deeds have descended in blessings on generations, or whose wise sayings are as maxims of life upon the lips of children? But such are the memories of a Francis de Sales, and a Vincent of Paul, a Philip Neri, and an Ignatius Loyola. Cities, provinces, and kingdoms, publicly testify their veneration for their memories, and their gratitude for the benefits they conferred. Children, who owe their early knowledge of God, and of good letters, to the gratuitous education of the continent, lisp, with tender affection, the names of a Joseph Calas Sanctus, or a Jerom Emilian. Thousands of sick, whose pillows are watched with kindness by self-devoted, unpaid attendants, pronounce blessings on a Camillus de Lellis, or a John of God, or a Vincent of Paul, who inspired their successors with such charity. Has any diocese of England raised a statue to its bishop like the Colossus of Arona? Has any of its cities ever honoured one of its priests, as Rome has done Philip Neri, with the title of its apostle?

But this comparison between the English and the true Church, at the time when the former boasts of having risen into primitive splendour, and left the other buried in error and corruptions, becomes still more striking, when made with reference to the spiritual life. Never in any period of the Church was it illustrated by persons more deeply enamoured of the cross, more versed in the science of the inward life, or more sublimely occupied in contemplation, than the Catholic, at the very moment when England thought proper to abandon its unity. The writings of St. Theresa, and St. John of the Cross, not to mention the lives of such men as Felix a Cantalicio, Peter of Alcantara, Pascal Baylon, and innumerable others, are enough to have added glory to the true Church, in the brightest period of its history. One would have supposed, that a young and vigorous establishment, the Phoenix-church of England, springing forth into a new life from the funeral pile where she had consumed the decayed elements of her previous existence, would have flown upwards, with a steady gaze upon the sun of righteousness, and given proof of her renewed vigour, by her eagle-flights towards the regions of heaven. Instead of this, she fell heavily on the ground, scorched in plumage, and shorn of wing, and condemned to walk or creep upon the earth's surface, and to seek her food, with dimmer eye, in its stagnant, lifeless pools. At the same time, the spirit of God seemed restless and prolific in the heart of her rival, bringing forth thoughts and aspirations which rose up heavenwards, as to their proper home, unclouded by the smallest stain that would show them to have risen from a bosom tainted by heresy and corruption.

If, then, nothing was gained by the Protestant Reformation on behalf of good discipline, the salutary use of the sacraments, and such-like holy practices, nothing surely was gained in deep spirituality, and the perfection of the inward life. And if, on the other hand, the Catholic reform of the Church cleared away abuses by time introduced, leaving the good intact, so did it, at the same time witness within it a marvellous

developement of the principles of divine contemplation and close union of the soul with God. That Christianity could hope for no advantage in this respect from the Reformation, is acknowledged by a late writer on the German department of that awful revolution. Speaking of the ruin which it caused to the German empire, Menzel observes:—"At so high a price as this, the small gains of this measure were too dearly bought. For, whatever improvements the new Church might boast of, whatever errors and malpractices she could charge her mother or eldest sister with, never will she be able to deny her the merit of having preserved and disseminated the light of divine truth and of human learning; never will she have it in her power to make out a case of necessity, or to form another path to salvation, than that on which Tauler, Thomas à Kempis, and Fenelon, have found the right way." (*Menzel, neuere Geschichte der Deutschen von der Reformation*, Breslaw, 1826, vol. I. p. 7.)

I shall of course be told, that the separation from the Church of Rome took place in consequence of doctrinal errors. Or, according to the theory of the *Tracts*, that, by sanctioning those errors, she separated herself from the reforming Anglican Church. Much that is connected with this question, hangs upon the important one of apostolical succession, and the existence of schism in that Church. That must be laid aside for the present. But we look at the matter under another aspect.

We are told, then, that the Catholic Church had departed, in matters of faith, from primitive truth, and had enslaved the hearts of men to error. The charge was twofold. The Catholic Church was accused of having corrupted faith, and loaded the practices of the Church with human and superstitious usages. The Reformation attacked both. It cut off many doctrines then believed by all the Church, saying: "these are not warranted by primitive belief." It abolished almost the entire liturgy, and other services in the Church, the rites used in the administration of sacraments, and many other observances, saying: "these are human inventions."

Well, the work was done, and God knows, thoroughly done. Nearly three hundred years roll on, the minds of men gradually cool, and they begin to discover that almost every one of the rites, ceremonies, and practices, abolished at the Reformation as superstitious additions to the primitive simplicity of worship, were, and are, most venerable, and even traceable to apostolic origin! What becomes of the other half? "Oh, there we do not yield an inch. Our reformers were certainly too hasty in dealing with outward observances. They allowed themselves to be misled. But in matters of faith, in which they condemned Rome, you must not touch them. There all was done deliberately and wisely."—Gently, good sirs: you yourselves have yielded much. You have certainly betrayed a lurking desire that ordination should be considered a sacrament. You yourselves acknowledged "that the English Church has committed mistakes in the practical working of its system: nay, that it is *incomplete* even in its formal doctrine and discipline." (No. 71, p. 27.) You concede, that "though your own revolution" (here you have for once hit upon the right name) "of opinion and practice was slower, and more carefully considered than those of your neighbours, yet it was too

much influenced by secular interest, sudden external events, and the will of individuals, to carry with it any vouchers for the perfection and entireness of the religious system thence emerging." You have confessed that "the hurry and confusion of the times led to a settlement of religion incomplete and defective." (p. 30.) You allow that your "doctrine on the Blessed Eucharist, though, on the whole, protected safe through a dangerous time by the cautious Ridley, yet, in one or two places, was clouded by the interpolations of Bucer." (p. 32.)

In other words, you allow the godly work of Reformation to have been but an incomplete and ill-digested work. You see in it errors and omissions in every part. But not a fault of commission will you acknowledge. Not a single positive definition was mistaken: You have drawn a nice limit: you have traced very minutely the boundary mark. On one side you see palpable imperfections, inconsiderate rejections, unnecessary changes, excessive innovations, unwarranted interferences of the civil power, unlucky concessions to the pressure of circumstances, and, by consequence, "a system of religion incomplete and defective." But on the other side of the boundary, these same men, under the very same circumstances, without any new light, did not commit a single error. Oh no, there they were impeccable. They were repeatedly deceived when the question was about omissions,—never when they adopted. They fell into constant oversights when they rejected, never once when they defined. Wonderful sagacity! Incomprehensible—far beyond the gift of infallibility, which you are so careful to disclaim for your Church! (p. 27.)

But I fancy that a prudent enquirer will ask for some better proof of this wonderful preservation, than the mere assertion of these gentlemen that their own Church "kept the nearest of any to the complete truth." (p. 29.) When you acknowledge so many false steps, and allow that you have no security against others, surely men have a right to doubt whether you *have* escaped them. The Catholic Church is consistent. She says, "I am gifted with infallibility, therefore I have fallen into no errors." The Anglican rejects infallibility, but claims an equal obedience.

The argument, however, may be urged more home, as thus; It will be acknowledged, and by none more consistently than by the authors of the *Tracts*, that outward forms are great safeguards of doctrine, and that the abandonment of rites or observances of very remote antiquity, will often endanger some point of doctrine in connexion with them. Who can doubt that the neglect of ecclesiastical censures has led to the enfeebling of Church authority among the Anglicans? Have we not heard Dr. Pusey complain, that the abandonment of the exorcisms in baptism has much contributed to make men in his Church forget the power of Satan, and the might of our Redeemer? Now, to apply these principles, let me take an instance which lately struck me on occasion of the Christmas solemnity. Let us suppose that one of the clergymen who conduct these *Tracts*, admiring, as he professes, the Roman Breviary, had induced several of his brethren and friends to recite its Matins together on Christmas-eve, as was usual in the ancient Church. They would find nothing objectionable in the office, but rather much possessing a sweet solemnity. For we will imagine them to omit the *Ave Maria* at the beginning, and the *Alma Redemptoris* at the end. These are their two

principal stumbling-blocks. Arrived at the third Nocturn, one proceeds to read the Homily of St. Gregory upon the gospel, as follows:—"Quia largiente Domino, Missarum solemniter hodie celebraturi sumus, loquidiu de Evangelio non possumus." (*Hom. viii. in Evang.*) "Since, through the divine favour, we shall this day thrice celebrate solemn Mass, we cannot speak at length on the gospel." These admirers of primitive antiquity would have been a little staggered at such a declaration of St. Gregory's. Now, if one of them had started an objection that such words were nonsense in the mouth of a Protestant clergyman, and that he could not feel justified in claiming any thing in common with a Pope who spoke such Popish language, what reply would the director make? "It is true," he would have to reply, "that appearances are against us. We must acknowledge that the communion service at the time of St. Gregory, and even much earlier, was called the Mass. When we restored primitive Christianity at the Reformation, we wisely abolished the name. It is true that the Mass recited at that time, and even in the age of Gelasius or St. Leo, was, prayer for prayer, and ceremony for ceremony, the same as that of the Popish Missal. On the same blessed occasion, we considerably suppressed it, though probably coming from the Apostles, and substituted something better of our own. It is true that, on Christmas-day, this identical Popish Mass was then celebrated three times, precisely as it will be between to-night and to-morrow at the Catholic chapel, and by comparing the *Ordo Romanus* with the modern Missals, it is evident that the three masses were the same as now. For the homily we are reading is upon the gospel, still said by the Papists at their first mass, and cannot apply to the one gospel preserved in our beautiful service, from the third. This practice, though so ancient, it was the office of our godly Reformation to destroy. But what matter all these things? We have lost nothing with them. Our communion, which we shall perform to-morrow (if a sufficient number of communicants can be got together), is the true inheritor of all these services. The Papists have been most careful to preserve the Mass just as St. Gregory celebrated it,—they have been sticklers for every word and ceremony, for the very terms and titles then used. But our Articles teach us, that all such 'sacrifices of masses...were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits.' After such a declaration, can you doubt but that that holy Pontiff, if he again appeared on earth, would refuse to have any part in the Popish Mass, and admire and approve our beautiful communion service? Would he not say, 'It is much more probable that the Papists (as they are called in derision for their attachment to my See),—who have jealously preserved every title of the Liturgy I sent into Britain by the hands of Augustine,—who still keep up the practices we followed in my pontificate,—have lost the true doctrine we considered embodied in that Liturgy respecting the blessed Sacrament, than that the Protestants should not have retained or regained it, when they rejected almost every particle of the words and forms instituted to secure it?'"

This would really be the sort of answer to which a Protestant might be driven on such an occasion. But every Catholic, priest or layman, who read or heard those words in the Christmas office, took them in their most literal and natural sense, and saw no incongruity, no unfitness in the recital of them after 1200 years. Perhaps some pastors com-

menced their sermon in the very same words, and their flocks did not see reason to consider them a quotation from any older authority.

If the curious wish came over them to ascertain whether the *things*, as much as the *names*, agree, they would open the works of Tommasi or Assemani, and find what is there given as the Mass of St. Gelasius precisely the same as they heard in their own church. Could they require a stronger security that they inherited the faith of those ages, than in this cautious jealousy of their Church, preserving from destruction or alteration, the prayers, rites, and system of worship, in which this faith was deposited, recorded, and professed? Would they be reasonable, if they suspected that they alone had carefully kept the one, who had scornfully and profanely rejected the other?

Enough has been said to abate the pretended claims of the Reformation to our esteem or admiration, as a repristination of pure Christianity, a return to the practices and doctrines of antiquity. We, of course, are unable to comprehend the love and reverence with which these well-intentioned, but ill-guided men look upon that awful revolution. They seem to speak of it as of some wisely-devised plan of improvement; for they are repeatedly praising the calm judgment or the wisdom of the Reformers, or the "Fathers of the Reformation." Contradictions, it is true, are to be found in what they write on this subject. But on the whole, they consider it as a work directed by the Providence of God, through the agency of holy men. To our minds, it presents a series of shocks and convulsions, regulated by no law but the passions of men. Like the ocean broken over its ordinary limits, the revolutionary principle sent forth wave after wave, each to destroy the sand-heap which its predecessor had raised, till, by their successive exertions, a level was at last obtained, but a level, alas! measured by "the line of confusion and the stones of emptiness." (*Isaiah xxxiv. 11, Prot. vers.*) Every political ruler, King, Protector, or Queen, laid his irreverent hand upon the ill-fated Church, and fashioned its plastic clergy after his own will; every divine who gained influence, changed and remodelled its services and articles according to the system he had learnt on the continent, or invented at home. It was the creature of accidents, but of accidents entirely destructive; not one came to fill up a breach in its walls, or to set up what another had plucked down. Devastation came upon devastation, and destruction swallowed up the traces of destruction. "*Residuum erucæ comedit locusta, et residuum locustæ comedit bruchus, et residuum bruchi comedit rubigo.*" (*Joel i. 4.*) So long as there was a sound place left in the Church on which a blow could be struck, they laid them on, and spared not. It was not till every limb, from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot, had been disfigured, and no more soundness was in her, that they desisted. And now, because her wounds are healed over, and the breath of life is still in her nostrils, we are called to consider and pronounce her fair and perfect as in the days of her youth! Because, through a special mercy, every trace of good religion was not entirely consumed—because the desolation was not utter, as Sodom and Gomorrah's—we are invited to hail as a blessing the storm that ravaged it, and the plague that scourged it!

Sincerely must every Catholic deplore the infatuation of such as think and act in this manner. But they have a claim upon other and better

feelings than those of idle sympathy. Few more pernicious sacrifices have been made to the false divinities worshipped by the age, than that of denying the spirit of proselytism to be inherent in Catholicity. In the odious sense of the word, as an intermeddling intrusive spirit, we disown it; but as a steady, unceasing desire to bring others to the possession of the same truth as we hold, a prudent yet zealous endeavour to recommend that truth by word and action, it is an essential portion of the Christian spirit of charity. Our faith, though it may remove mountains, is nought without it. Ever since these words were uttered, "We have found him of whom Moses in the law and the prophets did write... Come and see," (*John* i. 45,) it has been the very essence of the apostolic and consequently of the Christian spirit. For our own parts, we have no disguise. We wish for no veil over our conduct. It is our desire, and shall be, to turn the attention of our Catholic brethren to the new forms of our controversy with Protestants, in the anxious hope that they will devote their energies to its study, and push the spiritual warfare into the heart of our adversary's country. That in some directions this is begun, we are able to assert. There are not wanting those who feel the insufficiency of our controversial endeavours in the past, to meet the exigencies of the present moment. And we are confident that all our excellent seminaries, at home and abroad, will use all diligence for repairing their defects. There is much that weighs heavily upon our breasts in reference to this subject. Time, and, still more, the Divine blessing, will, we trust, enable us to develope our meaning, and to effect our designs.

TRACT 18.

[PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE CATHOLIC
INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN.]

THE
HIGH-CHURCH CLAIMS:
OR, A SERIES OF PAPERS

ON

THE OXFORD CONTROVERSY, THE HIGH-CHURCH THEORY
OF DOGMATICAL AUTHORITY, ANGLICAN CLAIM TO
APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION, &c.

BY NICHOLAS WISEMAN, D.D.

No. 4.

OCCASIONED BY THE "TRACTS FOR THE TIMES;" AND
THE PUBLICATION OF A NEW EDITION OF THE WORKS
OF THE REV. RICHARD HOOKER, WITH ADDITIONS
ARRANGED BY THE REV. JOHN KEBLE.

(From the "Dublin Review.")



[Stereotyped for the Catholic Institute of Great Britain.]

LONDON:

Sold by all Catholic Booksellers, price Three Halfpence, or Seven
Shillings and Sixpence per Hundred for gratuitous distribution.

PRINTED BY C. RICHARDS, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, CHURCH LANE, CHURCH CROSS.

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OCCASIONED BY THE "TRACTS FOR THE TIMES," AND
THE PUBLICATION OF A NEW EDITION OF THE WORKS
OF THE REV. RICHARD HOOKER, WITH ADDITIONS
ARRANGED BY THE REV. JOHN KEBLE.

I PROPOSE, in the present Tract, to discuss the momentous question, how far the claim advanced on behalf of the Anglican Church to the rights and privileges of Apostolic Succession is valid.

The "*Tracts for the Times*" are for ever inculcating upon their readers, the belief that the Anglican Church possesses authority by apostolic descent. I will first establish this point by a few extracts.

"We have been born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. The Lord Jesus Christ gave his spirit to his Apostles; they, in their turn, laid their hands upon those who should succeed them; and these, again, on others: and so the sacred gift has been handed down to our present bishops, who have appointed us as their assistants, and, in some respects, their representatives."—
No. i. p. 2.

"We, who believe in the Nicene Creed, must acknowledge it a high privilege that we belong to the apostolic Church. How is it that most of us are, almost avowedly, so cold and indifferent in our thoughts of this privilege?.....For many years we have been much in the habit of resting our claim on the general duties of submission to authority, of decency and order, of respecting precedents long established,—instead of appealing to that warrant which marks us *exclusively* for God's AMBASSADORS."—
No. iv. p. 1.

Thus we see that, at the very outset of their publication, the Tract writers are careful to inculcate this idea of the existence of a succession from the Apostles in the hierarchy of the Anglican Church, and of a consequent obligation on the part of the laity to pay it submission and obedience. But the tract No. xv. is entitled, "On the Apostolical Succession in the English Church." It treats of the popular objection (and a well-grounded objection we could easily prove it), that in assuming this privilege of apostolic succession, and its consequent rights, High-Churchmen must recur to Rome as the fountain-head of their orders, which is inconsistent in men that reprobate "Popery." It proceeds to answer this objection, and then to give the grounds whereon the Church of England lays claim to the succession. As this tract will form my principal text whereupon I shall now comment, I will reserve my extracts for each part of my subject as I shall want them. In the meantime, I may refer, for further evidence of this determination in the Oxford divines to claim all the rights of a Church legally descended from the Apostles, to the Tracts, No. v. p. 1 & 7, and entitled, "The Episcopal Church Apostolical."

It is my intention to discuss the question between us and the Anglican upon this subject, independently of all inquiry into the

validity of their ordinations. And this determination is the result of much serious reflection. Before stating my reasons, however, I must be allowed to protect myself against any misrepresentation. Let it not for a moment be imagined, that in thus waiving the inquiry into the value of English ordinations, I am prepared to admit their validity. On the contrary, my sincere and earnest conviction is, that, independent of all historical questions they are decidedly invalid, and nothing worth. I do not, therefore, sacrifice one inch of 'vantage ground to our opponents, when I agree to put aside, in this inquiry into their pretensions to apostolical descent and jurisdiction, the question of the validity of their ordinations. It is only for the following reasons that I do so:—

First, The question of fact regarding the first Anglican consecration has lately been matter of controversy between several Catholic writers; and those of no mean reputation on either side. I wish not at present to revive the dispute. But neither do I wish to combat with arguments, the validity of which might be questioned by some of our side. Secondly, the two inquiries, if united, would be very long; and, as each can be conducted independently of the other, I must choose one which most directly meets the theories of our adversaries. Thirdly, the ground will be more completely cut away from under their feet, if I prove that, even granting them, for argument's sake, that their ordinations are valid, or were at the beginning, still they have not, nor ever had, any part in the apostolical succession, but are a schismatical Church in the fullest sense of the word; so that the works of their ministry are wholly unprofitable, and their jurisdiction none. Such are my motives for dispensing at once from entering upon the question of English orders.

In the passages above quoted, and in all others which treat of this subject, in our authors, it is assumed that ordination or imposition of hands transmits at once apostolical jurisdiction. It is considered sufficient, to admit that the bishops of the establishment have been validly consecrated, to conclude thence that they are possessed of authority in their respective sees. Let the reader peruse the seventh tract, where he will find the simple fact of succession in a see through lawful consecration, alleged as a sufficient ground for admitting the transmission of the apostolic succession. I shall, therefore, have to inquire into two points. First, does consecration, even though valid, confer jurisdiction; secondly, what will vitiate the episcopacy of a see, or province, or kingdom, so as to cut it off from all participation in the rights of apostolical succession and jurisdiction. As the divines with whom I deal possess the greatest respect for ecclesiastical antiquity, and, in fact, agree with me that it is the judge of appeal upon such questions as the present, whereon Scripture has left us no canon or rule, I shall make it the test of their pretensions, and judge their Church as I am conscientiously convinced

it would have been judged by the fathers and councils of the first centuries.

I. The distinction between ordination and jurisdiction is so clearly expressed in ancient ecclesiastical regulations, that men as conversant in them as the Oxford divines cannot have overlooked it. For we read of bishops, acknowledged as such, who yet were not allowed to exercise any act of episcopal authority, not even to ordain. The council of Ephesus mentions bishops who had no churches nor any settled see; it calls them *ἀπολιδες σχολαζοντες, και εκκλησιας μη εχοντες* "cityless, unemployed, and possessed of no churches."* When Eustathius, Metropolitan of Pamphylia, had renounced his bishopric, and another had been elected in his place, it was referred to the same synod what was to be done with him; and the fathers decided as follows:—"We define it to be right and proper, that, without any contradiction, he retain the name and honour and communion of a bishop; but on condition that he neither have the authority of ordaining, nor offer up sacrifice in any Church by his own right; unless, for the sake of his assistance, or by way of concession through christian love, some brother and fellow-bishop kindly permit him."†

Sozomen mentions, "Barses and Eulogius (monks) who afterwards were both bishops, not of any city, but for honour only, consecrated in their monastery to reward their good actions. In which manner also," he adds, "Lazarus, of whom I have spoken above, was also a bishop."‡ It is no doubt true, that, in general, the Church did not approve of the appointment of bishops without a see,—a practice condemned by the council of Sardica. Still, they were allowed to be bishops void of jurisdiction. In the conferences of Carthage (*Collatio Carthaginiensis*), Petilianus the Donatist calls such bishops phantoms (*imagines*), as opposed to real bishops (*Cardinales et authenticos episcopos*).§ The thirty-seventh canon of the Trullan Synod allowed bishops whose sees were in the hands of barbarians or others, and therefore inaccessible, to ordain and discharge all other episcopal functions. In commenting upon this canon, Zonaras observes, that there were other bishops, who, out of mere sloth or love of ease, would not reside, nor undergo the episcopal burden, yet retained the honour and character of bishops.|| The cases of Meletius and of the Donatist bishops confirm the same point of ancient ecclesiastical doctrine. Of the latter, I shall have to treat in the next tract. The former is as follows:—Meletius, Bishop of Lycopolis, deposed by St. Peter of Alexandria, went from place to place consecrating bishops, under pretence that he was vicar to the patriarch of Antioch. The council of Nicea took cognizance of the matter. It acknowledged the

* In Relat. ad Cœlestin. Labb. tom. iii. col. 661.

† Ibid. col. 805.

‡ H. E. lib. vi. cap. 34.

§ Ad calcem Oper. S. Optati, p. 277. ed. Dupin. See also Christian Lupus Ven. 1724, tom. ii. p. 73.

|| Apud Thomassinum, "Vetus et nova Ecclesiæ Disciplina," t. i. p. 97.

validity of the imposition of hands, but denied jurisdiction or place in the apostolical succession to such as had thus received it. It, however, sanctioned that, upon the death of any legitimate bishop, one of those consecrated by Meletius might succeed, provided he were chosen by the people, and found qualified and approved by the patriarch of Alexandria; in other words, if to the valid but illegal consecration, the institution required by the ecclesiastical law was added.* And speaking of the decrees of this great council, I must not omit the eighth canon, which regards the Cathari, or Novatians. It enacts, that upon renouncing their errors, they shall be reconciled to the Church, and allowed to remain among the clergy. Where one of the bishops returns, the Catholic bishop shall retain his authority, and the other either retain the title, though exercising the functions of a simple presbyter; or, should the bishop not approve of having him with him, he must provide for him a place as chorepiscopus, or as priest. But two bishops must not be in one city.† It is not necessary to delay my readers with evidence that, on the other hand, episcopal jurisdiction was exercised by simple presbyters in former times, when deputed by proper authority, though, of course, they did not ordain or perform other offices requiring the episcopal character.‡ But what I have said is amply sufficient to prove that the reasoning of the new divines is completely false, when they go about to persuade men that if their bishops were truly consecrated by imposition of hands, they became inheritors of apostolical jurisdiction. For in all the instances above given, and in others that will later come under discussion, there was no question about the validity of the episcopal consecration, or the absolute power of the consecrators to confer orders; yet, still, it was denied to those consecrated by them to exercise any acts of power, except by the accession of some new sanction. And this, as in the case of Eustathius, was not a deprivation, nor in punishment of crime, nor even a consequence of illegality in preceding acts, but arose from a clear sense that one portion of the episcopal office did not necessarily include the other. The tract-writers constantly mix up the power of validly consecrating the Eucharist with that of instructing or governing (No. xv. p. 2; No. iv. p. 2); which is quite at variance with ancient doctrine and practice. Supposing, therefore, that Barlow and the others consecrated Parker, and that all was validly done as to matter and form, it does not follow that he, or those who, like him became possessed of episcopal sees in England and Ireland, and received a similar consecration, were the lawful holders thereof, or the legitimate successors of their first bishops. It may be a case like that of the Meletian bishops, or others of which I shall speak.

* Epistola Conc. Nicæni ad Eccles. Alex. apud Labbaeum, tom. ii. col. 251.

† Ib. col. 32.

‡ See Bolgeni, "L'Episcopato ossia della potestà di governar la Chiesa." Rome, 1789, pp. 151 seqq.

II. Thus far I have been engaged with my first inquiry, which in fact is only a preliminary to the second. We have seen that, in the ancient Church, consecration was not considered to confer necessarily the jurisdiction attached to apostolical succession. My second enquiry is, "what will vitiate the episcopacy of a see, a province, or kingdom, so as to cut it off from all participation in the rights of apostolical succession and jurisdiction?"

We have seen the case of the Novatians treated in the eighth canon of Nicea, and the decree regarding them is extremely valuable, as embodying principles acted upon most rigidly in the ancient Church. From it we are necessarily led to the conclusion that "any appointment to a bishoprick, even by valid consecration, which is at variance with the canons actually in force in the Church, is unlawful, and leaves the bishop so appointed void of all jurisdiction and power; so that he is a usurper if he take possession of a see."

Novatian himself was without doubt validly consecrated by these real bishops; though they are said by St. Cornelius to have performed the ceremony while in a state of intoxication, and not aware of what they were about.* He thus set himself up against Pope Cornelius, whose ordination he denied, and claimed the see of Rome. But all his acts were considered invalid, and the fathers go so far as to declare that his episcopacy was null, and that he was not consecrated.† St. Pacian, however, draws the exact line of distinction, when he calls him, "*sine consecratione legitima episcopum factum adeoque nec factum*," made a bishop without legitimate consecration, and therefore not made.‡ The bare fact, therefore, of his being validly consecrated a bishop was not sufficient, because he had not been lawfully constituted such.

Further, the Council of Nicea made the following canon:—"This is generally manifest, that if any one shall have been made bishop without the consent of his Metropolitan, the general council defines that he ought to be no bishop."§ Pope Innocent I renewed the decree of Pope Siricius, "*ut extra conscientiam metropolitani episcopi nullus audeat ordinare episcopum*," "that without the consent of his metropolitan bishop, no one should dare to ordain a bishop."|| St. Leo the Great writes more explicitly that such are

* Epist. ad Fabium Alexand. ap. Euseb. H.E. lib. vi. cap. 43, ed. Valesii. The three bishops seem to have consecrated Novatian expressly to the See of Rome.

The Canons which allow Novatian bishops to be appointed to sees, after they have been reconciled with the Church, prove that their consecration was held valid. This difference between consecration and jurisdiction, or valid and legitimate consecration at once clears up the apparently contradictory expressions of the fathers.

† The Council of Alexandria, Anno 339, says he is no bishop. Labbe, tom. ii. col. 543. St. Cyprian reckons him among those "*qui nomen episcopatum dante, episcopi sibi nomen assumpunt*,"—"who assume the name of bishop without any one having given the episcopacy," that is any one authorised to give it.

‡ Epist. ii. ad Sympronianum. He likewise describes him as one "*quem consecrante nullo linteata sedes accepit*."

§ Can. vi. ap. Labbe, tom. ii. col. 41.

|| Ep. ii. ad Vict. Roth. cap. iiii. ap. Const. Ep. Rom. Pont.

not to be considered bishops, "who are neither chosen by the clergy, nor desired by the people, nor consecrated by the bishops of the province, with authority of the Metropolitan."* And Pope Hilarius, speaking of the consecration of Mamertus contrary to the canons, leaves it, after severe reproof, to the Metropolitan to decide whether or no he shall act as a bishop.†

In these and other instances, as Bolgeni remarks, there is no question of removing or deposing; but such bishops were not supposed to have ever possessed any jurisdiction from the beginning, and consequently were not considered to be partakers of the apostolical authority transmitted by *legitimate* succession.‡ Nor is this a mere inference of others, or his, but it is borne out by the express testimony of ancient fathers, who clearly state that such nullity of episcopal nomination was the necessary consequence of the violation of the canons in force. St. Leo, referring to the Nicene canons, says, "*infirmum atque irritum erit, quidquid à predictorum Patrum Canonibus discreparit*," "whatever shall be at variance with the canons of the aforesaid fathers, shall be null and void."§ St. Athanasius speaks of Gregory, who was intruded into the see of Alexandria, in like manner; but I shall have to quote the passage later.

An important question meets us here, and one which the reasoning of the *Tracts for the Times* throws in our way. Do the canons, the infringement of which invalidate, as far as jurisdiction goes, episcopal consecration, form a fixed code? in other words, was it only the violation of the Nicene decree that produced this effect, or the simple departure from the rules in force at any given time, such rules being variable? I say that the *Tracts for the Times* oblige me to discuss this question here, though perhaps prematurely. For to vindicate the English Church from the accusation of schism, they quote a decree of the council of Ephesus, which having secured the liberties of the Church of Cyprus from the usurpations of the Antiochian patriarch, generalizes its principles and orders, that *the rights of every province should be preserved pure and inviolate, which have always belonged to it, according to the usage which has always obtained*." These words are thus emphatically printed by the tract-writer, who proceeds to comment upon the canon as follows:—

"Here we have a remarkable parallel to the dispute between Rome and us; and we see what was the decision of the general Church upon it. It will be observed, the decree is passed *for all provinces in all future times*, as well as for the immediate exigency. Now this is a plain refutation of the Romanists on their own principles. They profess to hold the canons of the primitive Church; the very line they take is to declare the Church to be one and the same in all ages. Here then they witness against themselves. The Pope *has* encroached on the rights of other Churches, and violated the canon above cited. Herein is the difference between his relation to us, and that of any civil ruler, whose power was in its origin

* Epist. clxvii. ad Rustic. Narbon.

† Epist. xi. ap. Labb. tom. iv. col. 1046.

§ Epist. cxiv. ad lxxvii. ad Synod. Chalced.

‡ *Ubi supra*, p. 168.

illegally acquired. Doubtless we are bound to obey the monarch under whom we are born, even though his ancestor were an usurper. Time legitimizes a conquest. But this is not the case in spiritual matters. The Church goes by *fixed laws*; and this usurpation has all along been counter to one of her acknowledged standing ordinances, founded on reasons of universal application."—vol. i. No. xv. p. 8.

How far this canon will serve the writer's turn will in the sequel perhaps appear. At present I only wish to meet the false assertions upon which his argument is based. First, I would ask him, for it is more his affair than mine, does he or his Church hold that this decree is unalterable, or that the Church which made that canon may not vary its discipline at different times? If he allow that it may, then does this decree, securing to each province in perpetuity whatever rights it *then* possessed, prove nothing. If he maintain against us, as he seems to do, that the Church goes by *fixed laws*, and that no circumstance can sanction a variation in them, then I call upon him to be consistent, and take, in the same invariable sense, other canons of councils respecting bishops. Thus the general council of Nicea, in its fifteenth canon, expressly enacts that "no bishop, priest, or deacon, be translated from one city or see to another;" and that, "if after the definition of this holy and great synod, any one shall attempt to make such translation, it shall be considered null and void, and the person must be restored to the Church for which he was originally ordained bishop, priest, or deacon.* Does the Anglican Church stand by this canon? Does the writer consider his Grace of Canterbury, and Charles James of London, unlawfully possessed of their sees, and their authority void, because, in the face of this canon of a general council, they have been translated from other sees? Yet in it we find the very qualification on which the author lays so much stress on that of Ephesus, that it regards the future; and as the Church is governed by *fixed laws*, this holds as yet. And, moreover, this canon was renewed and enforced by the Council of Chalcedon in its fifth canon.† In like manner, the sixteenth canon of Nicea forbids the clergy to abandon their churches, that is, not to reside; and the seventeenth orders the deposition of all such as place their money at interest. Does the English hierarchy admit either of these canons to be binding?

The writer could not, surely, be serious when he maintained the unalterable nature of canons that regarded the rights of sees to independence; still less when he urged this maxim as maintained by Catholics. It is true that writing for the laity, and consequently giving no references, such extracts from ancient documents with such a gloss, will blind and perhaps captivate obedience; but one versed in

* Ap. Labbe, tom. ii. col. 244. St. Jerome gives us the motives of this canon, *the desire of bishops to pass from poor to rich sees*. "In Nicæna Synodo a Patribus est decretum, ne de alia ad aliam Ecclesiam Episcopus transferatur: ne virginalis pauperculæ societate contempta, ditionis adulteræ quærat amplexus." Epist. lxxxiii. ad Ocean. The fathers often represent churches as the spouses of bishops, whose unions cannot be dissolved.

† Ap. Labbe, tom. iii. col. 757.

antiquity could hardly have been ignorant that even such usurpations as the Council of Ephesus condemns, may become so established as to pass into laws, and be sanctioned by canons. If he be acquainted with the history of the see of Constantinople, he would have remembered how that see, originally a suffragan of Heraclea, by a series of usurpations, obtained jurisdiction over the Metropolitans of Pontus, Thrace, and Asia, which at length was approved by the general council of Chalcedon. And though, through the refusal of Pope Leo to sanction some of the canons of that synod, the arrogant pretensions of that see against the rights of other patriarchates were repressed, yet it is evident that its jurisdiction as a Patriarchal See over the once *autocephali*, or independent metropolitans above-named, was from thenceforward admitted.*

Secondly : But if on the one hand the reasoning of the tract-writer be delusive and incorrect, when he argues from any general assertion of rights in an ancient, though œcumenical council, that such rights are unalienable (of the particular application of this case to England I shall treat later), we on the other hand are justified in concluding from this example, that any jurisdiction, even though it might have been originally unjust and usurped, which any patriarchate obtained, might, by long usage and willing submission, become legitimated, and so form a part of the ecclesiastical law. For the council of Chalcedon does not *grant* but *admit* rights as already existing : "Let not the privileges of Constantinople be lost." But if we search this important matter closer, for it brings us very near our final purpose, we shall come to still more specific conclusions. For both from the instance just given of Constantinople, and from the very one quoted from the Tracts, of Cyprus, it clearly follows that the subjection to, or exemption from, jurisdiction, so completely depended upon consuetude and the actual and tolerated exercise of power, that this acquired the force of canon law. 1. For, when the legates of the Holy See had protested against the subscriptions which they thought had been artfully extorted from the Pontic and Asiatic bishops during their absence from the synod, and insisted that the very canon of Nicea, quoted by the Tracts,† should here prevail, as securing to these Churches their independence, the fathers required that all who had signed the decrees in question should say whether they had been compelled to subscribe, or had done it of their own free will. In answering to this appeal, several of the bishops assign as their grounds for subjection to the patriarchal rights of Constantinople, that custom had sanctioned it. Thus Seleucus, bishop of Amasia,

* Thomassin, tom. 1. p. 38. It must be observed too that the independence of Ephesus (metropolis of Asia) was attributed to its having been the see of John, and consequently was as old as the Church.

† *Ubi supra*. The Canon is in these words, as translated in the Tracts : "Let the ancient usages prevail, which are received in Egypt, Lybia and Pentapolis, relative to the authority of the bishop of Alexandria ; as they are observed in the case of the Bishop of Rome ; and so in Antioch, too, and other provinces, let the prerogatives of the Churches be preserved." I do not intend to subscribe to this version, by quoting it.

says, "before me three bishops were consecrated by this see, and finding this series, I followed it. And now I have made it (the subscription) voluntarily, wishing to be under this see." Peter of Gangræ said, "before me three were consecrated by the bishop of the imperial city, and I likewise after them. Therefore I have consented, having custom for it." Marinianus of Synnadi, and Crītanianus of Aphrodisia, give the same reason. Eusebius of Dorylæum assigns as his motive, that the Pope had approved of this practice in presence of some Constantinopolitan clergy. His words deserve to be quoted: "Ἐκὼν ὑπεγραψα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ΤΟΝ ΚΑΝΟΝΑ ΤΟΥΤΟΝ τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ πάπῃ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐγὼ ἀνεγνων, παρόντων τῶν κληρικῶν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ ἀπέδξα το αὐτόν." "I have willingly subscribed, since I referred THIS CANON to the most holy Pope in Rome, in the presence of the clergy of Constantinople, and he accepted it." Eleutherius of Chalcedon said that the See of Constantinople held its superior authority by the canons and custom.* Now certainly the canons of Nicea and Ephesus (as the tract-writer, at least, will allow) forbade this assumption of superiority: we find, therefore, that custom, long and peaceably established, prevailed in the minds of these bishops against those canons: and the general council acquiesced in their opinion. For the claims of Constantinople were held good, and ever after prevailed. The canon, therefore, mentioned by Eusebius of Dorylæum could mean no more than the rule introduced by custom, which had thus acquired canonical authority.

[Since the above was written, I have fallen in with the candid acknowledgment of one of the tract-writers, as to the unfairness of the reasoning here used concerning the canon of Ephesus. I allude to the remarks of the late Mr. Froude, in one of his letters to Mr. Newman, written towards the close of his life. He writes as follows: "The other day accidentally put in my way the tract on the *Apostolical succession in the English Church*; and it really does seem so very unfair, that I wonder you could, even in the extremity of *οικονομία* and *φανακισμός*, have consented to be a party to it. The Patriarchate of Constantinople, as every one knows, was not one 'from the first;' but neighbouring churches voluntarily submitted to it in the first instance, and then, by virtue of their oaths, remained its ecclesiastical subjects; and the same argument by which you justify England and Ireland, would justify all those churches in setting up any day for themselves. The obvious meaning of the canon (of Ephesus) is, that patriarchs might not *begin* to exercise authority in churches *hitherto* independent, without their consent."—*Froude's Remains*, vol. ii. pp. 425-6.]

* Ap. Labbe, tom. iv. col. 813-815. The only canons recited as bearing upon the point were that of Nicea securing the rights of Churches, and one of the synod of Constantinople, under Nestorius, which expressly acknowledges the *αὐτοκεφαλία* of Pontus, Asia, and Thrace. These certainly could not be the canons alluded to, and yet no other canon, properly so called, could be supposed to bear upon the point.—*Ubi supra*, col. 811.

2. The instance quoted by the Tracts is still more to our purpose. The Patriarch of Antioch claimed the right of ordaining the bishops of Cyprus, or of authorizing their ordination. These opposed his pretensions and appealed to the council of Ephesus. The fathers there assembled prudently investigated the patriarch's right to interference, which they did as follows. The holy synod said, "What does the Bishop of Antioch wish?"—Evagrius of Sola, "He attempts to subject our island, and seize the right of ordaining, contrary to the *canons and custom which is now ancient*." The holy synod, "Was the Bishop of Antioch ever known to consecrate a bishop in Constantia?"—Zeno of Curium, "*From the apostles' time it cannot be shewn, that the Patriarch of Antioch was present and ordained, OR EVER COMMUNICATED TO THE ISLAND THE GRACE OF ORDERS, nor yet any one else*." The holy synod, "Let the holy synod remember the canon of the holy fathers, in Nicea assembled, which secures to each Church its *pristine dignity*. . . Inform us, therefore, HAD NOT THE BISHOP OF ANTIOCH THE RIGHT OF ORDAINING YOU FROM ANCIENT CUSTOM?"—Zeno said, "We have already affirmed that he never was present nor ordained, either in the metropolis or in any other city."* After this interrogatory comes the decree given in the Tract.†

Any unprejudiced reader, upon perusing this interrogatory, will, we think, conclude that, had the Cyprian bishops been unable to state, that till then the Antiochian patriarch had not ordained bishops in their island, such a decree would not have been granted. Twice the synod insists upon an explicit answer to this question, not to ascertain what right the patriarch put forward, nor how he supported it, but simply to learn whether or no an ancient custom prevailed, of the bishops of Antioch exerting patriarchal rights over the nomination of the Cyprian prelates. Moreover, canons, and customs become ancient, are put on a level, and the latter receive the same force as the former. The preamble to the decree, as given in the Tracts, confirms all that we have said: for it says, "*whereas it is against ancient usage that the Bishop of Antioch should ordain in Cyprus*, as has been proved to us in this council, both in words and in writing, by most orthodox men, we THEREFORE decree that the prelates of the Cyprian Churches shall be suffered, without let or hindrance, to consecrate bishops by themselves; and, moreover, that the same rule shall be observed also in other dioceses and provinces everywhere, so that no bishop shall interfere in another province, WHICH HAS NOT FROM THE VERY FIRST BEEN UNDER HIMSELF AND HIS PREDECESSORS." Is it not evident that the decree supposes that no patriarchal jurisdiction had existed *de facto* in that island: nay, that it sanctions the principle, that where such exercise of jurisdiction exists, it has the force of law?

The examples and authorities thus far recited, lead us to these conclusions. First, the Church has from the beginning held that

* Ap. Labbe, tom. iii. col. 800.

† Ib. col. 801.

a bishop, however validly consecrated, if placed in possession of a see contrary to the canons actually in force in the Church, or by means contrary to those regulations which it considers essential to legitimate nomination, acquired no jurisdiction in or over it, and did not enjoy a part in that apostolical succession, which can only be transmitted through legitimate occupation. Secondly, that the canons appointing the forms of such legitimate occupation, or the bars thereto, were not particularly those of Nicea, but generally such as the Church agreed in at a given time. Thirdly, that patriarchal jurisdiction is legitimated and determined by usage, and that this sanctions it with a force equal to that of canons.

Let us now come to the practical application of these principles, to the case of the English and Irish hierarchies. My readers will have seen what liberal terms I have granted my adversaries, in this dispute. Till now I have allowed them to assume what I could have justly denied,—the validity of their orders. I am going to extend my concessions further still, *for the present*. For I am going to confine the rights of the sovereign Pontiff in England to those of his patriarchate, excluding the consideration of his supremacy. Nay, I am not unwilling even to go further still: and, if the inquiry could be thereby shortened, I would allow my antagonists the false plea of original usurpation on his part. For the cases of Constantinople, in the matter of Thrace, Pontus, and Asia, and of Cyprus *versus* Antioch, have established the principle, that possession and ancient usage constitute a right to patriarchal jurisdiction,—all inquiry into its origin being waived.

Let us, therefore, suppose a general council to have to decide by those *fixed laws* to which the Tracts appeal, upon the value of Anglican jurisdiction in the sees of England, and the right of the royal, or parliamentary bishops, to apostolical succession, denied to them by the See of Rome. Let the inquiry be conducted on the principles and in the forms used in the ancient synods, as Ephesus or Chalcedon. It might be as follows:—

THE ACCUSATION. “The apostolic See charges those who call themselves the archbishops and bishops of the Church established in England and Ireland, with being intruders, by favour of the civil power, into the sees of those realms; inasmuch as they and their predecessors took possession thereof in spite, and to the detriment, of the patriarchal rights of that See, which, from the canons and immemorial usage, had been exercised in the nomination or approbation of all metropolitans and bishops. Up to the time of King Henry VIII, this right was perfectly acquiesced in; when, by his statute 25 Hen. VIII, c. 20, the nomination by letters missive was reserved to the king, all the authority of the apostolic See being set aside. The bishops so ordained were removed by the authority of Queen Mary, as competent to interfere in such matters as the king her father. But, moreover, what she did was with the full concurrence and approbation of this apostolic See, which reclaimed and resumed

its rights, as before acknowledged, and, therefore, was in exact conformity to ecclesiastical law. After which, Elizabeth expelled the bishops who were in peaceable possession of their sees, with the consent of the Holy See and of the Crown; and so substituted, by her own private authority, other so-called bishops, from whom the present pretenders to apostolical succession follow and succeed.* Such subversion of the rights, long holden and admitted, of this apostolical see, and such assumption of a power never admitted in any part of the Church, were clear infringements of the canon, and constitute an act of usurpation and intrusion, which is null and void in all its consequences."

THE REJOINER. : "The archbishops and bishops of England and Ireland, reply to this charge, by denying that the Bishop of Rome, although he was 'the first of the patriarchs in dignity,' and 'might be called the honorary primate of all Christendom,' possessed any lawful jurisdiction in their countries. For they say, that in Scripture there is not a word to sanction the assumption on his part of such authority as he exercised for so many ages.† Hence, at the Reformation, 'there was no new Church founded amongst us, but the rights and the doctrines of the ancient existing Church were asserted and re-established. In proof of this, we need only look at the history of the times. In the year 1534, the bishops and clergy of England assembled in their respective convocations of Canterbury and York, and signed a declaration, that the Pope, or Bishop of Rome, had no more jurisdiction in this country, by the Word of God, than any other foreign bishop."‡

* Whoever will take the trouble of running through Godwin's "*De præmibus Anglicanis*," see by see, will find the following results. Succeeded by royal appointment to sees vacant, the Archbishop of Canterbury, bishops of Salisbury, Norwich, Chichester, Gloucester, Bristol, Bangor, Hereford,—eight. Succeeded by the expulsion of bishops in pacific and legal possession, never having before held the sees to which they were preferred, Archbishop of York, bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, Lincoln, Litchfield and Coventry, Bath and Wells, Exeter, Worcester, Rochester, St. David's, St. Asaph's, Durham, Peterborough, Carlisle, Chester,—sixteen. Retained in the see he occupied, Bishop of Llandaff (*Fundi nostri calamitas*, Godw.),—one. Barlow, deposed from Bath and Wells, under Mary, was named Bishop of Chichester; and Scorey, formerly of Chichester, received Hereford: as if to disprove the bold assertion of the Tracts, that, on the succession of Queen Elizabeth, the true successors of the Apostles in the English Church were reinstated in their rights!"—(Tr. xv. p. 4.) Not a single bishop was reinstated in a see of which he had been deprived. Compare Dodd, vol. ii. p. 7.

† There is an unaccountable inconsistency in the appeal made by the Tract-writer to ecclesiastical decisions, while the original separation from the Holy See proceeded exclusively on the grounds which he also lays down, that *Scripture* gives to the Bishop of Rome no more authority in England than it does to any other foreign bishop. The act of convocation of the province of Canterbury in 1534, the opinion of the University of Cambridge, and the king's proclamation for abolishing the supremacy, omit all mention of ecclesiastical usage, and only discuss the question of divine right as granted in Scripture. Wilkins's *Concilia*, 1738, tom. iii. pp. 769, 771, 772. Are these the grounds on which Ephesus or Chalcedon would have conducted the inquiry?

‡ It is lamentable to hear such men as compose these Tracts, admitting as free,

THE LAW AND PRECEDENTS. I do not recollect a single instance in an Œcumenical Synod, where the decision as to the rights of the Patriarch of Antioch or Alexandria, to exercise jurisdiction over bishops of other countries,—as of Lybia, Pentapolis, or Cyprus,—and to confirm or depose them, was based upon the inquiry whether he had more jurisdiction *by the Word of God*, than any other foreign bishop. But we have found it to be the prevailing practice, when appeal was made to general councils in matters of disputed rights (as our Tract-writers here have made), for the fathers, before proceeding to examine the question of fact, to desire those canons and precedents to be recited which could establish the rights of parties in the case before them. I might, therefore, reasonably suppose such to be the proceeding here. The καθωσιωµένος μαγιστριαὸς καὶ σηκηγάριος τοῦ θελοῦ κοινωστῶν* might be supposed to read as follows:—

1. “The decrees of the Great and Holy Councils. The celebrated rule of the First Nicene Council, A.D. 325. . . . *Let the ancient usages prevail*, which are received in Egypt, &c., *as they are observed in the case of the Bishop of Rome*.” (Tr. *ibid.* p. 8.)†

The decree of Ephesus. “The same rule shall be observed also in other dioceses and provinces every where, so that no bishop shall interfere in other provinces, *which has not from the very first been under himself and his predecessors*.”—*ib.* p. 7.

2. Proofs of the rights of Patriarchs to ordain and confirm the Metropolitans, and through them all the bishops of their patriarchate. St. Athanasius of Alexandria expressly tells us, that he exercised this right by ordaining many bishops.‡ The Council of Nicea expressly enjoined that for any of the Meletian bishops to be raised to a see, it was necessary to have canonical election by the clergy and people, and the confirmation of the Patriarch of Alexandria.§ The general Council of Chalcedon decreed that the Patriarch of Constantinople should have the power of consecrating the metropolitans of Pontus and Asia.|| The celebrated epistle of Pope Innocent I to Alexander, Patriarch of Antioch, explains the canon of Nicea as admitting this right in patriarchs. “Whence we remark,” he writes, “that this (patriarchal dignity) was given to Antioch, not so much on account of the magnificence of the city, as because it is proved to have been the first see of the first Apostle, where the

deliberate acts of the clergy, what they tremblingly performed by King Henry's stern command, with the fate of Fisher and More as the alternative of refusal; what formed the sequel of a series of measures taken by the tyrant to secure possession of the object of his lust, and what the most influential members of those coconvocations, including the royal pander Cranmer himself, afterwards retracted.

* So the secretary is styled in the acts of the council.

† On the interpretation of this canon, see De la Mennais, “Tradition de l'Eglise sur l'institution des évêques,” Liège, 1814, vol. ii. pp. 81 seqq.; the work by which alone it were well if its author could be known to posterity.

‡ Epist. ad Dracont. ap. Hallier. de Sacris. Ordin. Paris, 1836, p. 771.

§ Epist. Conc. Nic. ad Eccles. Alex. Labbe, tom. ii. col. 261.

|| Can. 28, *ib.* tom. iv. col. 769.

Christian religion received its name, and was worthy of having a celebrated meeting of the Apostles; which would not be second to the See of Rome, but that it only enjoyed temporarily (*in transitu*) what this had the happiness to receive and fully to possess. Therefore, beloved brother, we think, that as, by peculiar authority, you ordain all metropolitans, so you should not allow other bishops to be appointed without your permission and approbation. On which matter this will be the proper course for you to take, that you should, by letters, authorize such as are at a great distance to be ordained by those who now do it by their own judgment; and those who are near, if you think right, you should bring to receive consecration at your own hands.* This decree or letter assumes for its foundation the fact, that the patriarch consecrated metropolitans in his jurisdiction.

3. Proofs that the nomination of bishops, without the sanction of their respective patriarchs, was null as to jurisdiction. Hitherto I have contented myself with concluding that the infringement of the canon law invalidated the legitimacy of consecration. Direct proofs are not wanting to show, that the want of the patriarch's assent produced a fatal flaw in the title to a see. Synesius writes that the ordination of the bishops of Palœleisca and Hydrax were invalid, because they had not been confirmed by the Patriarch of Alexandria.† Again, when the people of Olbium had elected a bishop, and three prelates, of whom Synesius was one, had given their assent, he writes to the patriarch that only his approbation was wanting to complete the work.‡ In fine, to omit many other proofs, the eighth general council, the fourth of Constantinople, having recited the canon of Nicea, orders that *the ancient custom* be preserved, whereby the *Patriarchs* of Rome, Antioch, and Jerusalem might summon to council, or visit and correct *all metropolitans who are appointed by them, and who whether by imposition of hands, or by gift of the pallium, receive validity in their episcopal dignity.*§

4. Proofs that the Roman pontiffs were patriarchs of the West, and exercised patriarchal rights over it, England included. St. Jerome says, "Let them condemn me as a heretic with the West, as a heretic with EGYPT, that is with Damasus (of Rome) and with Peter" (of Alexandria).|| That is, as the learned and most judicious De Marca observes, the pope is placed in the same relation

* Epist. Innoc. I ad Alex. ap. Constant. Epist. R. P. col. 851.

† Epist. 67 ad Theophil. ap. Morinam. Exercitat. Eccles. et Bib. p. 84.

‡ Ep. 76, ap. eund.

§ After reciting the Nicene canon, "quâ pro causâ et hæc magna et sancta Synodus tam in seniori et novâ Româ quam in sede Antiochiæ ac Hierosolymorum priscam consuetudinem decernit in omnibus conservari. Ita ut earum præsules universorum Metropolitanorum qui ab ipsis promoventur et sive per mandis impositionem sive per pallii dationem episcopalis dignitatem accipiunt, habeant potestatem, videlicet ad convocandum eos, urgente necessitate ad synodalem conventum, vel etiam ad coercendum illos et colligendum," &c. Conc. Labbe, tom. viii. col. 1135.

|| Epist. xv. Oper. S. Hier. tom. iv par. ii. col. 21.

to the entire west as the Alexandrian patriarch is to Egypt, that is, as its patriarch;* having therefore precisely as much right to exercise jurisdiction in the nomination of his metropolitans: and consequently any of these is without jurisdiction, if uncanonically nominated against his will. When the emperor Justinian wished to honour with a high ecclesiastical dignity the Bishop of Achridus, his native place, giving it the name of *Justiniana prima*, he applied to Pope Vigilius, who erected it into an archiepiscopal and metropolitan see, assigning it a province which he took from that of Thessalonica.† And hence St. Gregory the Great expressly and directly confirms the nomination of John, elected to that see, sending him the pallium in token thereof.‡ Again, when Perigenes had been ordained bishop of Patras in 418, and the people had refused to admit him, he was elected to the *metropolitan* see of Corinth, his native city. The clergy and people sent a petition to Pope Boniface I, requesting him to confirm their choice. He first sent their memorial to his vicar, the Archbishop of Thessalonica, with orders to enquire into the case, and make a report thereon. Upon receiving this, the Pope confirmed the election, in terms demonstrative that such confirmation was necessary for the validity of the appointment.§ Socrates, who relates this event, says expressly that Perigenes was named bishop by command of the Holy See.||

For proofs that the Pope exercised patriarchal authority over the other countries of the west, as France, Spain, Africa, and the rest, and the parts of Italy beyond the immediate province of Rome, I must refer my readers to the great writers on these points, or to the *Tradition de l'Eglise*, where they are admirably condensed.¶ I pass on to precedents more immediately connected with my enquiry.

The Church of Germany is an instance parallel to that of England, being a Church formed in a country converted to the faith, by missionaries from the See of Rome. St. Boniface, its first great apostle, had received episcopal consecration from Pope Gregory II. Gregory III sent him the pallium, and empowered him to nominate and consecrate bishops "by the authority of the apostolic see."** He did so, and divided Bavaria into four bishoprics; and having founded others in Franconia and Thuringia, he wrote to the pope for letters of confirmation for each bishop, which the pope readily sent them.††

I will content myself here with one single proof that England was considered a part of the Roman, or Western patriarchate; others will be better introduced later. When Constantine Pogonatus

* De Concord. Sacerd. et imper. lib. i. c. v. n. 2. Tradition de l'Eglise, tom. ii. p. 21. † Novell. cxxxi.

‡ Epist. xxii. Oper. S. Greg. t. ii. col. 585, ed. Bened.

§ "Cui (Perigine) ad plenitudinem confirmationis episcopatus sui hoc solum residet quod nostros in honore suo necdum suscepit affatus."—Epist. v. Bonif. I. ap. Const. col. 1023.

|| H. E. lib. vii. c. 36.

¶ Vol. ii. from p. 78 to the end of the volume.

** Concil. Labbe, tom. vi. coll. 1437-1468. †† Tradit. de l'Eglise, p. 234.

wished to convene a general council, he wrote to Pope Donus requesting him to send three legates; or if those were not sufficient, as many more as he thought proper. Agatho, Donus's successor, replied, that there had been a delay in complying with the emperor's desire, from the extent of the provinces whereof his council was composed. For it must be observed that besides the papal legates, the emperor had requested a deputation consisting of about twelve metropolitans and bishops to attend the synod, as representatives of the council of Rome, that is, of the provinces more immediately subject to its jurisdiction. Now, among the subscriptions to the synod holden at Rome on this occasion, we find that of Wilfrid, Archbishop of York, as well as of Felix of Arles, and other French bishops. Then, therefore all belonged to the patriarchal council of the Bishop of Rome. Moreover, in their letter to the emperor, the bishops give as a reason for delay, that they had hoped to be joined by "Theodore, Archbishop of the great island of Britain and a philosopher, together with other bishops dwelling in that island, and divers prelates of their council dispersed in different parts, that so their suggestions might be made by their entire council."^a It is an ancient maxim of ecclesiastical law, as De Marca has observed, "qui pertinent ad consecrationem, pertinent ad synodum;"[†] that is, only those could be summoned to a synod, over whom he who summons has right of consecration, the two rights of commanding attendance and of consecrating being commensurate. This is further proved by the canon above cited at length, of the eighth general council, (which, even to those who do not allow it to be œcumenical, must have a weighty historical authority) in which it was stated that the *ancient custom*, (referred by it to the decrees of the Nicene council,) be observed, in virtue whereof the patriarch of Rome, like other patriarchs, might summon the metropolitans subject to him to a council. Seeing, therefore, that Theodore of Canterbury and other English were called to, and expected to attend, this Roman or Western council, as forming part thereof, and that Wilfrid of York being in Rome did attend it, we may justly conclude that they were subject to the patriarchal authority of the Roman See, which summoned them. Such might be, in an abridged form, the recital of laws and precedents bearing upon the decision of the question.

THE INTERROGATORY.—In the ancient synods, the laws having been read, the parties were interrogated, and of course expected to give their replies according to the truth of facts. We might, therefore, suppose such questions put as were at the enquiry into the claims of the Patriarch of Antioch. The synod would interrogate, and the defenders of the Anglican Church reply.

The Synod. "Who planted the Christian religion in your country?"

—*The Anglican Church* "The venerable Bede informs us, that Pope Eleutherius sent over missionaries to the Britons, and converted them.[‡] And when the Pelagian heresy had infected the

^a Concil. Labbe, tom. vi. col. 686. † De Concord. lib. i. c. vii. n. 3.

‡ Historia Ecclesiastica, lib. i. c. 4.

island, Pope Celestine sent St. Germanus to correct and purify it."—*The Synod*. "Who communicated to your island the grace of orders?"*—*The Anglican Church*. "The holy Pope St. Gregory, who reconverted our island under the Anglo-Saxons, and established in it the episcopacy which yet remains. For he appointed St. Augustine Archbishop of London (which see he transferred to Canterbury), sending him the pallium, with power to consecrate twelve bishops as his suffragans, and another bishop at York, who should also consecrate twelve suffragans, receiving likewise the pallium, and enjoying the dignity of metropolitan. The pope also disposed, that during Augustine's lifetime, the Archbishop of York should be subject to him, but after the death of that apostle enjoy independence. The two metropolitans were to have precedence according to seniority of consecration."†—*The Synod*. "Did the Bishop of Rome continue to exercise jurisdiction over the metropolitans of England and Ireland after their first establishment?"—*The Anglican Church*. "Most certainly; for Honorius I, writing to King Edwin, sends the pallium to the two archbishops, with special powers to either to name the other's successor, in virtue of the authority of the Holy See, in consideration of the great distance which separates England from Rome.‡ Pope Adrian, acceding to the wish of Offa, king of the Mercians, created the Bishop of Lichfield primate, subjecting to him many of the suffragans of Canterbury. The Archbishop of this see submitted, however reluctantly, to the dismemberment of his province, till Leo III, better informed, acceded to the petition of the bishops, and rescinded his predecessor's decree.§ During the long contests for superiority between the sees of Canterbury and York, the matter was constantly referred to Rome, and its legates presided at the British synods held concerning their respective claims. The alternate triumphs of the contending parties were due to papal decisions in favour of one or the other.|| In Ireland it was the same. St. Malachi, Archbishop of Armagh, because, as

* Conc. Chalced. sup. cit.

† "Usum pallii tibi concedimus, ita ut per loca singula duodecim Episcopos ordines qui tue ditioni subjaceant; quatenus Londinensis civitatis episcopus temper in posterum a synodo propria debeat consecrari, atque honoris pallium ab hac apostolica sede percipiat. Ad Eboracam verò civitatem te volumus episcopum mittere, ut ipse quoque duodecim episcopos ordinet, ut Metropolitani honore perfruat, quia ei quoque pallium tribuere disponimus, quem tamen tue fraternitatis volumus dispositioni subjacere. Post obitum verò tuum ita episcopis quos ordinaverit præsint, ut Londoniensis Episcopi nullo modo ditioni subjacent. Sit verò inter Londoniæ et Eboracæ civitatis in posterum honoris ista distinctio, ut ipse prior habeatur, qui primus fuerit ordinatus."—*Epist. lxx. lib. xi. Oper. S. Greg. tom. ii. col. 1163*. Here we have a similar expression to the one mentioned above; the synod or council of a *metropolitan* is evidently the collection of the bishops whom he has the right of consecrating.

‡ Conc. Labbe, tom. v. col. 1663.

§ Matt. Westm. p. 276. William of Malmsh. p. 30.

|| Those who wish to read a detailed narrative of these distressing disputes will find it in Thomassin, *Vetus et Nova Ecclesiæ Disciplina*. Par. i. lib. j. c. xxxvi. tom. i. pp. 121-126.

St. Bernard writes, '*metropolitice sedi deerat adhuc et defuerat pallii usus, quod est plenitudo honoris*,' undertook a journey to Rome to obtain this distinction for himself, and for another new archiepiscopal see, the erection whereof he moreover desired to have confirmed by the Holy See. § In 1151, Eugenius III sent four palliums into Ireland, appointing four metropolitans, to each of whom five suffragans were to be subject. This, says Hoveden, was an infringement of the rights of Canterbury, 'from which the bishops of Ireland had used to ask and receive the blessing of consecration.' || We acknowledge, therefore, that the see of Rome did from the beginning order our hierarchy, such as it now exists, and transfer, divide, or otherwise vary, the jurisdiction of our metropolitans."—*The Synod*. "Was the Bishop of Rome ever known to consecrate an Archbishop of Canterbury? . . . Let the holy synod remember the canon of the holy fathers in Nicea assembled, which secures to each church its *pristine dignity*. . . Inform us, therefore, had not the Bishop of Rome the *right* of ordaining you from ancient custom?" ¶—*The Anglican Church*. "We cannot deny that the Bishop of Rome has, either by himself or others, ordained and confirmed our metropolitions. After St. Augustine and his immediate successors, appointed in virtue of authority from the apostolic see, other examples occur. Thus Egbert, king of Kent, and Oswi, of Northumbria, sent Wigard to Rome, as Venerable Bede informs us, to be consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury by Pope Vitalianus; but he dying at Rome, the holy pontiff named, consecrated, and sent over, Theodore, in 668.* We have evidence also of confirmation in early times, as of Justus by Boniface V, who granted the archbishop power to consecrate other bishops,† and of St. Dunstan, whom Pope John confirmed and appointed his vicar.‡ In later times there could be no doubt that such superior jurisdiction was exercised."—*The Synod*. "Was such jurisdiction willingly submitted to, or was it disturbed by protests, complaints, or otherwise?"—*The Anglican Church*. "Although the clergy constantly complained of papal provisions, whereby vacant benefices were filled up by the Court of Rome with strangers, we never read of any denial of the pope's authority to confirm archbishops, by sending them the pallium, or of his jurisdiction over them, or of his having a legate in England, who took precedence, and judged their decisions. Till the time of Henry VIII the patriarchal privileges and rights of the Holy See were never impugned or disputed."

THE DECREE.—After hearing the parties, a decree would have to

§ In vita Malachie ap. Baron. ad an. 1137, et Thomass. ubi supr.

|| Thomass. *ibid.* p. 125. We do not stay to inquire into the truth of this statement; we quote it only as a proof of the acknowledged jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff.

¶ Conc. Chalced. *supr.* cit.

* Bede, lib. iii. cap. 29. As I am treating this question on its lowest possible footing, I do not cite in the text the reason given by the two monarchs for wishing to have the archbishop consecrated at Rome; "*quia Romana esse Catholica et apostolica ecclesia.*"

+ Conc. Labbe, tom. v. col. 1658.

‡ Eadmer. *Hist. Nov. lib. iv.*

be passed, based upon the canons and usages of the Church, as applied to the case under discussion. The preamble would have to state, "that the decrees of councils secure to each church its pristine dignity, and to the patriarchates their established jurisdiction; That ecclesiastical authority had ever held those episcopal nominations of no value, towards conferring apostolical succession or place in the hierarchy, which were made in contravention of the canons in force in the Church; That these canons, as established by *long usage*, gave to the Holy See the *right* of nominating or confirming the metropolitans of England; That the order of bishops now existing in England, even supposing the validity of their orders, was instituted and appointed, the bishop of Rome not only not consentient but repugnant thereto, and vehemently condemning the same, as an infringement of his immemorial rights, secured to him by the canons and customs become ancient." Therefore the synod, unless it turned its back upon all former decisions of the Church, and all its standing laws, would be obliged to decide: "That the bishops, who now hold, by authority of law, the sees of England, have not, and never have had, since the Reformation, any ecclesiastical, hierarchical, or apostolical succession, authority, or jurisdiction whatever, in matters religious or spiritual; That they are not the inheritors or successors of those who held the sees until that time; That consequently they are, in the eyes of the Church Catholic, intruders, usurpers, and illegitimate holders of the same."

Such must have been the decision of an ancient synod, had the validity of Anglican claims to apostolical succession or ecclesiastical authority, been proposed to it: and such is the judgment to which any one conversant with the principles of ecclesiastical antiquity and law, and willing to abide by them, must likewise come. Whatever pre-eminence, privilege, or jurisdiction, the civil legislature of the country can bestow upon its functionaries, and whatever, in such capacity, it may have bestowed upon the ministers of the English Church, we willingly allow and will pay them. Whether it be to frank a letter, or give probate to a will, to commit a poacher or vote in the House of Lords, let them enjoy it; we envy and grudge them not. But believe there is benediction in their blessing more than any other man's, lawful order or consecration in the laying on of their hands, more than of a layman's, we do not and cannot, without renouncing all respect for antiquity, and all veneration for our fathers in the faith.

After this clear exposition of my motives, I shall not, of course, be suspected of having yielded too much, or placed the rights of the Holy See upon too low a ground. I have certainly given up much. I have discussed the matter as one of ecclesiastical right rather than of divine; and have shewn, that even thus, the jurisdiction and succession claimed by the Tracts for their Church is null. But, in fact, it would be in my power to show, that such rights as the apostolic See held, and yet does hold, over the episcopacy of the Church, are not of ecclesiastical origin, but belong essentially to the Chair of Peter,

as granted to it by our Lord himself. This leads me to another and a much higher ground, on which to base any resistance to the pretensions of the English Church and its upholders to be an apostolical establishment, or "a branch," as they choose to call it, "of the Catholic Church:" a ground, too, which still dispenses with all inquiry into the validity of Anglican ordination. I mean, THE STATE OF SCHISM into which it put itself at the Reformation, and which at once acted as a blight upon all its ecclesiastical powers, withering them, and rendering them incapable of any act of valid jurisdiction, or any place in the apostolical succession. This portion of my argument, with many other matters connected with this subject, I reserve for the next number. I shall treat it by the light of ecclesiastical antiquity, and exhibit instances curiously parallel with that of the Anglo-Hibernian establishment.

But there is an argument, or objection, or insinuation, in the Tract so often alluded to, that calls for my notice before concluding this portion of my task. It consists in the remark quoted above, that the bishops appointed by Mary were usurpers, and that, "on the succession of Queen Elizabeth, the true successors of the Apostles in the English Church were reinstated in their rights." As I am in my granting vein to-day, I am disposed, for argument's sake, to suppose that the bishops put into the English sees under Mary were intruded, though the canons in force in the Church and in England, till Henry violated them, were observed in their appointment. And even so I ask, WHO deposed them? WHO reinstated the others? WHO were reinstated? for these are matters requiring ample explanation, before any but the rude and simple will acquiesce in the assertion of the writer. WHO removed Mary's, or rather the Roman Pontiff's bishops? Did the English Church? WHO formed this Church, if the sixteen deposed bishops did not? But what act was there that could be called an act of the English Church, removing one archbishop and fifteen bishops, leaving *one* in his see, omitting another (Coverdale) who had been deposed by Mary, and placing *two* others in sees which they had not before occupied? Parker, the new metropolitan, could not be said to reinstate, nor to form the hierarchy, not being himself consecrated. And if, as these writers pretend, at the Reformation a return was made to the ancient rules, and the Anglican Church only vindicated its rights as accorded to every Church by the early councils, let them shew us the canons whereby the deprivation of bishops, and the appointment of new ones by letters missive, are granted to the civil rulers. But we will easily shew them those whereby the election of a metropolitan is reserved to his synod or provincials; and we will prove to them that it was a mutual understanding between the Holy See and temporal princes, which granted to the latter, in modern times, the power of nomination, subject to confirmation from the former. Let them be, therefore, consistent. If they allow the authority of Elizabeth to act as she did, let them admit that of Mary to act similarly: and, moreover, let them give us their warrant for

such authority, in the ancient Church to which they appeal. If they consider it to have been a usurpation in Elizabeth "of the iron hand and of the iron maw," as some of them have called her, then is their entire hierarchy based upon an unjustifiable and tyrannical act of power, and they who compose it are intruders. They are not shepherds who enter in by the door. It is precisely the case of Gregory, whom the Emperor Constantius thrust into the see of Alexandria, the true bishop yet living; of whom St. Athanasius thus writes:—"His reason for thus acting was, that he was neither consecrated according to the ecclesiastical canon, nor called to be a bishop according to apostolical tradition; but sent from the palace with a military force and pomp, as though he had received a civil magistracy."* Such, if judged by the ancient laws of the Church, and such in fact, were the Anglican prelates, named contrary to apostolical tradition, ordained contrary to the canons of the Church, nominees of the palace, thrust into the sees of bishops first imprisoned and deposed by the arm of secular power, and willing to receive episcopacy as though it had been a mere civil dignity. And such, in fact, it is;—they have received but a civil magistracy. And hence the Council of Sardica pronounced Gregory to be no true bishop, deposing him from the place to which the secular arm had raised him.† We think it needless to urge our last question, *Who were reinstated?* for the answer is plain, *NOT ONE*. Kitchen of Llandaff was not,—for he had never been removed. Barlow and Scorey were not,—for they never took possession of the sees in which alone they could have kept up succession. Parker and the new creation were not,—for they had never been bishops nor held sees before.

But let us follow up the inquiry into the matter upon those principles which have hitherto guided us,—the laws of the Church as displayed in its conduct. Bassianus having been consecrated, against his will, Bishop of Evrazi, refused to proceed thither. Upon a vacancy in the see of his native city, Ephesus, he violently thrust himself into it, and kept peaceable possession of it for four years. After this period, Stephanus, a priest of the same Church, assisted by a party, seized his person, and was elected bishop in his place, to all appearance by the consent of the province. The case between these two claimants for the metropolitan see, was heard and decided by the Council of Chalcedon in its eleventh action. Bassianus was charged with irregularity in having been translated from his former see. He replied, that he had never been lawfully appointed, and had never gone to it; and that Basil, successor to Memnon, who had violently consecrated him bishop, had recognized the illegality of the act, and restored him "the place and communion of a bishop."‡ another proof of episcopal rank without jurisdiction. He was then called on to state who gave him possession of his see. He

* Epist. ad Solitar. n. 14.

† Epist. Synod. ad Eccles. Alex. ap. Labbe. tom. II. c. 667.

‡ Conc. Labbe, tom. iv. col. 687.

acknowledged that only one bishop of the province was there; who, however, when appealed to, stated that he was compelled by a mob to give him institution. Here was a manifest irregularity, sufficient to vitiate the appointment, as he himself acknowledged. However, he had interposed a plea that he had been acknowledged and confirmed by Proclus, Patriarch of Constantinople. The judges ask the Constantinopolitan clergy there present, to inform the council if this were true. Theophilus, one of them, replied that it was, and that Proclus had communicated with Bassianus as Bishop of Ephesus. The tables now seemed turned; and Stephanus was called on to prove how Bassianus had been removed (*ἀποκινήντα*). We see, therefore, that the confirmation by the patriarch had the force of canonical institution, and even compensated irregularities and violations of the canons in the election. What authority, then, was greater even than this, and could reverse its decisions? *That of the Roman Pontiff*. Stephanus thus replies:—"The matter was referred to the Patriarch of Antioch by the Emperor Theodosius of blessed memory, who wrote thither. Letters were likewise brought from the most blessed Pope, the most holy Bishop of Rome, that this man should not be a bishop: and the letters are evident." This is certainly a strong proof that the Holy Roman See exercised control over the decisions of patriarchs in their own jurisdictions, without demur on their parts. The sentence of the Pope was definitive, and again annulled the decision and confirmation of the patriarch.

Lucianus, Bishop of Byzæ, and some other bishops, interposed in favour of Bassianus, urging once more than his nomination had been validated by the *confirmation* of Proclus. (*βεβαιῶσαι τὴν τοῦτον ἐπισκοπήν*). The answer of Stephanus was short and pithy:—"The most holy Archbishop Leo of Rome deposed him because he was made contrary to the canons."*

What was the result? That Bassianus was declared an intruder, and possessed of no right to the see of Ephesus. But was Stephanus on that account considered his lawful substitute, and allowed to retain the metropolitan chair? By no means. To have proved the person deposed a usurper, did not by any means justify his nomination, or heal any irregularities in it. Upon the motion, therefore, of the papal legates, it was decided, that neither of these should keep possession of the see; but that a new election should be proceeded to, and a pension allowed from the revenues of the bishopric for the maintenance of the two deposed bishops, who should keep the title and communion of bishops.† In like manner, therefore, even if the Catholic bishops nominated under Mary could be proved intruders, no argument would result in favour of the Elizabethan creation; as the link is absolutely wanting which could alone give them any claim upon succession to those who, before such imaginary intrusion, held our metropolitan and episcopal sees.

* Ibid. col. 698.

† Ibid. col. 700.

TRACT 19.

[PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE CATHOLIC
INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN.]

THE
HIGH-CHURCH CLAIMS:
OR, A SERIES OF PAPERS

ON

THE OXFORD CONTROVERSY, THE HIGH-CHURCH THEORY
OF DOGMATICAL AUTHORITY, ANGLICAN CLAIM TO
APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION, &c.

BY NICHOLAS WISEMAN, D.D.

Nº. 5.

OCCASIONED BY THE PUBLICATION OF THE "TRACTS
FOR THE TIMES," &c.



[Stereotyped for the Catholic Institute of Great Britain.]

LONDON:

Sold by all Catholic Booksellers, price Threepence, or Fifteen Shillings
per Hundred for gratuitous distribution.

PRINTED BY C. RICHARDS, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, CHANCING CROSS.

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TRACT No. 5.

OCCASIONED BY THE PUBLICATION OF THE "TRACTS FOR THE TIMES," &c.

I MUST refer the reader back to the last Tract for the commencement of the subject I am about to continue. In that tract I examined, by the light of antiquity, the claims advanced by the Oxford Divines in favour of apostolical succession in their Church. In order to simplify the controversy, I made concessions till I almost feared I might have scandalized my brethren. I wished to take up the controversy upon the lowest imaginable grounds, and for this purpose I made the following liberal allowances.

First, I put aside all question respecting the validity or invalidity, of ordination and consecration in the Anglican Church.

Secondly, I entirely considered the case of this Church as one to be investigated by canonical enactments, overlooking the great point of ecclesiastical and doctrinal union with the universal Church, which is essential, *jure divino*, for the legitimate existence and exercise of hierarchical authority.

Thirdly, I limited the rights of the holy see, to be a party to the lawful appointment of bishops in England, to those of the patriarchate, instead of considering those of its supremacy.

Fourthly, I even imagined the hypothesis, that the rights exercised by the pope, as patriarch of England, had no better foundation than usurpation at the outset.

After making all these abatements in our just assumptions, I proved that the advocates of the Anglican Church could not sustain any claim on her part to a share in apostolical succession. But it was not by any means my intention to leave the investigation there. On the contrary, I promised to raise the question to a higher level, and discuss our adversaries' pretensions, or rather repel them, upon considerations involving more serious consequences. The following extract from the last tract will at once explain my actual position, and define the point from which the present starts:—

"After this clear exposition of my motives, I shall not, of course, be suspected of having yielded too much, or placed the rights of the Holy See upon too low a ground. I have certainly given up much. I have discussed the matter as one of ecclesiastical right, rather than of divine; and have shown, that, even thus, the jurisdiction and succession claimed by the Tracts for their Church, is null. But, in fact, it would be in my power to show, that such rights as the Apostolic See held, and yet does hold, over the episcopacy of the Church, are not of ecclesiastical origin, but belong essentially to the Chair of Peter, as granted to it by our Lord himself. This leads me to another and a much higher ground, on which to base any resistance to the pretensions of the English Church and its upholders to be an apostolical establishment, or 'a branch,' as they choose to call it, 'of the Catholic Church,'—a ground, too, which still dispenses with all enquiry into the validity of Anglican ordination. I mean THE STATE OF SCHISM into which it put itself at the Re-

formation, and which at once acted as a blight upon all its ecclesiastical powers,—withering them, and rendering them incapable of any act of valid jurisdiction, or any place in the apostolical succession. This portion of my argument, with many other matters connected with this subject, I reserve for the next number. I shall treat it by the light of ecclesiastical antiquity, and exhibit instances curiously parallel with that of the Anglo-Hibernian establishment.”

I hardly consider it necessary, for the adversaries whom I am combating, to prove that a Church, placed in a state of schism, at once forfeits all right to the lawful exercise of its hierarchical functions. All the examples quoted in the last tract, and the abundant testimonies which I shall give in this, will sufficiently prove that, according to the principles of the ancient Church, a state of schism is a state of sin, of outlawry, and deprivation; and that, even where ecclesiastical functions might be *validly* exercised, they cannot be so, either lawfully or salutarily. The bishops of a schismatical Church could not be admitted to vote or deliberate at a general council, nor be present, save as an accused or an accusing party; they could not be allowed to communicate with other bishops, without first retracting their schismatical principles; and upon returning to the unity of the Church, they would require to be formally reinstated into their sees, or would be removed to others, or remain suspended. In fine, it is only in the true Church of God that apostolical succession can be had; and any one, who, even maintaining the integrity of faith, held not to unity of communion, was anciently reckoned to be out of that Church. “*Nobiscum estis*,” writes St. Augustine, “in baptismo, in symbolo, in cæteris Dominicis sacramentis: in spiritu autem unitatis, et in vinculo pacis, in ipsa denique Catholica Ecclesia nobiscum non estis.” “You are with us in baptism, in the creed, in the other sacraments of the Lord; but in the spirit of unity, in the bond of peace,—in fine, in the Catholic Church itself—you are not with us.”—*Ad Vincent. Rogat. Ep. xciii. ol. xlviii.*

The paragraph I have extracted from the last tract pledges me to the painful duty of proving that the Anglican Church is fundamentally and essentially a schismatical Church, and as such, has no right to a place in the apostolical succession. Now, though I thus advance to a closer position with my adversaries, than in my last argument, yet I am aware that I am by no means going to the extent to which I have a right. Is the English Church *only* schismatical? Is it not as truly heretical; I unhesitatingly reply, Yes. The one state cannot easily exist without the other. St. Jerome clearly distinguishes the two, but at the same time draws this conclusion, of how naturally one runs into the other. “*Inter hæresim et schisma*,” he observes, “*hoc esse arbitrantur, quod hæresim perversum dogma habet; schisma, propter episcopalem discessionem, ab ecclesia separatur. Cæterum nullum schisma non sibi aliquam confingit hæresim, ut recte ab ecclesia recessisse videatur.*” “This they suppose to distinguish heresy from schism,—that erroneous doctrine constitutes heresy, while schism is a separation from the Church, by the secession of bishops. However, no schism fails to frame some heresy to justify its departure from the Church.” In *Epist. ad Tit. c. iii.* And so, likewise, St. Augustine:—“*Schisma [est] recens congregationis ex aliqua senten-*

tiarum diversitate dissensio ; hæresis autem schisma inveteratum." That is to say, seldom will schism fail to justify its separation from the Church by departing from its doctrine, and so insisting that the supposed errors, which it abandoned, obliged it to separation. In this way does the Anglican Church plead doctrinal necessities for its schism,—and that very plea proves heresy. But in my argument on the subject of apostolical succession I am willing to consider the separation as simply schismatical, in the same manner as we speak of the Greek Church, which is, in truth, heretical. The fact is, that I can fully attain my purpose with the more lenient charge for my basis, and therefore prefer it. The case of heresy in the Church of England, can, indeed, be summarily made out on the simple ground of its having rejected the decrees of an œcumenical council. Still it might be considered necessary to go into details of doctrines, to establish the point to full satisfaction. At the same time the Fathers make no distinction between heresy and schism, as a ground of forfeiture of the rights belonging to the true Church, of which jurisdiction is one. Once more let us hear the great Doctor of the Western Church:—"Credimus et sanctam ecclesiam, utique Catholicam. Nam et hæretici et schismatici congregationes suas ecclesias vocant : sed hæretici de Deo falsa pronunciando, ipsam fidem violant ; schismatici autem dissensionibus iniquis a fraterna charitate dissiliunt, quamvis ea credant quæ credimus. Quapropter nec hæretici pertinent ad Ecclesiam Catholicam quæ diligit Deum ; nec schismatici, quoniam diligit proximum." "We believe the holy, yea, the Catholic Church. For heretics likewise and schismatics call their congregations Churches ; but heretics, by speaking falsely of God, violate faith ; and schismatics, by wicked dissensions, depart from fraternal charity, although they believe what we believe. Wherefore neither heretics belong to the Catholic Church, which loves God, nor schismatics, because she loves her neighbour." *De Fide et Symb. c. x. tom. vi. p. 161.*

From the passages I have already given, it must sufficiently appear what is the distinction between the two states, the one supposing error in faith, the other separation from unity. Now, in investigating the position of the Anglican Church, in regard to the latter, I wish strictly to adhere to the method I employed in the former tract, to examine it by the light of antiquity, and judge it entirely by the rules laid down and determined by the fathers of the primitive Church. Such, in fact, is the standard by which these divines desire to be measured ; and it is a satisfaction to me, to have this point, at least, of complete agreement. I shall, therefore, take a case from the history of the early Church, which I consider parallel, even to an extraordinary degree, with that of the English established Church ; from it we shall learn what were the criterions by which the fathers of the ancient Church judged of a case of schism, and what the manner in which they expressed their sentiments concerning it. We shall, moreover, hear the objections brought by the schismatics, and the answers given to them.

No schism longer, or more extensively, afflicted the Church, or gave rise to more interesting discussions, than that of the Donatists in Africa ; and I therefore select it, as an illustration of the controversy between us and the Anglicans.

The Donatists, although they received their name from Donatus, schismatical bishop of Carthage, yet dated from the intrusion of his predecessor, Majorinus, consecrated by several bishops, while Cæcilianus held the see; on the ground that the latter was disqualified from holding it, because his consecrators had delivered up the sacred volumes to the persecutors. These bishops, seventy in number, assembled in council at Carthage, with Secundus of Tigisi, primate of Numidia, at their head, wrote to the Churches of all Africa a synodal letter, in which they declared the consecration of Cæcilianus to be schismatical, and refused to communicate with him.* Here then we have a strong case, in the supposition that each national Church has an independent existence. A large body of bishops, headed by the neighbouring primate, steps in to examine an election, charged with grievous irregularities, and pronounces a sentence, which is communicated to all the rest of the African Church. They consider Cæcilianus as an intruder, and appoint Majorinus in his place. A large portion of the African Church assent to their sentence, and from henceforth consider the latter as the legitimate archbishop, and refuse to hold communion with the former. On the other hand, many continue to consider Cæcilianus as true bishop of Carthage, and remain united with him in communion.

But, before examining how this complicated state of things was resolved, I must not omit to say a few words concerning the unhappy passions that led to this schism; the reader, I think, will be as struck as I have always been, with their exact resemblance to those that produced the separation of England from the communion of the Church. St. Optatus sums them up in these words: "*Schisma igitur illo tempore confusæ mulieris iracundia peperit, ambitus nutrit, avaritia roboravit.*" "The schism, therefore, was at that time bred by the rage of a disgraced woman, was nourished by ambition, and strengthened by covetousness." *De Schism. Donatist. lib. i. cap. xix. ed. Dupin, p. 18.* The first of these causes was the anger of a powerful woman, called Lucilla, who could not brook the discipline and reproofs of the true Church.† She thought it, therefore, advisable to excite a schism, and with money and influence encouraged those bishops who were already inclined to cause one. Who does not here see a remarkable coincidence with the case of Anne Boleyn and her fautors,‡ who seeing that the discipline of the Church would not admit of her impious designs, brought about, as the first cause, the king's awful separation? "*irascendi et dolenti,*" as St. Optatus writes, "*ne disciplinæ succumberet.*" The second cause of the schism was ambition; in Africa, that of some who sought to obtain the episcopal dignity; in England, that of Henry, who desired to possess the supremacy of the national Church. The third was covetousness, in both cases, after the wealth of the Church. A considerable quantity of Church

* S. Aug. in Brevieu. Cellationis, cap. xiv. Oper. tom. ix. p. 569. Auct. lib. cont. Fulgentium Donatist. cap. xxvi. *Ibid.* Append. p. 12.

† *Ib.* c. xvi. She had been reprehended by Cæcilianus for superstitious devotion to unauthenticated relics.

‡ "*Cum omnibus suis potens et factiosa femina, communioni misceri noluit.*" *Ib.* c. xviii.

plate and ornaments had been deposited in the hands of some leading men among the clergy and people, by the Deacon Felix, from fear of persecution. These they appropriated to themselves, and when called on by Cæcilianus to restore what was not theirs, preferred to become schismatics, so to retain possession of their ill-gotten wealth. A very similar desire to enrich themselves by the plunder of the Church, and appropriation of the accumulated wealth of ages, will easily be recognized as the chief corroborator, in powerful men among the laity and clergy, of their wish to depart from the unity of faith.

The foundations of the schism thus laid, it became every day more and more complicated in its operation. For the number of bishops who maintained it was very considerable, and spread over the whole of Christian Africa, to such an extent, that many dioceses were entirely in their hands, and the Catholics in some districts exceedingly few in number. The Donatists became so powerful, as to take forcible possession of churches; and seize upon the property and persons of the Catholics. Hence the civil power found it necessary to interfere, and send deputies into Africa, to repress the extravagances, and chastise the excesses, of these desperate men. This only led to their having a new boast, that of confessors and martyrs, titles which they readily gave to all that suffered for crimes connected with the schism.* Many of the questions of fact, as we learn from St. Augustine, became, in course of time, involved in obscurity: such as the true case of Cæcilianus's consecration, and his real character; so that, in truth, it had become difficult for a simple individual to unravel the matter, or decide for himself to which party he ought to belong. The Catholic pastors, therefore, exerted themselves by every means in their power, to point out such simple arguments as would at once convince the most illiterate with whom they ought to side. These I shall proceed to present to my readers.

In the first place, they generally treat with the Donatists as with schismatics, and not heretics. It is a question whether these men insisted upon the erroneous doctrine generally attributed to them, of having rebaptized those who had been baptized by heretics, whether such truly, or only in their judgment. St. Augustine quotes Tichonius, of whom I shall later speak, as assuring us that, in 330, a council of two hundred and seventy Donatist bishops condemned the practice; and as appealing to witnesses still living in 380.† The same father acquits them of any error respecting the Trinity, although Donatus himself is supposed by him to have had some erroneous opinions concerning it. St. Optatus clearly acquits them of errors in faith, thus writing to Parmenianus: "*Bene clausisti hortum hæreticis, bene revocasti claves ad Petrum, &c. . . . Vobis verò schismaticis, quamvis in catholica non sitis, hæc negari non possunt, quia nobiscum vera et communia sacramenta traxistis. Quare cum hæc omnia hæreticis bene negentur, quid tibi visum est, hæc*

* See, for instance, the acts of Marculus, written with all the pathos of those of the true martyrs, and those of Maximian and Isaac, first published by Mabillon, and republished in St. Optatus's Works, p. 193, seq. Macrobius was the Fox of the Donatists.

† Ep. xxxix.

et vobis negare voluisse, quos schismaticos esse manifestum est? vos enim foras existis." "Rightly hast thou closed up the garden to heretics, rightly hast thou claimed the keys for Peter . . . But to you schismatics, although you are not in the Catholic Church, these things cannot be denied, because you have taken the true sacraments in common with us. Wherefore, since these are all rightly denied to heretics, why have you thought that there is any wish to deny them to you who are schismatics? For you have gone out." Lib. 1. c. xii. p. 12. Hence, this saint always calls *Parmenianus* by the title of brother; and when this was indignantly rejected, vindicates it at length in the opening of his fourth book. Once more he repeats, that the Donatists are brethren, because they possess the same sacraments.*

2ndly. The Donatists, as well as their adversaries, claimed the title of the Catholic Church. The general body of them (for we shall see that an important modification of their principles on this head was later introduced among them) maintained that the Catholic, that is, the true Church, only existed among themselves, and cut off from its pale all who were not in communion with them.† At the celebrated Conference of Carthage, held by order of Honorius, in 411, between the Catholic and Donatist bishops, (the former headed by St. Augustine, the latter by Petilianus,) the schismatics were exceedingly indignant that the title of *Catholic* should be exclusively claimed by, and given to, the other side. On the third day of the conference, when the moderator Marcellinus, called the orthodox by this name, Petilianus rose and said, "only that side is the Catholic, which shall carry off the victory in this contest."‡ But, throughout the conference, the Catholics strove in vain to bring their opponents to the point, as to who had a right to be considered the true Church; and it may be worth while to extract a few passages from the Acts, to show how similar the mode of argument pursued on both sides is to what would be pursued in a modern debate between Catholics and Protestants.

"Fortunatianus, bishop of the Catholic Church, said, 'Explain the grounds of your separation and dissension from the universal Church, spread over the entire world.'" After some tergiversation, being once more pressed by Fortunatianus, "Petilianus, bishop, said; 'That the Catholic Church is with me, our pure observance of the law, and your vices and crimes establish.'" He then goes off to other matters irrelevant to this question. Later, when Marcellinus once more gives the title of Catholic to the anti-Donatist side, Petilianus again demands that the Acts should give his party the same title. Marcellinus replies, that he gives that name to one party, because the imperial decree bestows it; and then Petilianus answers, that till the present contest is decided, it will be to them but an empty name. "He shall obtain it," he adds,

* Cap. ii. p. 72. However, St. Augustine occasionally calls them heretics, as Cont. lit. Petil. lib. i. c. 1, where he says, "Donatarum hæreticorum." He again argues the point more fully Cont. Crescon. Gram. lib. ii. cap. 4.

† "Eam (ecclesiam) tu frater Parmeniane, apud vos solos esse dixistis." S. Opt. lib. ii. cap. i. p. 28.

‡ Gesta Collat. Carthag. diei 3, cxlvi, ad Calc. Oper. S. Opt. p. 305.

"who, at its conclusion, shall be found truly a Christian."* Emeritus, another Donatist bishop, spoke in the same strain. St. Augustine had urged the necessity of being in communion with the Church, which the Scriptures proclaim must be diffused over the entire world, "whose communion," he adds, "we appear to hold, but which is falsely charged by you with grievous crimes." To this, Emeritus replied, that whoever is truly a Christian, he only is Catholic, and can claim the name, and, that though it is by a sort of prescription borne on the forehead by the other party, yet it should be placed between the two as the reward of the victors.† This speech of Emeritus contains another plea, presenting a curious resemblance to the reasoning of the "Tracts," to which I may later allude.

3rdly. In addition to this desire to claim an equal right with their opponents to the name of Catholic, I must notice the desire on the part of the Donatists to disclaim this name,‡ or to fasten a similar one on the Catholics, just as that of "Romanist," or "Papist," is in vain applied to us by Protestants. Thus Petilianus, in the same conference, said: "Donatistas nos appellandos esse credunt, cum si nominum paternorum ratio vertitur, et ego eos dicere possum, immo palam aperteque designo Mensuristas et Cæcilianistas esse." "They think that we ought to be called Donatists; whereas, if account has to be taken of the parental names, I could call them, yea, I do openly and publicly call them, *Mensurians* and *Cæcilianists*." *Ibid.* p. 296.

Let us now see how the fathers argued on the other side, and what broad, clear and simple arguments they chose, to convict the Donatists of the crime of schism; to prove to them, that they belonged not to the Church of Christ, that is, to the Catholic Church, but must be content to bear the title which at once designated them as separatists, and followers of men, and not of God.

I. The first, the most frequently, and the most earnestly urged of these arguments, is the fact of the Donatist Church, however numerous its bishops and its people, being excluded from communion by other Churches, and not being admitted by them within the pale of the true Church. And this, as we shall see, is not an argument based upon right, but upon fact:—it does not require, in the opinion of the fathers, any previous examination into which party was right; the very fact of one's being in communion with foreign Churches, and the other's not, was considered a decisive proof that the former was necessarily in a state of schism. They lay down as principles, that the true Church of Christ was to be dispersed over the entire world, and that consequently, no national Church could claim for itself the distinction of being this only true Church. Thus reasons St. Optatus: "Ergo Ecclesia una est . . .

* *Ibid.* p. 299.

† "Quicumque iustis legitimisque ex causis Christianus fuerit approbatus, ille meus est Catholicus, illi hoc nomen imponitur, ille debet sibi hanc regulam vindicare; quamvis ipsa Catholica, quæ nunc pro præscriptione partis adversæ quasi in fronte quadam rite adversum nos temperari cognoscitur, medium esse debet; et in iudicio ita constitui, ut hoc nomen victor accipiat." *Ibid.* p. 301.

‡ The Tracts disallow the title of Protestant as applied to the Anglican Church. Vol. iii. p. 32. See also, Mr. Newman's "Letter to Dr. Faussett." 2nd edit.

Hæc apud omnes hæreticos et schismaticos esse non potest. Restat ut uno loco sit. Eam tu, frater Parmeniane, apud vos solos esse dixisti... Ergo ut in particula Africæ, in angulo parvæ regionis, apud vos esse possit; apud nos in alia parte Africæ non erit? In Hispaniis, in Gallia, in Italia, ubi vos non estis, non erit?" "Therefore, the Church is one... It cannot be with all heretics and schismatics. It must therefore be only in one place. Thou, brother Parmenianus, hast said, that it is with you alone. Therefore, as it may be with you in a small portion of Africa, in a little corner of the land, with us, in another part of Africa, it is not? In Spain, in Gaul, in Italy, where you are not, it is not?" Lib. ii. cap. i, p. 28. He then enumerates other countries in which the Church existed, that held not communion with the Donatists; and reasons upon the texts of Scripture, which promise the entire earth to Christ as His kingdom. Now, the reasoning here is twofold, and in two ways applicable to modern controversy. In the first place, it attacks the foolish presumption of those, who would maintain that the Anglican Church is the only apostolic one, the only true Church of God, in consequence of the corruption of every other in communion with the Holy See. This is a common boast, of which it can hardly be necessary to bring examples to any reader versed in controversy. The argument of Optatus, grounded upon Scripture testimony, denies at once the possibility of any national Church being exclusively the true one, and those over the world that are in communion, being false. Secondly, this reasoning strikes as much at the theory of the Tracts, and other High-Church writings, which would fain have us consider the Church of Christ as an aggregate of many Churches, holding, indeed, different opinions and practices, and not actively communicating together, so that, the Anglican Church may be called "that branch of Christ's Church which is established amongst us," and the Church of Rome is allowed to be a portion (though a corrupt one) of the same Church of Christ. This system is directly at variance with the arguments of St. Optatus: "*Restat ut uno loco sit.*" He does not imagine the possibility of Donatists being considered a part of the true Church: if *they* constitute it, the rest of the world is excluded—if Spain, Gaul and Italy, which are in mutual communion, Donatist Africa is shut out from the pale.

St. Augustine's reasoning on this subject is precisely the same. I think it needless to quote passages from him, where he maintains the universality of the Church, and, that that only can be the true Church, which is dispersed over the whole earth: because it would be difficult to read many pages of his writings against the Donatists, without meeting a commentary on one of these or similar passages: "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." "I will give thee the nations for thine inheritance," &c. "He shall rule from sea to sea, and from the river to the bounds of the earth."

Upon these texts he insists against Parmenianus, against Petilianus, and against Cresconius, as sufficient to prove that the Churches in communion must be true, to the exclusion of all that stand in separation from them. However, the texts which I shall have occasion to quote, will put the sentiments of this most learned Doctor beyond all question. In fact, we must now see the pleas whereby the Donatists justified their

state of separation from communion with the rest of the world; and we shall see how exactly they resemble those of Protestants, and how they were met by this great Father.

1. First, they argued that the corruptions of the Church were such as rendered it impossible for them to keep in communion with it. This was the common plea of all schismatics. St. Jerome tells us, that a Luciferian, disputing with a Catholic, "asserted that the entire world belonged to the devil, and, as it is their wont to say, that the Church was become a house of wickedness."* *Parmenianus* in like manner affirmed, "that the Gauls, the Spaniards, and the Italians, and their friends, by whom he must understand the entire world, 'resembled the African *Traditors* by participation in their crimes and companionship in their guilt.'† "Hence," he concluded, "that the whole world had been contaminated by the crime of surrendering the sacred books, and other sacrileges."‡ This language resembles not a little that of the book of *Homilies*, regarding the corruptions of the Church before the Reformation. But the resemblance between the ancient and modern schism is, on this point, still stronger. The *Donatists* went on to say that there came, at that time, godly men, who bore witness against the prevarications of the Church, and urged those certain provinces to purge out the foul abuses that had crept in, and separate themselves from those among them that adhered to them, and consequently from those foreign Churches who kept communion with these. "Dicit enim legatione functos quosdam, sicut ipse asserit, fidelissimos testes ad easdem venisse provincias, deinde geminato adventu sanctissimorum, sicut ipse dicit, Domini sacerdotum, dilucide, plenius ac verius publicata esse quæ obiciunt." "He says that most faithful witnesses, as he calls them, acted as ambassadors to those provinces, then by the repeated arrival of most holy priests of the Lord, as he says, these things which they object were clearly, more fully and truly published." *Ibid.* cap. ii. "Frustra dicit *Parmenianus* 'damnatos in Africa traditores in consortium damnationis acceptos a provinciis transmarinis.'" "In vain does *Parmenianus* say, that the traditors condemned in Africa, were received into fellowship of condemnation by the provinces beyond the seas." *Ibid.* cap. iv. Now, the answer which the Fathers make to this excuse for separation, is such exactly as we make, and is perfectly applicable to the case between us and the Anglican Church. They put against it at once the promises of Scripture, that the universality of God's Church should never fail, and made it a question between the authority of God and of men, whether those promises could fail, or not rather the testimony of men be false. "Homo putans sibi magis credi debere quam Deo," St. Augustine calls the man who makes that argument. "Quid quæso te," he asks, "quid per ipsos fideles

* "Asserebat quippe (Luciferianus) universum mundum esse diaboli, et, ut jam familiare est ipsis dicere, factum de Ecclesia lupanar." *Dialog. adv. Lucifer.* cap. 1, tom. ii. p. 173, ed. Vallars.

† "Gallos, et Hispanos, et Italos, et eorum socios (quos ubique totum orbem vult intelligi) traditoribus Africanis commercio scelerum, et societate criminum dicit esse consimilem." *August. cont. Epist. Parmen.* lib. i. cap. ii.

‡ "Dicit *Parmenianus* hinc probari consceleratum fuisse orbem terrarum criminibus traditionis, et aliorum sacrilegiorum." *Ibid.* cap. iii.

testes quos vultis Deo esse fideliores, quid publicatum est? An quia, per Afros traditores, semen Abrahamæ quod est Christus, non est permissum venire usque ad omnes gentes, et ibi exaruit quo pervenit? Dicite jam magis collegis vestris credendum esse quam testamento Dei." "A man who thinks he ought to be believed rather than God." . . . "What, I ask you, what was published by these faithful witnesses, whom you make more worthy of credit than God himself? That, through the African traditors, the seed of Abraham, which is Christ, was not permitted to come to all nations, and was dried up where it had reached? Say at once, that we must believe your colleagues more than God's Testament." *Ib.* cap. ii. I would willingly extract the entire paragraph, which is most apposite and conclusive for our case. St. Jerome makes use of a similar argument from the Scripture promises. "If Christ has not a Church, or has it only in Sardinia, he has become too poor; and if Satan possess Britain, the Gauls, the people of India and barbarous nations, and the entire world, how have the trophies of the Cross been bestowed upon one corner of the whole earth?"*

But the reasoning of the Fathers is sometimes closer and more to my purpose even than this. They propose to the Donatists the same dilemma as we, in our controversy, do to Protestants. Either the Church was so corrupted before your Reformers came, that it had ceased to be the Church of God, or not. If it was, then had Christ's promises failed, which secured perpetuity to his Church; if not, whence did those who separated from it derive their authority for this purpose, or how could any act or teaching of theirs make it cease to be what it was before? The following passage of St. Augustine is to this effect: "Quod si erat etiam tunc Ecclesia, et hæreditas Christi non, interrupta, perierat, sed per omnes gentes augmenta accipiens permanebat, tutissima ratio est in eadem consuetudine permanere quæ tunc bonos et malos in una complexione portabat. Si autem tunc non erat Ecclesia, quia sacrilegi hæretici sine baptismo recipiebantur, et hoc universali consuetudine tenebatur; unde Donatus apparuit? de qua terra germinavit? de quo mari emerisit? de quo cælo cecidit? Nos itaque, ut dicere cæperam, in ejus Ecclesiæ communione securi sumus, per cujus universitatem id nunc agitur quod est ante Agrippinum, et inter Agrippinum et Cyprianum per ejus universitatem similiter agebatur." "But, if the Church then was, and Christ's inheritance had not perished, by being interrupted, but, receiving increase through all nations, yet endured, it is the safest principle to persevere in the same practice which then united in one embrace the good and the evil. But, if at that time, there was no Church, because sacrilegious heretics were received without (repetition of) baptism, and this was the universal practice, whence did Donatus make his appearance? from what earth did he spring up? from what sea did he emerge? from what heavens did he fall? We, therefore, as I had begun to say, are secure in the communion of that Church, through the entire of which that is now

* "Si ecclesiam non habet Christus, aut in Sardinia tantum habet, nimium pauper factus est. Et si Britannias, Gallias, Indorum populos, barbaras nationes, et totum semel (*simul*) mundum possideat Satanas, quomodo ad angulum universæ terræ Crucis trophæa collata sunt?" Ubi sup. No. 15, p. 186.

practised, which, in like manner, was practised through it entire, before Agrippinus and between Agrippinus and Cyprian." *De Baptismo cont. Donatistas. Lib. iii. cap. 2.* Here then it is taken for granted, that the very fact of any practice being followed or tolerated in the Church is a sufficient vindication of it; and that, whenever a separation takes place from the body of the Church on the ground of such being corruptions, those are safe who adhere to the portion that perseveres in those practices, while the pretended reformers are at once to be rejected, as having no mission or commission for their schismatical undertakings. The same Father uses the same argument on other occasions. For instance, in his treatise "*De unico Baptismo*," where he writes as follows:—"If that be true which these men assert, and by which they endeavour to maintain or excuse the cause of their separation, namely, that the fellowship of the wicked in the same sacrament defiles the good, and that therefore, we must separate ourselves bodily from the contagion of the evil, lest all should together perish;* it clearly follows, that at the time of Stephen and Cyprian, the Church had perished, nor was any left to posterity, in which Donatus himself could be spiritually born. But if they consider it impious to say this, for in truth, it is impious, then, as the Church remained from these times to the times of Cæcilianus and Majorinus, or of Donatus, . . . so could the Church remain after this latter period, which, encreasing through the entire world, as had been foretold of her, the particular crimes of any traitors or other wicked men could not defile . . . There was no reason, therefore, but it was an act of the greatest madness, for these men, as if to avoid the communion of the wicked, to have separated themselves from the unity of Christ, diffused over the entire world."†

These passages hardly require any comment; any reader of ordinary judgment, will see how St. Augustine must, upon his principles, have judged the case of the English Church, if it put in the plea of justification, which the great body of its defenders do, that the absolute corruptions of the foreign Churches with which it had before been in communion, as well as of those at home, who resolved upon keeping up that communion, made it imperative on her to refuse communion without their reformation. For he takes it for granted; first, that before such a call on them was made, these aggregated Churches constituted the true unfaill-

* How often do we see and hear applied to those in communion with the Catholic Church, those words, "Go out from her, my people, that you be not partakers of her sins, and that you receive not of her plagues." Rev. xviii. 4.

† "Si ergo verum est quod isti dicunt, et unde causam suæ separationis asserere vel excusare conantur, in una communione sacramentorum mali maculant bonos, et ideo corporali disjunctione a malorum contagione recedendum est ne omnes pariter pereant; jam tunc Stephani et Cypriani temporibus constat periisse Ecclesiam, nec posteris derelictam, ubi Donatus spiritualiter nasceretur. Quod si dicere nefarium judicant, quia revera nefarium est, sicut mansit Ecclesia ex illis temporibus usque ad tempora Cæciliani et Majorini, sive Donati, . . . sic potuit et deinceps Ecclesia permanere, quam toto, sicut de illa prædictum est, terrarum orbe crescentem nullo modo poterant quorumlibet traditorum ac facinorosorum aliena crimina maculare . . . Nulla igitur ratio fuit, sed maximus furor, quod isti velut malorum communionem caventes, se ab unitate Christi quæ toto orbe diffunditur separarunt." *De unic. Bapt. cont. Petil. c. xiv.*

ing Church of Christ; secondly, that if a particular Church, such as the African or the British, called upon them to make changes, or, by making such separated itself actually or virtually from their communion, they could not thereby lose their prerogative, but remained what they were before; thirdly, that it was safe to remain in communion with these rather than with the separating Church; fourthly, that if Cyprian, (still less, if Berengarius or Huss), with some, protested against a practice, held in his time by the great body of the Church,* it could not thereby cease to be what it was before, nor could any portion of the Church plead in excuse of its separation any such decision, but such a portion at once became involved in the guilt of schism and all its entailed forfeitures. These principles, if applied to modern controversy, will go a great way towards deciding the respective positions of the Catholic and Anglican Churches.

2. But it may perhaps be said, that the case between us and Protestants is by no means so simple as that of the Donatists and the Catholics of their times, but that the decision as to a case of schism must depend upon the examination of the points of difference. Now to this I reply, that by the Fathers, who combated the Donatists, the question was essentially considered one of fact rather than of right; that is to say, the very circumstance of one particular Church being out of the aggregation of other Churches, constituted these judges over the other, and left no room for questioning the justice of the condemnation. St. Augustine has a golden sentence on this subject, which should be an axiom in theology: "Quapropter SECURUS judicat orbis terrarum, bonos non esse qui se dividunt ab orbe terrarum, in quacumque parte orbis terrarum." "Wherefore, the entire world judges WITH SECURITY, that they are not good, who separate themselves from the entire world, in whatever part of the entire world." Cont. Epist. Parmen. Lib. iii. cap. 3. This principle he repeats in fuller terms on another occasion: "Inconcussum igitur," he writes, "firmumque teneamus, nullos bonos ab ea (Dei Ecclesia) se posse dividere; id est nullos bonos etiamsi cognitos sibi malos patiantur, ubicumque versantur, propter se a longe positos et incognitis bonis temerario schismatis sacrilegio separare; et in quacumque parte terrarum vel facta sunt ista vel fiunt *vel futura sunt*, ceteris terrarum partibus longe positis, et utrum facta sint, vel cur facta sint ignorantibus, et tamen cum orbe terrarum in unitatis vinculo permanentibus, ea ipsa sit firma securitas non hoc potuisse facere, nisi aut superbiæ tumore furiosos, aut invidentiæ livore vesanos, aut sæculari commoditate corruptos, aut carnali timore perversos." "Let us, therefore, hold it for an unshaken and stable principle, that no good men can separate themselves from it (the Church): that is, that, although they may have to endure evil men, known to themselves, no good men, wherever they may be, can, on their own account, separate, by the rash sacrilege of schism, from the good, living far off and unknown to them. And, in whatever part of the world this has been done, or is done, or *shall be*, while the other distant parts of the

* "Multi cum illo (Stephano) quidam cum isto (Cypriano) sentiebant." *Ibid.*

earth are ignorant that it has been done, or wherefore it has been done, and yet continue in the bond of union with the rest of the world; let this be considered quite certain, that none can have so acted, unless they had been either furious with swelling pride, or insane with livid envy, or corrupted by worldly advantage, or perverted by carnal fear." *Ibid.* cap. v. Here then is a general rule applicable not merely to the Donatist case, but to all future possible divisions in the Church. Those cannot be possibly right who have separated themselves from the communion of distant Churches which remain still connected in the bond of unity. Whatever plea may be set up, of corruptions or abuses, the true ground of separation will be one of those pointed out by the great St. Augustine. And, in truth, who does not acknowledge that the "haughty fury" of Henry VIII, the "worldly advantage" of his, and his son's "corrupt" nobility, and the "carnal fear" and time-serving policy of a "perverted," heartless clergy, who had not the courage to follow More and Fisher to the scaffold, produced and promoted the first schismatical separation of England from the communion of the other Churches dispersed over the world?

3. The principles thus far laid down, on the authority of the ancient Church, meet not only the reasoning of the ultra-Protestants, but also those of the High Church, or Oxford school. For they maintain, that, although throughout the middle ages, the Church in communion with Rome, was, in spite of her errors, the true Church, because she had not sanctioned them by any positive decree, yet she forfeited her title, and became heretical, when at the Council of Trent she did so.* Now this was precisely the argument of the Donatists, which we have seen combated by St. Augustine. They allowed that, at the time of St. Cyprian, the Church in communion with Pope Stephen was true and orthodox, though the same evil principles and abuses existed which they so severely reprobated; but no sooner did the body of foreign Churches formally adopt and approve these malpractices, and the erroneous maxims on which they were grounded, than they fell into a state of heresy and schism. Now we have seen St. Augustine put this case, and demonstrate that either the Church failed in the first instance, and so was lost, and with it lawful sacraments and orders; or else that this could not be admitted in the second. We have seen how any one Church, in one portion of the world, could not possibly be allowed to be right, while protesting against the union of other Churches over the rest of the world. The very fact of its being in such a position, at once condemns it and proves it to be in schism. Still it may be both interesting and instructive to pursue this enquiry still farther, and see this particular plea more closely examined. For it so happened that the Donatists, like the

* "True, Rome may be considered (heretical) now; but she was not considered heretical in the first ages. If she has apostatized, it was at the time of the Council of Trent. . . Accordingly, acknowledging and deploring all the errors of the middle ages, yet we need not fear to maintain, that after all, they were but the errors of individuals, though of large numbers of Christians."—Tract xv. p. 10, where in a note the opinion of Gilpin is quoted, with approbation, that after that epoch "it seemed to him a matter of necessity to come out of the Church of Rome." This is perfectly the Donatist view of the case.

modern Anglicans, asserted that they were not the separatists, but that the other Churches were. These are their words:—"Si vos tenere Catholicam dicitis, Catholicos illud est quod Græce dicitur unum sive totum. Ecce in toto non estis, quia in partem cessistis." "If you say that you have the Catholic Church, καθολικός is, in Greek, 'one,' or 'whole.' Behold, you do not constitute the whole, since you have seceded apart."—Cont. Liter. Petil. lib. ii. cap. 38. To this St. Augustine, on this occasion, contents himself with first explaining the meaning of the term "Catholic," to wit, that which is extended over all the world, and then by throwing ridicule on the extravagance of the assertion. "How can we be separatists," he asks, "whose communion is diffused over the entire world? But, as if you were to say to me, that I am Petilianus, I should not know how to refute you, except by laughing at you as in jest, or pitying you as insane;—I see no other course now. But as I do not think you were joking, you see what alternative remains."*

On another occasion, the same holy Father gives a decisive criterion whereby it may be determined who went forth from the Church, or who were, in other words, the violators of Catholic unity. It was not long before the Donatists split into innumerable sects; the usual consequence of departure from unity. But the account of this division is so well given by St. Augustine, and so accurately describes the vicissitudes of modern, as well as of ancient schism, that we must be allowed to quote his words:—"Eadem pars Donati in multa minutissima frusta conscissa est, quæ omnes minutissimæ particulæ hanc unam multo grandioris quam qua Primianus est, de recepto Maxiministarum baptismo reprehendunt; et singulæ conantur asserere apud se tantummodo verum baptismum remansisse, nec omnino esse alibi, neque in toto orbe terrarum, qua Ecclesia Catholica expanditur, nec in ipsa grandiore parte Donati, nec in ceteris præter se unam ex minutissimis particulis." "The very sect of Donatus is divided into many very minute parts, every one of which minute parts blames this much larger one, in which Primianus is, for having received the baptism of the Maximinians; and each one endeavours to maintain that true baptism has remained in it alone, and is nowhere else, neither in the entire world, over which the Catholic Church is spread, nor in the larger sect itself of Donatus, nor in any other except itself, one of the said most minute parts." De Baptis. cont. Donatistas, lib. i. cap. ii. If for the "pars Donati" we substitute the Anglican Church, what a faithful picture we have of the minute subdivisions of separatism into which dissent from her has broken; every one of which denies to the others sound doctrine,—as the Donatists did baptism,—as well as to the original branch of which they are the boughs, and to the great trunk of Catholic and apostolical descent from which both it and they have been lopped off.

But to come to our point, which is, the criterion suggested by St.

* "Sed quemadmodum, si mihi diceret quod ego sim Petilianus, non invenirem quomodo refellerem, nisi ut aut jocantem riderem, aut insanientem dolerem; hoc mihi nunc faciendum esse video; sed quia jocari te non video, vides quid restet."—*Ibid.*

Augustine for determining who are the separatists and schismatics. It is this:—You have no difficulty in deciding that these different sects separated from you, and not you from them (as they pretend); because, while *primitive* Donatism is commensurate with them all, each of these prevails more in one than in another province: the Rogatenses, for instance, in Cæsarean Mauritania; the Urbanenses in some parts of Numidia; and so forth. This criterion would apply to the Anglican Church. For some parishes are comparatively free from dissent; and there is no portion of England, however occupied by it, in which that Church is not found: then some sects, as the Quakers, are unknown in some districts, while they are abundant in others; different classes of Methodism, Unitarianism, or Moravianism, have their favourite districts, in which their teachers and followers more abound. And as the Anglican Church occupies all the space subdivided among them all, we justly conclude that they all went forth from it, and not it from them. In like manner, observes this learned Father, we see one heresy infest one country, and another another; each sect has its own territory,—for where it has sprung up, there, being of its nature unprolific, it lies till it withers up. But the Catholic Church occupies the whole world, taking in the very countries in which the respective sects exist, surrounding and compenetrating them; and, therefore, by parity of argument, this is proved to be the true Church, from which all they are separatists and schismatics.* This argument is at once simple and conclusive. It supposes, what is of great importance in our controversy with the Oxford divines, the possibility,—nay, the necessity of the Church Catholic having members, in countries under a schismatical hierarchy, who communicate with the rest of the Catholic world; a point on which we shall have later to speak: “*Ipsa (Ecclesia) de qua præcidentur, etiam in eas terras extenditur ubi jacent illa quæque in sua regione fragmenta.*” Let us, then, apply the argument to our times. We see the Lutherans occupying the northern parts of the European continent, the Calvinists Switzerland, the Presbyterians Scotland, the Anglicans England. Not one of these has a Church, properly so called,† in any other country; none in Spain, or Italy, or France, or Southern Germany, or South America, or Syria, or China. “*Ubi cadunt ibi remanent.*” But we, that is, the

* “*Contra universitatem vero Ecclesiæ, quia te inania repetere libuit, etiam hic tibi respondeo. Sicut in Africa pars Donati vos estis, a quibus apparet partem Maximiani schisma fecisse, quoniam non est per Africam, qua vos estis, vos autem et in regionibus in quibus illa est non deestis, nam et alia schismata facta sunt ex vobis, sicut Rogatenses in Mauritania Cæsariensi, Urbanenses in quadam Numidiæ particula, et alia nonnulla, sed ubi præcisa sunt ibi remanserunt. Et hinc enim apparet eos a vobis exiisse, non vos ab ipsis, quia vos etiam in his terris ubi ipsi sunt, illi autem quaqua versus vos estis non nisi forte peregrinantes inveniuntur. Sic Ecclesia Catholica, quæ sicut ait Cyprianus, ‘ramos suos per universam terram copia ubertatis extendit,’ ubique sustinet scandala eorum qui ab illa, vitio maximæ superbiciæ præcidentur, aliorum hic, aliorum alibi atque alibi. . . . Ubi enim cadunt, ibi remanent, et ubi separantur ibi arescunt, unde ipsa de qua præcidentur etiam in eas terras extenditur, ubi jacent illa in sua quæque regione fragmenta: in illa vero, singula, quacumque distenditur, non sunt, quamvis aliquando vix rarissima folia ex eorum ariditate ventus elationis in peregrina dispergat.*”—Cont. Crescon. lib. iv. cap. 60.

† The small number of Protestants in France or Piedmont are not in communion with any other “fragment,” but form independent sects

Church wherewith we are in communion, extends over the whole of the world, occupying, extensively, several of these countries, and having large bodies of Christians in others. And even where those Protestant sects prevail, congregations and numerous flocks are found communicating with the one Church spread over the world. And what I have said of Protestant countries, I may extend, as St Augustine does, beyond the Donatists, to other heresies, as the Nestorians and Eutychians in the East. For almost wherever these are, Catholics exist; but they are not to be found, except as strangers, *nisi forte peregrinantes*, in countries entirely Catholic. We see, then, how simple and yet how efficacious is the test proposed by St. Augustine, for deciding whether the English Church be a seceder or not from Catholic unity.

At the same time I cannot forbear quoting another criterion proposed by the other Father, whom I have already copiously cited, St. Jerome. His words are strikingly applicable to our present case. I shall give them in the original: "Poteram diem istiusmodi eloquio ducere, et omnes propositionum rivulos uno Ecclesiæ sole siccare. Verum quia jam multum sermocinati sumus brevem tibi apertamque animi mei sententiam proferam, in illa esse Ecclesia permanendum, quæ ab Apostolis fundata usque ad diem hanc durat. Sic ubi audieris eos qui dicuntur Christi non a Domino Jesu Christo sed a quoquam alio nuncupari, ut puta Marcionitas, Valentinianos, Montenses, seu Campitas;* scito non Ecclesiam Christi, sed Antichristi esse synagogam. Ex hoc enim ipso quod postea instituti sunt, eos se esse indicant quos futuros Apostolus prænuñciavit. Nec sibi blandiantur, si de Scripturarum capitulis videntur sibi affirmare quod dicunt, cum et diabolus de Scriptura aliqua sit locutus, et Scripturæ non in legendo consistant sed in intelligendo." "I could occupy the entire day with this subject, and dry up all the dribblets of (schismatical) propositions by the sun of the Church alone. But since our discourse has been long . . . I will briefly and clearly lay you down my opinion, that we must remain in that Church which, founded by the Apostles, endures unto this day. Wherever you hear those who are called Christians, receive their name not from the Lord Christ Jesus, but from some one else; as, for instance, the Marcionites, Valentinians, Montenses, or Campites, know that they are not the Church of Christ, but the synagogue of Antichrist. For, from the very fact of their being of later institution, they show themselves to be those whom the Apostle foretold. Neither let them flatter themselves, if they appear to prove what they say, by texts of Scripture; seeing that the devil cited passages from Scripture, and Scripture consists not in the reading, but in the understanding of it." Ubi supr. *in fine*. Now, though this criterion will, in most special wise, apply to those sects which bear the names of men, as Lutherans, Calvinists, and Wesleyans; yet will it be found applicable no less to any, whose designation indicates a state of separation from the rest of the Church. For the new Oxford school will not easily persuade men that their Anglican Church forms no part of the great Protestant defection, a title which at once expresses separation and opposition to that greater aggregation of Churches dispersed over the whole world, on

* These were the names by which the Donatists of Rome were distinguished.

which no efforts have succeeded in fixing any different title beyond that of the *Catholic*.

4. But the Donatists endeavoured to escape from the application of this test by another sophistry. You, they said, are no more universal or Catholic than we. A great part of the world is still heathen,* and much is occupied by sects which you do not admit into the pale of the Church. Or rather sometimes the Donatists affected to believe that Catholics readily admitted the latter into communion with them, in order to enlarge their grounds to claim that title.† To the first view St. Augustine replies, that heathen nations will gradually be converted, and that, to the end of the world, room will be left for the dilatation of religion, and the fulfilment of God's promises regarding the propagation of the faith. With regard to the other objection, he observes that we do not admit any who differ from us in faith into religious community; but that these, like the Donatists, are in different countries unprolific, and confined within certain limits, beyond which they have no power to spread, so as to put in a title to be considered the Church Catholic.‡ We see here two important points decided; first, how the Catholicity of our Church is not hemmed in by the many unconverted nations yet remaining, inasmuch as they are rather a field on which the Catholic prerogative of propagation and fecundity is to be exercised till the end of time; and, secondly, how the Catholic Church, then, as now, sternly excluded from its communion all sects that differed from it, instead of making the Catholic Church consist, as the tract writers would desire, of the heterogeneous amalgamation of various Churches differing in doctrine, as the Greeks, Syrians, and Anglicans, with the many harmoniously united in communion with Rome.§ On another occasion, we find St. Augustine answering the other form of the second of the rehearsed objections; namely, that the number of sects not in communion with those that call themselves the Catholic Church, excluded this from that title. "Quomodo," asked Cresconius, "totus orbis communione vestra plenus est, ubi tam multæ sunt hæreses, quarum vobis nulla communicat?"|| To this the saint replies, as on the other occasion, tacitly acknowledging the fact of non-communion with heretics, but still maintaining the universality of the Catholic Church.

* "Omitto gentium barbararum proprias regiones, Persarum ritus, sidera Chalæorum, Ægyptiorum superstitiones." Crescon. ap. Aug. cont. eumd. Lib. iv. cap. 61.

† "Non ergo nobis communicant sicut tu dicis, Novatiani, Ariani, Patripassiani, Valentiniani," &c. *Ibid*.

‡ "1. Unde necesse est, non solum fecunditate nascentis Ecclesiæ, verum etiam permixta multitudine inimicorum ejus, per quos pietas ejus exerceri et probari posset, usque in finem judiciarum separationis totus orbis impleatur . . . 2. Veruntamen ubicumque sunt isti (hæretici) illiæ Catholica, sicut in Africa, ita et vos: non autem ubicumque Catholica est, aut vos estis aut hæresis quælibet illarum. Unde apparet quæ sit arbor ramos suos per universam terram extendens, et qui sint rami fracti non habentes vitam radicis, atque in suis cuique jacentes et arescentes locis." *Ibid*.

§ See, for example, Tr. viii. p. 4, where the Churches of Rome, Holland, Scotland, Greece, and the acknowledgedly heretical churches of Asia, are enumerated as forming so many parts of the Church Catholic.

|| "How is all the world full of your communion, while there are so many heresies, not one of which communicates with you?" Cont. Cresc. lib. iii. cap. 66.

5. Only another subterfuge remains: it is, that to belong to the universal Church, it is not necessary to be in *active* intercourse and communion with the different parts that compose it; so that the Anglican Church may be a portion of Christ's Church Catholic, although it has no actual badges to show of amity and harmony with other portions of the same Church in Europe, or the East. Cresconius, the Donatist, made use of precisely this principle, which is necessary to the establishment of the system maintained on this subject by the Oxford divines: "Non communicat Oriens Africæ, nec Africa Orienti." "The East does not communicate with Africa, nor does Africa with the East." *Ibid.* cap. 67. To this St. Augustine replies, that, "with the chaff, that is out of the Lord's barn-floor, the East does not indeed communicate, but with the Catholic wheat, and with the straw that is within, the East does communicate with Africa, and Africa with the East."* The Donatists seem to have wished to maintain the independence of the African Church, as requiring no direct connexion with the Churches of Asia. Hence, on another occasion, where St. Augustine had a friendly conference with Fortunius, a Donatist bishop, the question, almost at its outset, turned upon this point. The learned Father asked him, which was the Church in which one must live well, "whether that which, according to the predictions of Holy Writ, was to be diffused over the entire world, or that which a small part of Africa, or the Africans, contained? At first, he tried to assert, that his communion was over the whole world. I asked him," he continues, "whether he could give letters of communion, which we called *formatæ*, whithersoever I wished; and I affirmed what was clear to all, that by this test, the entire question could be brought to a close."† But the Donatist soon ran off his ground, and turned to other matters. Now, if the courteous reader will take the trouble to turn to Tract No. 3 of this series, he will find the Anglicans challenged to the same proof of the assertion, which they make in common with the Donatists, that they are a part, or a branch of the Church Catholic, dispersed over the world. I took Barrow's criterions of religious unity, and showed how no prelate of the Anglican Church could safely attempt to apply them in practice to his Church.‡ If he sent letters of communion to any foreign bishop, (except perhaps in North America), they might be answered through courtesy, but the pledge of amity would not be accepted. I can challenge them, therefore, to the very same proof, as Augustine challenged Fortunius to, and the very fact of their not being able to

* "Non sane sed in paleis hæreticis ab area Domini separatis: in frumentis autem catholicis et interioribus paleis omnino communicat Oriens Africæ, et Africa Orienti." *Ibid.*

† "Deinde querere cœpimus, quænam illa esset ecclesia ubi vivere sic oporteret, utrum illa quæ, sicut Sancta ante Scriptura prædixerat, se terrarum orbe diffunderet, an illa quam pars exigua vel Afrorum, vel Africa contineret. Hic primo asserere conatus est, ubique terrarum esse communionem suam. Quærebam utrum epistolas communicatorias quas formatas dicimus, posset quo vellem dare; et affirmabam, quod manifestum erat omnibus, hoc modo facillime illam terminari posse quæstionem." Epist. ad Eleus. Glor. et Fal. tom. ii. Ep. xlv. vol. clxiii. cap. 2.

‡ The criterions proposed by Dr. Barrow, are all *acts* of communion, not one of which would in practice be applicable to the English Church.

submit to it, would decide the question, as it did then, that they are in a state of schism. The twenty-third canon of the African code prescribes, that if any bishop travel beyond the sea, he provide himself with *litteræ formatæ*, or letters of communion from his primate. This proves, that an active communion was required between Churches separated by the sea, so that any bishop bearing such letters, would be readily admitted into participation in all religious and ecclesiastical rites, with the bishops of the country in which he might travel. Would such letters from the English primate be heeded even in Europe? How much less in China, in India, or Syria? Yet, not only the letter of a Catholic primate, but that wherewith every bishop or vicar-apostolic usually furnishes any of his clergy, who have occasion to go abroad, is received with respect by every foreign bishop, and secures to its bearer all the rights of communion in belief and practice, and opens to him at once the gates of the sanctuary and the hearts of his fellow-labourers in Christ. St. Augustine is careful to remove the impression, that when he wrote to any Donatist leaders, he thereby entered into communion of faith: and thus proves to us the difference between civility and charitable intercourse, and communion in religion. "Unde factum est," he writes, "ut etiam ad nonnullos Donatistarum primarios scriberemus, *non communicatorias litteras, quas jam olim, propter suam perversitatem, ab unitate Catholica, quæ toto orbe diffusa est, non accipiunt*, sed tales privatas qualibus nobis uti etiam ad paganos licet." "Whence it came, that we wrote to some of the chief men among the Donatists, not letters of communion, which they do not receive for a long time from the Catholic unity dispersed over all the world, on account of their perversity, but such private letters as it is lawful for us to send even to pagans." Ep. xliii. ol. clxii. cap. 1.

If the case therefore of the Anglican Church had to be decided by the principles and the voice of antiquity, I do not see how any verdict, but that of schism, could be pronounced against it. It is in a state of separation from the aggregate of Churches dispersed over the world. It cannot make an excuse, it cannot raise a point either of fact or of right, in bar of judgment, which has not been already met by the judicious sagacity of the great supporter of the unity of the Church, when combating the cavils of the Donatists. But, I have yet a second and most important test provided for us by antiquity, whereby I must farther prove my point before I proceed to investigate the awful consequences in regard to apostolical succession and claims to authority, that result from this state of separation.

II. The second criterion of the true Church is closely allied to the first, though simpler in its application. According to the doctrine of the ancient Fathers, it is easy at once to ascertain who are the Church Catholic, and who are in a state of schism, by simply discovering who are in communion with the See of Rome, and who are not. This test, as I just remarked, is nearly connected with the foregoing: inasmuch as, the Chair of Peter being the centre of the Catholic unity, all that communicated with it, knew at once that they were in communion with the rest of the Church dispersed over the world. To have kept up an active communication with all the sees, even with all the metropolitans of the

world, would have been, for each bishop, a difficult, not to say an impossible, undertaking. Nor could the faithful have easily discovered whether their own bishop preserved Catholic unity in this way. Let us then at once show the various ways in which this connexion with the apostolic see was applied to the preservation of unity and the immediate detection of schism.

1. We have seen that communion was actively kept up by means of the *epistolæ formatæ*. No doubt, on particular occasions, such as that mentioned by St. Augustine, any bishop writing to other sees, would have received in reply letters of communion. But ordinarily this regular interchange of religious communion all centred in the Apostolic See. I will not here inquire whether the *formatæ* which it sent even to patriarchs, were not of a much higher character, and contained a confirmation of their election, without which it was not admitted. I think decidedly, that such was the case.* But, as I have throughout this discussion, desired and endeavoured to deal generously with our opponents, and have not insisted upon any point which I could waive in my argument, I am willing to act consistently in this matter too: and shall therefore suppose that the *formatæ* of the Holy See went no farther than to acknowledge religious communion with the bishops to whom they were addressed. Still, this intercourse was considered essential to the maintenance of religious unity, and its absence was a clear indication of a schismatical separation. We have a remarkable proof of this communication carried on by distant Churches through the medium of the Holy See, in an argument employed by St. Augustine. The Donatists, to prove that the rest of the Church had kept communion with them, asserted that the Council of Sardica had written a letter to Donatus of Carthage. To this the holy Father replies, that, supposing the synod to have been orthodox, it does not follow, that the Donatus mentioned was the bishop of Carthage, as the names of the sees are not cited in the letter. He then adds, "quod hinc maxime credibile est, quod ad Carthaginis episcopum, Romano prætermisso, nunquam orientalis Catholica scriberet." "Which is the more credible, because the oriental Catholic Church never wrote to the Bishop of Carthage, passing over the Bishop of Rome." Cont. Crescon. lib. iii. cap. 34. But St. Optatus is the writer who uses this argument in the clearest manner, and proves the schism of the Donatists by the simple fact of their not communicating with the rest of the world, through him who sat in the Chair of Peter. After tracing the succession of pastors from St. Peter to Siricius, he adds, "who is in fellowship with us, with whom the entire world is joined, in the society of one communion, through the intercourse of *formatæ*."†

2. But this was by no means the highest ground on which commu-

* Pope Boniface I. informs us, that Theodosius, fearing lest the election of Nestorius to the Constantinopolitan patriarchate would be null, "habere non existimans firmitatem," because he (the pope), had not known of it, sent a deputation of courtiers and bishops, and "formatam huic a Sede Romana dirigi depoposcit, quæ ejus sacerdotium roboraret." Ap. Constant. Epp. Rom. Pont. col. 1043.

† See the text quoted below.

nion with the see of Rome was required of all who wished to be considered within the pale of the Catholic Church. It was not for the convenience of mutual intercourse, but for the necessity of ecclesiastical unity, that the Chair of Peter and his successors had been made the centre, and received the headship, of the Church. St. Ambrose, writing to the Emperors, calls the Holy City, "*totius orbis Romani caput Romanam ecclesiam . . . inde enim in omnes venerandæ communionis jura dimanant.*" "The Roman Church head of the entire Roman Empire . . . for thence flow to all the rights of venerable communion." Ep. ii. ad Grat. et Valent. St. Optatus, however, lays the greatest stress upon this point. Again and again he presses the charge of schism upon the Donatists, because they are separated from the Chair of Peter. Having proved that the Catholic, or true, Church must be diffused over the entire world, he proceeds to point out more particular marks and ornaments whereby it may be more easily distinguished. The first of these is the *Cathedra* or episcopal chair. By this it is evident that he did not mean episcopacy in general, nor the succession of bishops validly ordained, as he allows the Donatists to have possessed these. He goes on therefore to explain his meaning and apply it. "We must see," he writes, "who sat first upon the chair, and where. If you are ignorant, learn; if you know it, blush; you cannot be charged with ignorance, therefore you must know it. . . . Therefore you cannot deny that you know, that in the city of Rome, the episcopal chair was bestowed on Peter first, on which sat Peter, the Head of all the apostles, whence he was called Cephas; in which ONE CHAIR unity was to be preserved by all, lest the rest of the apostles should stand up each one for a separate Church; SO THAT HE SHOULD BE A SCHISMATIC AND A SINNER WHO SHOULD SET UP AGAINST THE ONE CHAIR, another."* Before proceeding to the next words of the Father, I will indulge in one or two remarks. It is repugnant to the obvious purport of his argument to imagine, with Chillingworth or Mr. Poole, that he here speaks only of schism *within* the Roman Church, strictly so called, by the setting up of a Donatist bishop in the city of Rome, in opposition to the one in direct succession from St. Peter. For St. Optatus speaks of the Roman see as *one* and *singular*, in reference not to any rival pretensions that might be set up with it, but in reference to the sees erected by the other apostles. Unity was to be preserved in this chair, in such way, as that no other *apostolic* chair was to be set up against it, without incurring the guilt of schism. What could be the motive for introducing here the mention of other apostolic sees, if the object was only to lay the basis for an argument

* "Videndum est quis, et ubi prior cathedram sederet. Si ignoras, disc; si nosti, erubesc; ignorantia tibi adscribi non potest, restat ergo ut noveris. . . . Igitur negare non potes scire te in Urbe Roma, Petro primo Cathedram episcopalem esse collatam, in qua sederit omnium apostolorum caput Petrus, unde et Cephas appellatus est, in qua una cathedra unitas ab omnibus servaretur; ne ceteri apostoli singulas sibi quisque defenderent: ut jam schismaticus et peccator esset, qui contra singularem cathedram, alteram collocaret. "De schism. Donat. lib. ii. cap. 2, p. 31. The learned author to whom we allude in the next page, reads *tibi* for *sibi* in the last sentence." St. Cyprian Vindicated, p. 20. We follow Dupin's edition, which gives no various reading here. Of course the sense is precisely the same.

that he was a schismatic who erected a rival throne in the same see? A proposition so evident, that it certainly required no appeal to the respective positions of Peter and the other apostles. But St. Optatus well knew that there was a twofold form of schism, one by separation from the immediate bishop, who forms the first link with each one in the chain of unity, and the other, consequent on it, by separation from the centre at which the various chains are joined together. For otherwise, what can be the meaning of his thus addressing Parmenianus: "*Nec Cæcilianus recessit a Cathedra Petri vel Cypriani, vel Majorinus cujus tu cathedram sedes?*" "Nor did Cæcilianus separate himself from the chair of Peter or of Cyprian, but Majorinus did, whose see you occupy." Lib. i. cap. x. p. 10. What, I ask, is the meaning of these words, unless a schism in Africa, at Carthage, was considered a separation not only from the see of that city, on which Cyprian had sat, but also from that of Rome? I therefore conclude, that St. Optatus, in declaring every one a sinful schismatic who sets up a rival chair to that of Peter, spoke not of those in Rome itself, but of any, who, in distant countries, established the independence of their sees.

The learned Father, having thus laid the foundation of his argument, proceeds to apply it to the Donatist controversy, in the following terms: "Therefore, the one chair, which is the first of the properties [of the Church], Peter filled the first, to whom succeeded Linus; to Linus succeeded Clement. . . . [here the saint enumerates all the pontiffs down to his time; then concludes] to Damasus, Siricius, who is now in fellowship with us, with whom the entire world is joined with us in the society of one communion, through the intercourse of *formate*. You give an account of the origin of your chair, you who wish to claim to be the holy Church."* It may be deemed necessary for me to reply to the cavils of the two above-named divines, upon this, as I have done on the preceding part of St. Optatus's text. I am, indeed, dispensed from the task, by the able manner in which I find it has just been done by the Rev. F. C. Husenbeth, who, by his answer to Mr. Poole, has added another to the many claims he already possessed, to the respect and gratitude of British Catholics, and has gained a new title to the character he so justly bears of a sound divine, a ready polemic, and a zealous ecclesiastic.† I will content myself, therefore, with a very few remarks. In laying down the point which he intended to prove, that is, which Church had the marks or properties of the Catholic, St. Optatus never once intimates that he had removed the question from Africa to Rome. For it is evident that he wrote his work for the conviction of the African Donatists, and naturally selected arguments applicable to them. So his marks of the Church are such as would apply in any country. Now, after he has given the argument we have just seen from the chair of

* "*Ergo cathedram unicam, quæ est prima de dotibus sedit prior Petrus, cui successit Linus, Lino successit Clemens. . . Damaso Siricius, hodie qui noster est socius, cum quo nobiscum totus orbis, commercio formatarum in una communione societate concordat. Vestræ Cathedræ vos originem reddite qui vobis vultis sanctam ecclesiam vindicare.*" Lib. ii. cap. 4, p. 32.

† "St. Cyprian Vindicated, against certain misrepresentations of his doctrine in a work by the Rev. G. A. Poole." Norwich, 1839, p. 64.

Peter, he introduces, simply as an objection to the argument, the Donatists' assertion that they too had a Church and a chair at Rome. "But you also say," he writes, "that you have some part in the city of Rome."* Surely this is not the way in which the main argument is likely to be introduced. It is evidently nothing more than an objection, which the writer thinks might be thrown in by the adversary, and which he thinks it right to remove before proceeding with the argument. Accordingly, the father shows how little right the Donatists have to consider their African bishop resident in Rome the true representative of the apostolic see, and then, concluding that Peter, the "Prince of the Catholics," (Nostrum Principem), had alone the keys given him, proceeds with the argument on general grounds, by no means applicable to Rome alone. Yet, throughout he continues to argue against the Donatist schism in general, as separated from the chair of Peter, and thereby at once condemned: "Unde est ergo quod claves regni cœlorum vobis usurpare contenditis, qui contra cathedram Petri . . . sacrilegio militatis?" "How is it that you should attempt to usurp the keys of the kingdom of heaven, who are engaged in sacrilegious war against the chair of Peter?" Cap. v. Nay, he even goes farther than this. He had proposed five marks of the true Church, whereby it could be distinguished from all schismatical congregations. The first is the one we have seen, the chair, and he concludes that this is proved to be exclusively his side's, through the chair of Peter. "Igitur de dotibus supradictis cathedra est, ut diximus, prima, quam probavimus per Petrum nostram esse." "Therefore of the above-rehearsed properties, the chair is the first, which we have proved to be ours through Peter." Cap. vi. This surely could not be said, if, as Mr. Poole supposes,† the argument was only of use against Macrobius and his miserable handful of lurking sectarians in Rome. Then, what is still more important, St. Optatus hardly touches upon several of these marks, but contents himself with asserting that he has proved his Church to possess them, through the chair of Peter: "et per cathedram Petri quæ nostra est, per ipsam et ceteras dotes apud nos esse." "And by the chair of Peter which is ours, by it the other properties are with us." Cap. ix. p. 38. By proving therefore this one point, he considered the argument as satisfactory, as if he had fully demonstrated each of the other marks to belong exclusively to his Church. Farther, I will observe, that these characteristics of the true Church were not originally proposed by St. Optatus, but by his Donatist adversary.‡ Now it is not probable that he should by "cathedra" have meant the see of Rome, which they could not, without consummate impudence, pretend to claim; particularly, as we shall see that it was part of their tactics to keep the question on African ground, and decline all reference to the state of foreign Churches. In fine, we find St. Augustine employ the same argument from the succession in the Roman see, where certainly there can be no room for Chillingworth's exceptions. For this

* "Sed et habere vos in urbe Romæ partem aliquam dicitis." Cap. iv.

† Ap. Husenbeth *ubi sup.*

‡ "Videndum ubi sunt quinque dotes quas tu sex esse dixisti." Lib. ii. cap. ii. St. Optatus afterwards tells us which he excluded to reduce them to five, which, consequently, he admitted. Cap. viii.

Father composed a rude poem, or psalm, which might be sung by the common people of Africa (for he always speaks of other Churches under the title of transmarine) and in this he gives, as the principal evidence against the Donatists, the succession of bishops in the chair of Peter. These are his words:

“ Venite fratres, si vultis ut inseramini in vite,
Dolor est cum vos videmus præcisos ita jacere.
Numerate sacerdotes vel ab ipsa Petri sede,
Et in ordine illo Patrum quis cui successit videta.
Ipsa est petra, quam non vincunt superbæ inferorum portas.”

“ Come, brethren, if you wish to be engrafted in the vine,
It grieves us to see you thus lie cut off.
Number the priests in the very chair of Peter,
And see in that order of fathers who succeeded the other.
This is the rock which the proud gates of hell overcome not.”

Contra partem Donati Psalmus *versus fin.*

3. It will not, therefore, be surprising to see how, in practice, this simple rule was adopted, for at once ascertaining who were the Catholics, and who the schismatics. St. Ambrose informs us that his brother Satyrus, not yet partaker of the sacred mysteries, being in imminent danger of shipwreck, tied the blessed Eucharist round his neck in an *orarium* or scarf, and fearlessly committed himself to the waves. Arrived on shore, and having experienced the efficacy of this great sacrament, when thus externally applied, he concluded how much more excellent its virtue must be, when actually received into the breast, and therefore ardently desired to be partaker of it. But the schism of Lucifer prevailed in that country; and, therefore, he resolved to be cautious how he communicated with the clergy. “He sent for the bishop, nor did he think there was any true grace save that of true faith. He asked of him whether he agreed with the Catholic bishops, that is with the Roman Church.”* Such was the simple test, which one, not yet initiated in the mysteries of Christianity, had learnt; he did not enquire into the succession of that particular Church or see, nor whether it taught all that is declared in the creeds, nor whether it was “an independent branch of the Church Catholic;” but simply whether the bishop who came to him kept, or no, communion with the Roman Church. Had Satyrus thus been cast in our days upon the shores of England or Ireland, he certainly would have rejected the ministry of the Establishment-bishops, who claim their rights upon the pretended grounds just rehearsed, and would have admitted the bishop, or vicar, or priest, who could alone have answered affirmatively to his one simple question. Another instance of the application of this easy test, we have in the life of St. Fulgentius written by his disciple. As he was proceeding to the deserts of Thebais, to study virtue from its celebrated anchorites, the Bishop Eulalius thus addressed him: “You do right thus to aim at per-

* “Advocavit ad se episcopum, nec ullam veram putavit, nisi veræ fidei gratiam: percentatusque ex eo est, utrumnam cum Episcopis Catholicis, hoc est cum Romana Ecclesia conveniret.” De obitu Satyri Fratria.

section ; but you know, that without faith it is impossible to please God. The countries which you desire to visit, a perfidious dissension has separated from the communion of the B. Peter ; all those monks, whose wonderful abstinence is celebrated, have not the sacrament of the altar in communion with you. . . . Return, my son, lest, for the sake of perfection of life, you incur danger of right faith.* Thus we see, how, even in Egypt, communion with the see of Rome was at once a sufficient test of orthodoxy and participation in the communion of the Catholic Church. It is hardly necessary for us to cite the well-known words of St. Jerome, who, by the same process, resolves the complications of a manifold schism, and decides who is right. "Hinc in tres partes divisa Ecclesia ad se rapere me festinat. . . . Ego interim clamito: si quis Cathedræ Petri jungitur meus est: Meletius, Vitalis, et Paulinus tibi" (the pope), "hæreræ se dicunt; possem credere si hoc unus assereret: nunc autem duo mentiuntur aut omnes." "Hence the Church, divided into three parts, strives to drag me, each to itself. . . . In the meantime, I cry out, If any one is joined to the Chair of Peter, he is mine. Meletius, Vitalis, and Paulinus say that they cleave to you. I might believe it, if one said it; but now two of them, or all three, speak untruly." Epist. tom. iv. 13. Ed. Maur. Nay, so well understood was this rule, that Eusebius gives an instance of its application by a heathen emperor. For when Paul of Samosata, had refused to obey the decree of deposition pronounced against him by the Council of Antioch, or yield his see to Domnus, the case being referred to Aurelian, he decided that he should be held the true bishop, who had letters (of communion) from the bishop of Rome.†

4. This principle, however, was not merely adopted for convenience of application, as affording a rule, which rude and unenlightened minds could apply, but it was followed by the highest dignitaries of the Church on the most solemn occasions. The Council of Constantinople, under the patriarch Mennas, lays down this rule: "We follow and obey the apostolic see; and those who are in communion with it, we hold in communion; those whom it condemns we likewise condemn."‡ We have another remarkable declaration of John, patriarch of Constantinople, who, writing to pope Hormisdas, protests that he follows in all things the apostolic see, and preaches all that it has decreed, and therefore hopes to be in one communion with that see, "in which is the entire and perfect solidity of the Christian religion." Should any one assert that this is said only under the circumstance of the pope's being at that time acknowledged orthodox by the rest of the Church, and does not contain the maintenance of a principle applicable to all possible cases,

* "Recta facis cupiens meliora sectari; sed scis quoniam Deo sine fide impossibile est placere. Terras ad quas pergere concupiscis a communione B. Petri perfida dissensio separavit; omnes illi monachi quorum prædicatur admirabilis abstinence, non habent tecum altaris sacramenta communia . . . Revertere, fili, ne vitæ melioris intuitu periculum rectæ fidei patiaris."—Apud Bolland. 1 Jan. cap. 12.

† Ap. Euseb. H. E. Lib. vii. cap. 30.

‡ Ἡμεῖς γὰρ . . . τῷ ἀποστολικῷ θρόνῳ ἐξακολουθοῦμεν τε, καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς κοινωνικοὺς αὐτοῦ κοινωνικοὺς ἔχομεν, καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατακριθέντας καὶ ἡμεῖς κατακρίνομεν. Labbe Conc. Tom. v. col. 92.

we beg him to attend to the words which immediately follow: "Promising for the future, that whoever are separated from the communion of the Catholic Church, THAT IS WHO CONSENT NOT IN ALL THINGS WITH THE APOSTOLIC SEE, their names shall not be recited in the sacred mysteries,"* the ordinary mark of communion. This at once excludes all idea of the possibility of the see of Rome, or those in unity with it, being considered heretics or schismatics, as the *Tracts for the Times*, professing to deliver the doctrines of antiquity, would pretend is now the case. As I have mentioned this great pope, I cannot help turning the reader's attention to another letter, from the bishop of Nicopolis, to him, in which he holds even stronger language. But as it refers more to the jurisdiction of the pontiffs over the entire world, and to their infallible authority in teaching, than to the necessity of union with them, I will only refer to it in general terms.† St. Gregory the Great has preserved the formulary signed by bishops reclaimed from schism. "I, Bishop . . . willingly and spontaneously have, by the divine grace, returned to the unity of the apostolic see; and . . . I pledge myself, under pain of forfeiture of my order, and under the penalty of anathema I promise to thee, and through thee to St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, and to his vicar, the blessed Gregory, or his successors, never to return to the schism . . . but always to remain in the unity of the Holy Catholic Church, and the communion of the Roman pontiff."‡

We have thus seen the two grounds on which the ancient Church mainly supported an accusation of schism; the two rules which it gave to the faithful for deciding when they were to continue in communion with a body of Christians, however great and however national, who claimed their obedience or their communion. They had not to perplex themselves with doctrinal points, or controversial subtleties—they had simply to ascertain, *first*, whether or no these were held in communion by the rest of the Church, that is by the aggregate of Churches dispersed over the world; and, *secondly*, whether they adhered to the apostolic Roman see. Wherever they found these two conditions verified, there they were to join themselves; wherever they existed not, there was schism, and they were to have no part with those that formed it.§ Now let us apply these two tests to the Anglican Church. In a former tract,

* "In qua est integra Christianæ religionis et perfecta soliditas . . . Promittentes in sequenti tempore, sequestratos a communione Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, id est in omnibus non consentientes sedi Apostolicæ, eorum nomina inter sacra non esse recitanda mysteria." Ibid. tom. iv. col. 1487.

† Ibid. col. 1438.

~ ‡ "Ego Episcopus . . . prona et spontanea voluntate ad unitatem Sedis apostolicæ, divina gratia duce, reversus sum . . . Et sub mei ordinis casu spondeo, et anathematis obligatione, atque promitto tibi, et per te S. Patri Apostolorum Principi, atque ejus Vicario Beatissimo Gregorio, vel successoribus ipsius . . . ad schisma . . . nunquam reversurum, sed semper me in unitate S. Ecclesiæ Catholicæ et communione Romani Pontificis permansurum." S. Gregorii M. Opera, tom. ii. p. 1300, ed. Maur.

§ There is an interesting passage in St. Augustine, too long to quote (Cont. Lit. Petil. Lib. ii. cap. 125), in which he unites the two criterions of the Roman and the universal Church's communion, observing that the Church founded upon a rock, is not by reason of this foundation confined to one place, but is spread all over the world.

I proved, that it can shew no communion with the rest of the Christian episcopal world, even taking those criterions of communion which its own approved divines have laid down. And as to the second condition, that of communion with the Roman see, I think there can be no hesitation what to decide, inasmuch as, by a formal act, the English Church, in 1534, disavowed all dependence upon it, and from that moment ceased to communicate with it. Certain it is, that *de facto* that Church has, since that time (excepting the reign of Mary,) held no unity or communication with either Rome or the rest of the Catholic world. And this has nothing to do with the question of doctrine, or any enquiry as to whether the body of the Catholic Church deviated from true faith at Trent, and rendered it imperative then to separate from it; an idea, however, incompatible with what we have already seen above, and much that I could add. For, the separation from unity took place before this, and had no reference to doctrine, farther than the exclusion of the supremacy on Scriptural grounds. The Anglican Church, therefore, spontaneously constituted itself in a state of schism.

At the outset of this tract, I assumed, as a point on which our principal adversaries would agree with us, that a Church, or portion of a Church, thus constituted in schism, however valid its ordination, could have no part in the apostolical succession. For the satisfaction, however of such readers as may not be so well versed in ecclesiastical antiquities, I will now say a few words on the subject.

1. Schism is pronounced by the fathers a dreadful sin, whether in a Church or in individuals, who knowingly persevere in it. St. Augustine thus writes of it: "Quod autem vos a totius orbis communione separatim videmus (quod scelus et maximum, et manifestum, et omnium vestrum est) si exaggerare velim, tempus me citius quam verba deficient." "That you should be found separated from the communion of the entire world (which is a wickedness most grievous, manifest, and chargeable on you all), if I wished to show its aggravation, time would fail me before words." Cont. Lit. Petil. Lib. ii. cap. 8. On another occasion, he calls it "sacrilegium schismatis quod omnia scelera supergraditur." "The sacrilege of schism which transcends all crimes." Cont. Epist. Parmen. Lib. i. cap. 4. St. Fulgentius, in the strongest terms, excludes all schismatics from eternal salvation.*

2. Farther, they do not admit a possible case that can justify such separation: as they consider the evil done to the Church by schism sufficient to counterbalance any imaginary good to be gained, and equal to any real or imaginary evil to be thereby avoided. St. Irenæus says, that such persons swallow a camel while they strain at a gnat, "for no correction can be made by them equal to the bane of schism."† St. Augustine, speaking of converts made by the Donatists from heathenism, employs this severe language: "Itaque illos quos sanant

* "Firmissime tene et nullatenus dubites hæreticos atque schismaticos, qui extra Ecclesiam Catholicam præsentem finiunt vitam, in ignem æternum ituros." De Fide ad Pet. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Tom. ix. p. 82, ed. Paris.

† "Nulla enim ab eis potest fieri tanta correctio, quanta est schismatis perniciæ." Lib. iv. cap. 3.

a vulnere idolatriæ, gravius feriunt vulnere schismatis." "Therefore those whom they cure of the wound of idolatry, they more grievously strike with the wound of schism." De Baptismo cont. Donat. Lib. i. cap. 8. We refrain from farther quotations, which we could multiply to any extent.

3. Though the valid exercise of the sacramental power was allowed to such schismatics as preserved the lawful forms, yet its legitimate exercise was never acknowledged. St. Augustine makes the distinction respecting baptism: "Item alia duo dicimus, esse apud Donatistas, baptismum, non autem illic recte accipi." "Likewise two other things we say are among the Donatists; baptism, but that it is not there rightly received." *Ibid.* cap. 3. He had just said that in the Catholic Church, "et esse baptismum, et illic tantum recte accipi." And, on another occasion, he says, of the same sacrament, that, in his opinion, when given under certain circumstances (not then cleared up by a general council), the sacrament would be valid, but "not profitable to life eternal, so long as they remained separated from the Catholic Church."* Now, the same father repeatedly compares the sacrament of orders with that of baptism, illustrating the latter from the former; so that the same distinction between validity and lawfulness of exercise must be admitted. For instance, "Nam sicut redeuntes, qui priusquam recederent baptizati sunt non rebaptizantur; ita redeuntes, qui priusquam recederent ordinati sunt, non utique rursus ordinantur, sed aut administrant quod administrabant, si hoc ecclesiæ utilitas postulat, aut si non administrant, SACRAMENTUM ordinationis tamen gerunt . . . Nam neque SACRAMENTUM baptismi, nec SACRAMENTUM DANDI BAPTISMI . . . Felicianus amisit." "For, as those that return, who, before they separated, had been baptized, are not rebaptized, so they that return, who before they separated had been ordained, are not again ordained, but either resume the ministry they had before, if the service of the Church require it, or if they minister not, yet bear the sacrament of orders. For neither the sacrament of baptism, nor the sacrament of giving baptism, did Felicianus . . . lose." *Ibid.* Lib. vii. cap. 2. Ordination, here pronounced a sacrament (contrary to the doctrine of the Anglican Church), is put on the same footing with baptism, in reference to the effects exercised on it by schism, and therefore, however validly, cannot be lawfully or profitably conferred in a Church separated from the unity of faith and religious communion. There is another passage, still more beautiful, that illustrates the doctrine of baptism by that of order and other sacraments, which I cannot forbear quoting, on account of its likewise contradicting the Anglican, and confirming the Catholic, doctrine of the sacraments. It is the following: "Si ergo ad hoc valet quod dictum est in Evangelio, 'Deus peccatorem non audit,' ut per peccatorem sacramenta non celebrentur; quomodo exaudit homicidam deprecantem vel super aquam baptismi, vel super oleum, vel super Eucharistiam, vel super capita eorum quibus manus imponitur? Quæ omnia tamen et fiunt et valent etiam per homicidas . . . etiam in ipsa intus Ecclesia. 'Cum nemo dare possit quod non habet,' quomodo dat homicida Spiritum Sanctum?" "If, therefore, what is said in the Gospe!

* "Quamquam eis ad vitam æternam non prodesset, si charitate caruissent qua Catholicæ insererentur Ecclesiæ." *Ibid.* Lib. vii. cap. 53.

that 'God hears not sinners' have this force, that a *sacrament* cannot be conferred by a sinner, how does he hear a murderer" (one devoid of charity, as the Father explains it) "praying either over the water of baptism, or over the oil" (confirmation) "or over the Eucharist, or over the heads of those on whom he lays hands" (orders)? "All which, however, are done, and are validly done even by murderers . . . even within the Church itself. Since no one can give that which he has not, *how can a murderer give the Holy Ghost?*" *Ibid.* Lib. v. cap. 20. From which I draw two conclusions opposed to the doctrines of the Tracts, first, that order, as well as confirmation, is a true sacrament, that gives the Holy Ghost; secondly, that it has a form of words, and does not differ from the true sacrament, by consisting only in the imposition of hands.* The distinction, therefore, holds good between the valid and the lawful exercise and bestowing of orders; so that the former may exist in a schismatical Church; the latter *never can*.

4. Hence, St. Augustine has no hesitation in addressing the following strong language to the Donatist bishops: "If you ask me by what fruits we know you to be rather ravenous wolves, I object to you the crime of schism; which you will deny, but I will instantly prove; for you do not communicate with other nations, and with the Churches founded by the labour of the apostles."†

5. In fine, upon the return of any Donatist bishop to the unity of faith, the Church sufficiently showed how far it was from admitting any right in him to a place in the apostolical succession. The third Council of Carthage, in 397, decreed as follows: First, that what had been decreed in preceding councils be confirmed, "ne quis Donatistarum cum honore suo recipiatur sed in numero laicorum;" secondly, that an exception be made in favour of those who had never rebaptized, or who came over to the Catholic communion with their flocks. Thirdly, it was deemed advisable that this decree should not be finally confirmed till the judgment of the transmarine or Italian Church had been obtained.‡ This was similar treatment to that of the Meletians and Novatians, mentioned in my former Tract.§

The voice of antiquity is, therefore, clear and loud upon the claims to apostolical succession of any Church involved in schism, that is, which is not in communion with other Churches, and especially with that of Rome. Implicated in a crime which no possible circumstances can justify; exercising their functions, even when validly, still without profit to

* Cf. Tract, No. i. p. 3, v. 10; and Dr. Pusey's Lett. Tr. vol. iii. p. 11.

† "Si autem a me quæras quibus fructibus vos potius esse lupos rapaces cognoscas, objicio schismatis erimen, quod tu negabis, ego autem statim probabo; neque enim communicas omnibus gentibus, et illis ecclesiis apostolico labore fundatis." Cont. Litteras Petil. Lib. ii. cap. 16.

‡ Labbe, tom. iii. col. 1181. St. Augustine thus speaks of this matter, acknowledging the validity of Donatists' orders,—not because hands are imposed, which the theory of the *Tracts* requires, but because a proper *form* of words was used. "Et de episcopis quidem vel clericis recipiendis, alia quæstio est. Quamvis enim, cum apud vos ordinantur, non super eos invocetur nomen Donati sed Dei, tamen ita auscipiuntur ut videtur paci et utilitati Ecclesiæ convenire." Cont. Cresconium Grammat. Lib. i. cap. 11.

§ Vol. v. p. 289.

the souls of men; styled wolves rather than shepherds; admitted into the Church only as laymen,—can bishops so characterised have been considered by the ancient Church descendants and representatives of the apostles?

My argument ought naturally to close here; but the lessons furnished me by the Donatist schism are not ended. I will, therefore, beg the reader's farther indulgence for several remarkable points of resemblance, not yet noted, between the former schism, and that which unfortunately separates our country from the universal Church.

1. It is singular that, in process of time, there sprung up among the Donatists a High-Church party, the most distinguished of whom seems to have been Ticonius. He saw the absurdity of excluding the numerous Churches dispersed all over the world, from the pale of Christ's true Church, one of whose principal attributes he perceived was universality. This Ticonius demonstrated with great learning and acuteness; but remained blind to the natural consequences to be drawn from his views, namely, that his own Church was schismatical, and that it was his individual duty to abandon it, and become a Catholic. His fellow-churchmen, however, saw this—the Faussetts and Shuttleworths of their day—they were aware that his principles, pushed to their legitimate consequences, would necessarily lead to the abandoning of *Africanism*, and the embracing of Catholicity. Parmenianus was the champion, who undertook to chastise the audacity of this reformer; and not content with writing a letter or pamphlet against him, he had him condemned by a council of his Church. Parmenianus seriously warns him of the danger of maintaining, as he did, that foreign Churches, in communion with Rome, formed part of the true Church of Christ. The Catholics, however, were not slow to step in between the disputants; and giving due commendation to the learning and good intentions of Ticonius, took proper advantage of the truth he had discovered. St. Augustine placed the shield of his vast genius over him, and defended him against Parmenianus.*

2. The High-Church divines in England maintain that the Irish and English Catholics are schismatics, because they "separate themselves from the Anglican Church, and make congregations contrary to their canonical bishops."† The answer to this assertion resolves itself into the enquiry, whether one is bound to prefer the communion of the universal Church out of one's own country, to that of bishops in it, (all questions of doctrine being left aside), who are not in that communion. This is a case particularly applicable to Portugal at this moment, as it was to England at the time of the Reformation, more than now. Well, St. Augustine seems to have had no doubt on the subject. He observes that Ticonius did not perceive the true consequence of his own principles;—but we must give the holy Father's own words: "Non vidit quod consequenter videndum fuit, illos videlicet in Africa Christianos pertinere ad Ecclesiam toto orbe diffusam, qui utique non istis ab ejusdem orbis communione atque unitate sejunctis, sed ipsi orbi ter-

* Cont. Epist. Parmen. Lib. i. cap. 1.

† "British Critic," No. xl. p. 435. "Dub. Rev.," vol. iii. p. 73.

rarum per communionem connecterentur. Parmenianus autem cæterique Donatistæ viderunt hoc esse consequens." "He did not see what as a consequence he should have seen, that those Christians in Africa belonged to the church spread over the whole world, who, indeed, were not connected with those, who were separated from the communion and unity of that world, but were united by communion with the world itself. Parmenianus and the other Donatists saw this consequence." *Ibid.* It is therefore our duty to preserve communion with the general Catholic Church, rather than with the particular church of our country, when that has separated itself from that communion.

3. The writers in the Tracts for the Times, seeing how the argument which they make against English Catholics can be well retorted against French Protestants, are anxious not to introduce into the controversy at home the question of foreign Catholics and separatists from them.* I observe a similar solicitude in the Donatists of old. Emeritus, one of their bishops, thus expresses this feeling at the conference of Carthage: "Intelligit præstantia tua nihil nobis de peregrinis, nihil nobis de longe positis præjudicare posse, cum inter Afros hoc negotium ventiletur." "Your Excellency understands, that nothing from strangers, nothing from persons living far off, can prejudice us, since this cause is between Africans." *Gesta Collat. Dies 3, No. 99, ad Calc. op. S. Opt.*

4. The same Tracts consider the Catholic bishops as intruders, because sent where there were already bishops in quiet and legitimate possession.† The same complaint was made by the Donatists, that the Catholics sent bishops into dioceses in their possession; which proves, that the Catholics then believed themselves to have the same rights as they have later exercised. Petilianus complains, that in the diocese of Milevis, they had erected three new bishoprics, and that in his own, Delphinus had been appointed in opposition.‡ At the same time, the Catholics severely reprov'd the Donatists for appointing one of their bishops to a see where there was already one in communion with the rest of the church beyond the seas.§ This will apply to the Irish Protestant hierarchy, as the former principle will to the English. In the canonical code of the African Church, we have a decree of a provincial council that, dating from a certain period, the Catholic bishops had to claim jurisdiction over the dioceses held by the Donatists, whether converted to unity, or not.|| This shows, in how little esteem was held a bishop's authority, who communicated not with the rest of the church.

5. We have been struck how the Donatists, while they did not relish this name, had no objection to the national appellation of *Africans*, the *African Church*, which is consequently often applied to their party by the Fathers, without any offensive meaning: at the same time that the latter gloried in bearing no other appellation but that of *Catholic*. In like manner, the denomination Anglican, is assumed by our High-Church-

* Tract 4, p. 6. "Neither do we desire to pass any sentence upon persons of other countries."

† Tract 35. ‡ *Gesta Collat. Dies 1. Ubi sup. p. 258.*

§ St. Aug. contra Epist. Parmen. lib. i. cap. 3.

Integer Codex Canonum Eccl. Afric. ap. Labbe tom. iii. col. 1116.

No. 5.

men, and we willingly accora it; at the same time, we repudiate every designation, save that of *Catholic*.

6. In fine, as from the great Donatist church we have seen how many dissenting sects sprang up, and have therein traced no small resemblance to the fate of the Anglican, so have we a counterpart to our conduct towards this, in the conduct of the Fathers towards the former. For, the great body of the Donatists immediately treated those separatists as schismatics, and severely denounced against them the penalties of schism, precisely as the Tract-writers deal with dissenters from the Anglican church.* St. Augustine thus retorts upon the Donatists what they said of their separatists: "Cui enim unquam schismatico suo pepercerunt, qui sibi ab orbe terrarum, cujus ipsi schismatici sunt, nimis impudenter parci volunt? cum a vera sola ipsa unitate iustissime schismata puniantur, si eo modo ista punienda sunt." "For what schismatic from themselves did they ever spare,—they who too impudently wish to be spared by the entire world, from which they are schismatics? whereas, only by the true unity, schisms are most justly punished, if, indeed, they are to be punished in that manner,"—that is, by appeal to the civil power, which this Father strongly blames in them.† This is a severe retort, but not more severe than we have a right to make in our days. The Council of Carthage, seeing the advantage which this argument gave the Catholics, decreed, that envoys should be sent among the Donatists, expressly to inculcate it; since, 'by it is demonstrated, if they will but attend to it, that it was as wicked for them to be then cut off from the unity of the Church, as they now cry out that it was wicked in the Maximianists to make a schism from them.‡ For Maximianists, read Wesleyans, or Quakers, and you have an exact answer to the complaints in the Tracts. On another occasion, writing to some Donatists, he bids them contrast the great body of bishops from which they separated, with the small number from which *their* schismatics departed. "Multum quidem interest et incomparabiliter distat vel auctoritate vel numero Africana Ecclesia, (observe the name) "si cum ceteris orbis partibus conferatur; et longè minor est, *etiamsi unitas hic esset*, longe omnino minor est comparata ceteris christianis omnibus gentibus, quam pars Maximiani comparata parti Primiani." "There is much difference and an incomparable distance in number or authority between the African Church, and the remaining parts of the world: and it is far smaller—*supposing unity to exist in it*—it is, indeed, far smaller, compared with all other Christian nations, than the party of Maximianus is, compared to that of Primianus." Epist. xliii. ol. cxlii. cap. 9. Here is an argument well fashioned to our hand to be wielded at pleasure against the arrogant pretensions of the Anglican High-Churchmen, when they on the one hand charge

* See Tracts 2, p. 3; 4, p. 5; and 29.

† This constant eagerness for the exclusive support of the civil magistrate, might have formed another point of contrast between the African and Anglican churches. Ubi sup. lib. ii. cap. 13.

‡ "Ubi eis demonstratur, si attendere velint, tam inique tunc illos ab Ecclesiæ unitate præcisos, quam inique nunc clamant a se Maximianistas schisma fecisse." Conc. Carthag. Africæ univ. ad Calc. S. Opt. p. 211.

others with the mote of schism from a national church, seeing not the beam of schism from the universal church, which fearfully presses on their own cause. Truly, if we would but fill our quiver from the armoury of the Fathers, we should find no difficulty in piercing any mail of proof in which our adversaries may think proper to encase themselves. There is not an argument, a cavil, which they can use, that will not be found answered by anticipation, in the writings of the venerable lights of the ancient Church. Hence, I augur results most favourable to the cause of truth, from the publication of the Fathers, in a form accessible to ordinary readers.

There is one view of the apostolical succession, taken by the authors of the Tracts, which I most cordially admit, because conformable to the doctrine of antiquity. It is that explained in the fifty-fourth Tract, p. 4, in these words: "How had the right interpretation of Scripture been preserved in each of those places?" (Rome, Corinth, &c.) "By the succession of bishops, each in turn handing over to the bishop that followed him what he had himself learned of his predecessors. Thus, it appears that the apostolical succession, where it exists, is a guarantee to the faithful, that the same doctrine is taught which has been taught from the beginning. Now, if we apply this test to the Anglican Church, how certainly it must fail! For it is as clear as noon-day, that the bishops after the so-called Reformation, taught the doctrine *opposite* to that of their immediate predecessors. Cranmer, for instance, blasphemed Transubstantiation under Edward, which had been taught in his see till his time. Where, then, is that evidence of such succession, which perseverance in the same doctrine ought to afford.

TRACT 20.

[PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE CATHOLIC
INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN.]

THE
HIGH-CHURCH CLAIMS:
OR, A SERIES OF PAPERS

ON
THE OXFORD CONTROVERSY, THE HIGH-CHURCH THEORY
OF DOGMATICAL AUTHORITY, ANGLICAN CLAIM
TO APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION, &c.

BY NICHOLAS WISEMAN, D.D.

N^o. 6.

OCCASIONED BY THE PUBLICATION OF THE "REMAINS
OF THE LATE REV. H. FROUDE, M.A."

(From the "Dublin Review.")



[Stereotyped for the Catholic Institute of Great Britain.]

LONDON:

Sold by all Catholic Booksellers, price One Penny, or Five Shillings
per Hundred for gratuitous distribution

C. RICHARDS, PRINTER, ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

TRACT No. 6.

OCCASIONED BY THE PUBLICATION OF THE "REMAINS
OF THE LATE REV. R. H. FROUDE, M.A."

It is not often that the leaders of opinions let the public into a view of their secret counsels and feelings; but when they do, we think it does credit to the uprightness and sincerity of their intentions. It shows that they wish us to be acquainted with the secret springs of their actions, and even to peer behind the veil which generally conceals the man from our sight, while we are viewing only his productions. Nay, the more unreservedly the human weaknesses of the individuals are revealed, and the more the feeling is expressed, that with their exposure, or in spite of it, their cause will succeed, the more highly we shall estimate their confidence in the correctness of their views, and the disinterestedness of their zeal in propagating them. These reflections have suggested themselves, by the perusal of Mr. Froude's *Remains*. He was, while living, one of the most enthusiastic members of the theological school, from which the *Tracts for the Times* have emanated. He died in 1836, having attained only the age of thirty-three; and was thus prevented from arriving at that full maturity of religious ideas which was evidently preparing in his mind, and bearing him onward towards the perception of many Catholic truths. His surviving friends have thought it expedient to collect his *Remains*, and give them to the world in two volumes. As the second of these consists principally of sermons, in which, though there is much to commend, there is nothing sufficiently interesting to detain the reader, I will confine myself entirely to the first, which contains his journals, private thoughts, and letters to friends.

A preface of twenty-two pages betrays the editors' anxiety to repel a twofold charge; one against themselves, the other against their deceased friend. In the first place, they seem to fear lest considerable censure may be cast upon them for the publication of Mr. Froude's crude theories, and trival self-accusations, as something approaching to a sacrilegious violation of the rights of friendship. I am not disposed to take part either among the reprovers, or among the applauders of the act: I cannot but feel that I should have scarcely ventured to deal as they have done, with any one who had tranquilly looked up to me with a confiding heart, and the peace of whose memory I should have wished to consult. When one whose noble and public proofs of great virtue far outweigh the errors of youth, or whose public reputation makes his example, when evil, a warning, and when repentant, a reparation and an encouragement;—when one, in short, like St. Augustine, boldly, but humbly, reveals to the eyes of the Church the wretchedness of his early sinful life, we admire in awe the strange manifestation of a sublime spirit of Christian virtue, and we bless the Divine wisdom that hath caused it to be vouchsafed to us. But the struggles of one who has not compensated his weaknesses by any noble results; who

withdraws from our sight a combatant, and not a victor; who only presents us the spectacle of a frail nature, such as we all may have, wrestling with daily and anxious trials, and not overcoming them; these, too, not spontaneously exhibited, but transferred from the closet to the public arena, have neither the grandeur nor the instruction of the other lesson. Still, there may be reasons unknown to me, who am not in the secrets of the party, to justify, certainly in their own eyes, this sacrifice of private feeling to a sense of public utility. Some, the editors have given in the preface (pp. vi.—ix.), and it is for the public to judge of them;—I think, in fact, that they would have materially strengthened their reasoning by the following passage in his Letters to Friends:

“There was a passage in a letter I have just received from my father, that made me feel so infinitely dismal, that I must write to you about it. He says you have written to him to learn something about me, and to ask what to do with my money. *It really made me feel as if I was dead, and you were sweeping up my remains; and, by the by, if I was dead, why should I be cut off from the privilege of helping on the good cause?* I don't know what money I have left—little enough, I suspect; but, whatever it was, I am superstitious enough to think that any good it could do *in honorem ‘Dei et sacrosanctæ matris ecclesiæ.’* would have done something too *in salutem animæ meæ.*”—vol. i. p. 388.

From these words, it appears that the author did contemplate his power of doing good to the cause wherein he was so ardently engaged, even after his death.

The censure upon their friend, which the editors foresee, is that which forms their bugbear in all their theological researches,—that of approaching too near the Catholic, or, as they call it, Romanist doctrines. They are therefore careful to distinguish between two meanings attached to the term: “either a predilection for the actual system of the Church of Rome, as distinguished from other parts of Christendom, and particularly for the English Church,* or an overweening value for outward religion, for sacraments, Church polity, public worship, &c.” (p. x.) With the first definition of Romanism in view, the editors proceed to prove that Mr. Froude could not have this laid to his charge. To this I assent. That there must have unfortunately been some barrier between him and the Catholic Church, every one will imagine, who knows that he died without its pale. But I must express my conviction, that the editors have not done much credit to their friend by the manner in which they have thought it right to shield his memory from the charge. It consists in a careful collection of some of the most hasty, unhandsome, and decidedly unreasonable, judgments and opinions of the author, respecting chiefly what he saw in his travels. I consider the dilemma worth illustrating, that either they were so much at a loss for a set-off against his noble avowal of many Catholic truths, that they must be content with the worst specimens of his reasoning powers, or

* If the reprehensible system, misnamed by these gentlemen Romanism, consist of all those parts of the Catholic religion which differ from the English Church, how comes it that so many of its practices, disciplines, and even dogmas, are objects of envy and covetous desire to these very writers and their friend Mr. Froude?

else that the wall of separation between him and the Catholic Church, as well as the cords which bound him to his own sect, were too flimsy and weak, as being mere matters of prejudice and false feeling, to have long resisted the evidence of truth. In either case, he presents a melancholy instance of how small a grain of prepossession is thought sufficient to overbalance a solid weight of good arguments. For instance, take the following proof of the author's not being a Romanist:—

“How whiggery has by degrees taken up all the filth that has been secreted in the fermentation of human thought! Puritanism, Latitudinarianism, Popery, Infidelity; they have it all now, and good luck to them!”—*Pref.* p. xi.

Truly this sentence betrays alienation enough from our religion; but I do not think it does much honour to the writer's good sense, to wedge this between the various brood of the Reformation. Neither is it evidence of more than a political, hot-brained antagonism, rather than of a sober, rational judgment. Again: “I have seen the priest laughing when at the confessional; and, indeed, it is plain that, unless they made light of very gross immorality, three-fourths of the population [of Naples] would be excommunicated.” (p. xiii.) Really, is this passage worthy of being pressed into the editors' service? Had Mr. Froude never witnessed disrespectful behaviour in his own Church? If he ever had, would he have allowed of the generalization to all his establishment, implied in the quotation against our hierarchy? Mr. Froude had no evidence that a confession was actually going on, when he saw the priest at Naples laugh; for persons often go to the confessional to speak to the priest on urgent matters. But I think I have further to complain of the editors, for leaving us to understand, by the form of their quotation, that Mr. Froude witnessed some terrible scenes of gross immorality, involving three-fourths of a population of 300,000 souls. Now I think the sentence which follows the passage quoted, but which in this extract is prudently concealed under a few unmeaning dots, would have at once opened the eyes of the sensible reader to the character of the scenes of gross immorality intimated; scenes in which, perhaps, he has himself joined, without being conscious that he ought to be excommunicated. The hiatus should be supplied as follows:—“I think people are injudicious who talk against the Roman Catholics for worshipping saints, and honouring the Virgin, images, &c.: these things may be idolatrous—I cannot make up my mind about it; but, to my mind, *it is the carnival*, which is real, practical idolatry; as it is written, ‘the people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play.’” (p. 294.) We might ask, are all the English who frequent a fair, or a theatre, or a ball, to be accounted idolaters? Why not, if the poor Neapolitans are, for their carnival sports? In fine, before he left Naples, he corrected what he had so unreflectingly written concerning the character of the priests, saying that he “could not be quite confident of his information, as it affected them.” I think not; and farther acquaintance with them, or inquiries concerning them, would have still further diminished his confidence in it. He even owns that his opinion concerning the idolatry of the Italians is an opinion grounded upon “a generalization, for which he has not sufficient data.” (p. xiv.)

I think I am justified in saying that proofs of Mr. Froude's disinclination to Catholicity must have been very scarce, to have led the editors to bring together these superficial observations, made during a brief residence in a Catholic city, not generally reputed the most edifying in its conduct. These, however, will not bear comparison with the growing and expanding tendency of his mind towards everything Catholic; and I cannot help feeling, as I peruse his later declarations, that the passages brought so prominently forward by his editors, would have been among those which, dying, he would have wished to blot. My readers shall soon judge for themselves.

The "Extracts from Journal" present us a picture, at once pleasing and distressing, of a mind yearning after interior perfection, yet at a loss about the means of attaining it; embarked on an ocean of good desires, but without stars or compass by which to steer its course. The minute scrutiny into the motives of his actions, the distress occasioned by discovering his relapses into faults which most would overlook, show a sensitiveness of conscience in the youthful writer, far more honourable to him, and far more interesting to us, than abilities of a much higher order than what he really possessed, could ever have appeared. There are passages in the Journals which will come home to the inward experience of any one that has looked narrowly into the more mysterious workings of his own mind, and sought to unravel that maze of apparently conflicting influences which seem to impel him towards a single action, leaving him afterwards in sad perplexity which of them it was that moved him to it, or gave colour and character thereto. How far it may be advisable to commit to paper, even for personal benefit, these investigations of our most secret tribunal, we may have considerable doubt; and instructive as is their record in the case before us, in nothing is it more so than in the proof it gives us of the necessity of guidance for the conscience and heart, such as the institutions of the Catholic Church alone provide. In the account which he gives of his own infirmities, of his almost fruitless attempts to subdue them, and of the pain and anxiety produced by his solitary struggles, he presents a picture familiar to the experienced eye of any spiritual director in our Church, and a state fully described and prescribed for by the numerous writers whom we possess, upon the inward life, and the direction of consciences. Many are they who are tossed in the same billows of secret tribulation, many are they who are bewildered in the same mazes of mental perplexity; but they have not at least the additional horrors of darkness and night. Ere they can sink, a hand is stretched out, if they will only grasp it. The troubles and trials which haunt minds constituted like Mr. Froude's, many a skilful guide would have shown him to be mere illusory phantoms, that only serve to turn the attention away from serious dangers, or from solid good,—snares cast, by a restlessness of spirit, upon the path, to entangle the feet that tread it.

In fact, we miss throughout these Journals those higher thoughts, and those more vigorous springs of action, which might have been naturally expected in one determined to attain, even by extraordinary efforts, a sublimer degree of virtue. When we read the lives of our great saints, we see a certain proportion kept between the progress of

their interior perfection, and the rigour of their austerities. It is only in extraordinary cases, that the first steps in a saintly life are marked by penitential severities of a higher order: these are gradually increased with an increasing humility and love of suffering. Moreover, there has ever been a rule and principle to guide them throughout, such as the appointed times and methods prescribed by the Church, the direction of prudent and experienced men, or even a self-imposed, but well-observed method of regular life. But the young man, whose autobiography is presented to us in this volume, seems to have had no idea of proportion, or of definite object, in his austerities. Fasting seems to have been considered as an end, and not a means, and practised for its own sake; or, if intended for the augmentation of some other good gift, there was a mere vague and indefinite notion of its power, without a specific aim, or a sense of the necessity of other and more important spiritual exercises. Hence we find no mention of any steady, regular system of daily meditation, such as has always been practised by all who wish to train themselves up to virtue in our Church, or of daily examination into the state of the conscience, independently of the equivocal plan of registering failings, from time to time, for future perusal. His fasting is without rule or reference to becoming order, unaccompanied by that retirement, and more serious occupation, which should naturally go with it. It was observed on the Sunday (p. 16), contrary to the usages of the ancient Church; and on any other day, subject to the remorse of being broken through at evening, on the temptation of company, or some other unforeseen seduction (p. 42, 49).

He even went beyond these more usual austerities, and attempted those which a prudent director would have forbidden, or would have reserved for a more disciplined state of mind. This will be shown by the following extracts:—

“I was not up till half-past six; slept on the floor, and a nice uncomfortable time I had of it. I had on a mustard plaister, nearly three hours after I returned from Lloyd’s; could not bear it longer: I believe it has answered. Tasted nothing to-day till tea-time; and then only one cup, and dry bread. Somehow, it has not made me at all uneasy.” (p. 30.) “Nov. 12. Felt great reluctance to sleep on the floor last night, and was nearly arguing myself out of it; was not up till half-past six.” (p. 44.)

The consequence of all this irregular and undirected austerity, into which with youthful eagerness he rushed, was, that instead of deriving thence vigour of thought, and closer intimacy with sound spiritual feelings, his spirit, on the contrary, flagged, and at length grew weary, and so fell into that despondency which failure will produce in sensitive minds. This discouragement is visible in many parts of his Journals; for instance:—

“Yet I cannot venture to give myself credit for abstinence, as I found so little difficulty, that, unless my appetite is more subdued than I can suppose, I could not have been hungry. I do not feel any satisfaction in the day; for though I have fasted, I have not turned it to any end for which the fast was instituted. My thoughts have been very wandering. I have been neither able to read nor pray: I could not even fix my mind on Mr. Bonnel’s reflections on that very subject. I have not watched myself close enough to be able to record the weaknesses of this evening, but have a general impression that I have not been what I ought.” (p. 34.)

I broke my fast at tea, of which, however, I allowed myself to make a meal. I deliberately think that it will be better for me to discontinue for a time these voluntary self-denials; I am quite exhausted by them, little as they have been, and feel incapacitated for executing my duties. Very likely, after a short respite, I may return with greater vigour; and I think the impression already made will not go off in a moment. Nov. 18. I have slackened my rules to-day, and let go my dreamy feelings, that have been keeping me up. But as I am, it seems as if I might, not indeed be too penitent, but penitent in a wrong way; abstinences and self-mortifications may themselves be a sort of intemperance; a food to my craving after some sign that I am altering. They ought not to be persevered in, further than as they are instrumental to a change of character in things of real importance; and the lassitude which I have felt lately, is a sign that they will do me no good just for the present. It is curious to see, how, by denying one affection, we gratify another; and how hard it is to keep a pure motive for anything. The sensible way is to watch for our predominant affection, as each gets the uppermost, and give it our chief attention: mine, just now, is impatience at finding myself remain the same, in spite of any difference of conduct I adopt. But, while I give up punishing myself in my eating, I must be very careful not to indulge.—p. 49-50.

The want of direction and counsel, which the Catholic Church so eminently supplies, is evident from his letters. Thus, he writes to Mr. Keble:—"The fact is, that I have been in a very strange way all the summer; and having had no one to talk to about the things which have bothered me, I have been every now and then getting into fits of enthusiasm or despondency." (p. 204.) This will be the inevitable result of the absence of control upon a fervid mind, that seeks after a degree, or rather a character, of excellence, superior to that of others around it. In fact, Mr. Froude discovered that most important principle, that obedience to the ordinances of authority gives the great merit to the first degrees of penitential works, those which belong to ordinary Christians, such, that is, as have not reached the perfection of ascetic life. The same friendly monitor, just referred to, seems to have solemnly undeceived him on this important point. For in 1827, he writes to him as follows:—

"I am glad of your advice about penance, for my spirit was so broken down, that I had no vigour to go on even with the trifling self-denials I had imposed on myself; besides, I feel that, though it has in it the colour of humility, it is in reality the food of pride. Self-imposed, it seems to me quite different from when imposed by the Church; and even fasting itself, to weak minds, is not free from evil, when, however secretly it is done, one cannot avoid the consciousness of being singular."—p. 212.

This it is that forms at once the great merit and the great support of those who profess the monastic institute; and the absence in Protestantism of that strong principle of docility and obedience which the Catholic Church inculcates, is an insuperable bar to the introduction of it among Anglicans, which Mr. Froude and his friends seem to have anxiously desired.

While he seems so taken up, through his Journals, with examination of his fasts and austerities, we miss from his pages those cheerful views of religion which result from confidence and love; from the consciousness of a strong will to do God service, and an humble reliance on His mercy, which will measure that, rather than our success. What

snatches there are of prayer, bear more the character of one sinking under the fatigue of foiled attempts, and troubled with anxiety from hopelessness of success, than of a young and trusting mind, that presses forward to a work it deems glorious,—the work of God and His religion.

But all these faults, which flowed from the religion to which he unfortunately belonged, only beget sympathy in our minds, when reading his ingenuous journals. I see no room for the levity and ridicule with which they have been commented on by some periodicals, nor for the harsh censures of his character, which they have based upon them. I certainly think that his ardent way—more, perhaps, of expressing himself, than of feeling—leads him often to a harsh and reckless manner of speaking of others, that must give an unfavourable impression regarding his character, which I have every reason to believe was amiable and gentle. Still, there are so many fine points about him; so much distrust of himself, blended with no inconsiderable powers of genius; so much independence of thought, coupled with deference to the sentiments of others, whom he esteemed more learned or more virtuous than himself; so much lightness of spirit, united to such seriousness of mind upon religious truths;—in fine, so earnest and sincere a desire to improve and perfect himself, that our feelings lead us to pass lightly over his faults, and dwell with pleasure upon his finer qualities. If I have dilated somewhat upon the former, it has been that I considered them the result of the system to which he was by education attached, and which is alone accountable for them.

As, however, he increased in years, his mind began to open to the defects and wants of that system, and boldly to conceive the necessity of correcting them. In this he ran manifestly before his fellows, and seemed only to have been prevented by his premature death from reaching the goal of Catholic unity, to which we sincerely hope they are tending. Mr. Froude was one of the contributors to the *Tracts for the Times*; but does not seem to have been satisfied with the point at which the principles of that collection stopped short. He evidently saw that consistency of reasoning ought to have carried his friends further than they ventured to go; and I think he was prepared to go to the extreme of logical deductions. But I must methodize my observations.

A symptom, which begins at first more faintly, and then deepens in intensity towards the end of his life, is a disgust for Protestantism and the so-called Reformation. In 1833, we have the following sentiments:—

“Sept. 8. I have been reading a good deal about the Reformation in Queen Elizabeth's time: it is shocking indeed. What do you think of my contemplating *An Apology for the Early Puritans*? I really think they deserve much commiseration. The Episcopalians did not claim ‘*jus divinum*’; indeed, Queen Elizabeth and her party considered her as the origin of ecclesiastical power.”—p. 325.

When at Barbados, whither he went for his health, he applied himself to the study of the older controvertists and Reformers, and certainly in no wise increased his respect for them. Thus he writes in 1834:—

"Imprimis, as to —'s friend, Jewell. He calls the mass 'your cursed paltry service;' laughs at the apostolical succession, both in principle and as a fact; and says that the only succession worth having is the succession of doctrine.* He most distinctly denies the sacrament of the Lord's supper to be a means of grace, as distinguished from a pledge, calling it a 'phantasie of Mr. Harding's.† He says, the only keys of the kingdom of heaven are *instruction* and *correction*,‡ and the only way they open the kingdom is by touching men's consciences; that binding and retaining is preaching that 'God will punish wickedness;' loosing and remitting that 'God will pardon, on repentance and faith;§ justifies Calvin for saying, that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper 'were superfluous,' if we remembered Christ's death enough without it;|| ridicules the consecration of the elements, and indirectly explains that the way the body and blood are verily received, is that they are *received into our remembrance*.¶ I have got chapter and verse for all this, and would send you my extracts, if it was not too much trouble to copy them out. Certainly the Council of Trent had no fair chance of getting at the truth, if they saw no alternative between transubstantiation and Jewellism."—p. 339.

This was in January; in October, his dislike of the godly work of reformation, and its authors, had manifestly increased. For he writes concerning them as follows:—

"As to the Reformers, I think worse and worse of them. Jewell was what you would in these days call an irreverent dissenter. His 'Defence of his Apology' disgusted me more than almost any work I have read. Bishop Hicke and Dr. Brett I see go all lengths with me in this respect, and I believe Laud did. The preface to the *Thirty-nine Articles* was certainly intended to disconnect us from the Reformers."—p. 379.

The following is two months later:—

"When I get your letter, I expect a rowing for my Roman Catholic sentiments. Really I hate the Reformation and the Reformers more and more, and have almost made up my mind that the rationalist spirit they set afloat is the *ψευδοπροφήτης* of the Revelations. I have a theory about the beast, and woman too, which conflicts with yours; but I will not inflict it on you now. I have written nothing for a long time, and only read in a desultory, lounging way; but really it is not out of idleness, for I find that the less I do, the better I am; and so, on principle, resist doing a good deal that I am tempted to."—p. 389.

The subjoined extract will prove his opinion of the worthies in whose honour his own university has been proposing to erect a church.

"Also, why do you praise Ridley?" [in the *Tracts for the Times*, I presume, where he receives the epithet of the *cautious*, in regard to the doctrine of the Eucharist.] "Do you know sufficient good about him to counterbalance the fact that he was the associate of Cranmer, Peter Martyr, and Bucer? N.B. How beautifully the *Edinburgh Review* has shown up Luther, Melancthon, and Co.! What good genius has possessed them to do our dirty work? *Pour moi*, I never mean, if I can help it, to use any phrases even, which can connect me with such a set. I shall never call the Holy Eucharist 'the Lord's supper;' nor God's priests 'ministers of the word;' or the altar 'the Lord's table,' &c. &c.; innocent as such phrases are in themselves, they have been dirtied; a fact of which you seem oblivious on many occasions. Nor shall I even abuse the Roman Catholics, as a *Church*, for anything, except excommunicating us."—p. 394.

* Def. of Apol. p. 120, 123, 139, ed. 1611.

§ Ib. 151.

+ Ib. p. 208.

|| Ib. 152, 155.

‡ Ib. 149, 153.

¶ Ib. 210, 212.

In order to measure the progress which his mind had made in justly appreciating the characters of the Fathers of the Reformation, we may go back to an earlier period than any from which we have quoted, and see the cautious and measured language in which he thought it right to speak of them. The following is from a letter dated Jan. 29, 1832 :—

"I have been very idle lately ; but have taken up Strype now and then, and have not increased my admiration of the Reformers. *One must not speak lightly of a martyr ; so I do not allow my opinions to pass the verge of scepticism.* But I really do feel sceptical whether Latimer was not something in the Bulteel line ; whether the Catholicism of their formulæ was not a concession to the feelings of the nation, with whom Puritanism had not yet become popular, and who could scarcely bear the alterations which were made ; and whether the progress of things in Edward the Sixth's minority may not be considered as the jobbing of a faction. *I will do myself the justice to say, that those doubts give me pain, and that I hope more reading will in some degree dispel them.* As far as I have gone, too, I think better than I was prepared to do of Bonner and Gardiner. Certainly the *ἥθος* of the Reformation is to me a *terra incognita* : and I do not think that it has been explored by any one that I have heard talk about it."—p. 251.

We have already seen how far subsequent reading was from dispelling these innocent doubts concerning those men, and how very much more during his language became, when speaking of such *martyrs*.

With the growing dislike, or rather hatred, of the Reformation and its authors, we trace an increasing approach to Catholic truths and practices. General expressions to this effect will be found in the passages already quoted. We may contrast with his sentiments respecting the Reformers, his judgment of one of their great opponents : "The person whom I like best of all I have read about, is Cardinal Pole. He seems a hero of an ideal world ; an union of chivalrous and Catholic feeling, like one hopes to find people, before one reads about them." (p. 254.) The following passage will show how disposed he had become, in 1834, to judge favourably of Catholic practices, even when not clearly discoverable in the writings of the early ages, and to cast the burthen of disproving them upon others, rather than call us for evidence.

"You will be shocked at my avowal, that I am every day becoming a less and less loyal son of the Reformation. It seems to me plain, that, in all matters that seem to us indifferent, or even doubtful, we should conform our practices to those of the Church, which has preserved its traditional practices unbroken. We cannot know about any seemingly indifferent practice of the Church of Rome, that it is not a development of the apostolic *ἥθος* ; and it is to no purpose to say that we can find no proof of it in the writings of the six first centuries ; they must find a disproof, if they would do anything."—p. 336.

It may be well, however, to examine the progress of his views on specific subjects. And first as to the blessed Eucharist. We find him early desirous of going beyond the timid phraseology of his party, and admitting in the priesthood such power as the Catholic Church alone admits. The following is in 1833 :—

"Sept. 16 — has sent me your resolutions for our association, which I think excellent, only I should like to know why you flinch from saying that the power of making the body and blood of Christ is vested in the successors of the Apostles : it seems to me much simpler, and less open to cavil, than 'continuance, and due application of the sacrament.' "—p. 326.

In another place he supports the use of this phraseology, as applied to the Blessed Sacrament, from the words of Bishop Bull, who writes: "We are not ignorant that the ancient Fathers generally teach that the bread and wine in the Eucharist, by and upon the consecration of them, do become, and *are made*, the body and blood of Christ." (p. 363.) In 1835, he condemns what he calls the Protestant doctrine of the Eucharist in strong terms. These are his words:—

"I am more and more indignant at the Protestant doctrine on the subject of the Eucharist; and think that the principle on which it is founded is as proud, irreverent, and foolish, as that of any heresy, even Socinianism."—p. 391.

Still more, writing to the author of the *Christian Year*, he blames him for denying that Christ is in the hands of the priest or receiver, as well as in his heart.

"Next as to the Christian year. In the [*hymn for the*] fifth of November 'there present in the heart, not in the hands,' &c. How can we possibly know that it is true to say, 'not in the hands?' Also [in the hymn] on the Communion.....you seemed cramped by Protestantism."—p. 403.

These passages show how far prepared he was to outstrip his friends in approximation to Catholic doctrines and Catholic expressions. For when once it is conceded that by the words of consecration bread and wine *are made* the body and blood of Christ; and that in such sort, as that not only is the body present when received, but that it may be actually said to be in the hand of one who holds the sacred species; very little indeed, beyond the acceptance of fitting forms of expression, and terms to embody these doctrines, is wanting for the complete assent to the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist. To these passages we may add other two, in which the Liturgy, or Mass, is spoken of. The first occurs in p. 366, where he says that the Liturgies "are a death-blow to Protestantism, if Palmer is right about their antiquity and independence." The other shows still more clearly his judgment of the Mass, and of the somewhat disparaging manner in which it had been mentioned by his friends. Speaking of some one in Barbados, he says:—

"For a long time he looked on me as a mere sophister; but Perceval conciliated his affections with Palmer's chapter on the Primitive Liturgies; and I verily believe that he would now gladly consent to see our communion service replaced by a good translation of the liturgy of St. Peter; a name which I advise you to substitute, in your notes to —, for the obnoxious phrase 'mass-book.'"—p. 387.

The state of celibacy, and with it the monastic life, seems also to have been an object of his admiration. "It has lately come into my head," he writes, "that the present state of things in England makes an opening for reviving the monastic system. I think of putting the view forward under the title of *Project for reviving Religion in great Towns*. Certainly colleges of unmarried priests (who might, of course, retire to a living, when they could and liked), would be the cheapest possible way of providing effectively for the wants of a large population....

* Mr. Froude seems to have had a practical, no less than a theoretical, admiration of the Breviary; as appears from the request in one of his letters, that his friends would send him out to Barbados "the parts *autumnalis* and *hyemalis* of his Breviary." (p. 365.) I should be curious to know how the recital of this office is performed by those who reject prayers to saints, especially to modern ones.

I must go about the country, to look for the stray sheep of the true fold : there are many about, I am sure ; only that odious Protestantism sticks in people's gizzards." (p. 323.) Would that these sentiments had been expressed by a Catholic, in whose mouth they would have had more consistency and promise ! If an Anglican thinks that England is ripe for the diffusion of the monastic institute, and believes it to be the most efficacious means for reviving religion, how much more may we be allowed to think the same, with whom that mode of life is not an experiment, but a well-trying and already organized system. But, in the latter part of his scheme, I see nothing but what has a thousand times crossed my mind, and been a subject of my earnest desires and meditations. A central college, or community of priests (the distinctive of *unmarried* is unnecessary with us), bound together no longer than health, inclination, or other circumstances, permitted them ; living together under a mild but steady rule ; who should extend their labours over the whole country ; appears to me the most effectual means for diffusing our holy religion where it is not yet well known, and animating it to greater fervour where it is professed. The institute which best embraces all my ideas upon this matter, is the *Oratorio* of St. Philip Neri, which both in Italy and in France has produced so many men eminent for zeal, learning and apostolic spirit. In this institute, secular clergy live together without any bond besides that of voluntary aggregation, and devote themselves to the various duties of preaching and instructing at home and abroad. It seems to possess all the advantages of the admirable institution of St. Vincent of Paul, without those severer restraints, and irrevocable engagements which may deter many from joining it. I speak not only of my own conviction, but the expressed opinion of many more experienced in the missionary life, and the result of long attention to results attained, when I say that a body of clergy devoted to the task of going from town to town, relieving the overworked local clergy of part of their labours, by giving well-prepared and systematic courses of instruction, and arousing the slumbering energies of congregations, in which stronger excitement is required than the voice of ordinary admonition. By this means, I have no doubt that many stray sheep would be brought back to the true fold, and "that odious Protestantism," which "sticks in people's gizzards," be thence salubriously extracted. In France, the saintly American Bishop Flagnet has been visiting several dioceses to preach in favour of the *Œuvre de la Propagation* : and, though his tour has been limited, I have it on authority that it will have had the effect of raising the funds of that beautiful institution from seven hundred thousand to upwards of a million of francs. I have also reason to know that he is bent upon having such a system as we have suggested, of moveable missionaries, established in America, as the only means of propagating the Catholic religion on a great scale. In fact, it is the true *Apostolic* method, first taught by our Lord, when he sent his seventy-two before his face, during his own life-time, and afterwards deputed the twelve to the nations of earth : and subsequently practised by all those who, imitating their example, and copying their virtues, have gone forth to preach the Gospel to those that sit in darkness. It was the plan pursued in our regard, not only to rescue our Saxon fathers from paganism, but, what

is still more in point, for undeceiving the earlier Christians as to the errors of Pelagianism. Difficulties, some suggested by timidity, others by prudence, may, I am aware, be raised against this proposal. Some will fear fanaticism, or excessive zeal; but this will be easily prevented by wholesome regulation, authoritative control, and, still more, by a system of training and preparation, that shall act on the feelings and mind, as well as on the outward forms to be observed. Others will say, where are the instruments, and the means, for such an undertaking? the individuals who will dedicate themselves to the laborious, self-denying duties it will impose, and the funds requisite for conducting it? I answer, let but the word be given, by the authority under whose guidance it must be ever carried on,—let an accordant plan be concerted, giving to all the benefit of such an institution,—and I will engage that no difficulties will be incurred on any of these grounds. There is abundance of zeal and activity in the Catholic body, and especially among its clergy, to insure success to any plan, based upon experience and approved methods, for propagating truth, and combating error. While the Anglicans would have everything to prepare, and even to design, before they could set on foot such a system as Mr. Froude proposes, we *have* much already in train, and should require but little for immediate execution. It would even appear that the Mendicant orders were the favourite scheme of Mr. Froude and his friends.* We defy Protestantism to institute or support them.

I come now to the great doctrine of the *Tracts for the Times*,—ecclesiastical authority, both in matters of jurisdiction and of teaching; and it will be easy to show how evidently dissatisfied Mr. Froude was with the principles and arguments of his party,—of the inconsistency of staying where they were,—and of the logical extension which their arguments would naturally receive. In 1834, he thus writes to his friend Mr. Newman :—

“Does not the Archbishop of Canterbury claim patriarchal authority (*qualem qualem*) over as large a portion of the globe as ever the Bishop of Rome did? and are not the colonial bishops just as much exonerated from their oath of canonical obedience, by proving that there is no universal bishop recognised in Scripture, as ever Cranmer was?”—pp. 339, 340.

This is certainly a just argument, retorted upon his friends. The Archbishop of Canterbury considers himself the primate of the East and West Indian Churches, as well as those of our North American colonies. The arguments whereby the Reformers justified their separation from Rome, would as well disprove this assumed superiority. Our next quotation must be a long one: it is from a letter to Mr. Keble, written in 1835, just a year after the former, and objects to the reasoning of the *Tracts* respecting the Anglican claims to authority in their Church. It will require no commentary from us.

“And first, I shall attack you for the expression, ‘the Church teaches so and so,’ which I observe is in the Tract equivalent to ‘the Prayer-Book, &c., teaches us so and so.’ Now suppose a conscientious layman to inquire on what

* “Your old project about the Mendicant Orders was the sort of thing; though, perhaps, something connected with later times would tell more just at present.” (p. 397.) See also, on celibacy and religious orders, the same page (another letter), and p. 408.

grounds the Prayer-Book, &c., are called the teaching of the Church, how shall we answer him? Shall we tell him that they are embodied in an act of parliament? So is the Spoliation Bill. Shall we tell him that they were formerly enacted by convocation in the reign of Charles II? But what especial claim had this convocation, &c., to monopolise the name and authority of the Church? Shall we tell him that all the clergy assented to them ever since their enactment? But to what interpretation of them have all, or even the major part, of the clergy assented? For if it is the assent of the clergy that makes the Prayer-Book, &c. the teaching of the Church, the Church teaches only that interpretation of them to which all, or at least the majority of the clergy, have assented; and, in order to ascertain this, it will be necessary to inquire, not for what may seem to the inquirer to be their real meaning, but for the meaning which the majority of the clergy have, in fact, attached to them. It will be necessary to poll the Hoadleians, Puritans, and Laudians, and to be determined by most votes. Again, supposing him to have ascertained these, another question occurs: why is the opinion of the English clergy, since the enactment of the Prayer-book, entitled to be called the teaching of the Church, more than that of the clergy of the sixteen previous centuries? or, again, than the clergy of France, Italy, Spain, Russia, &c. &c.? I can see no other [*sic*] claim which the Prayer-Book has on a layman's deference, as the teaching of the Church, which the Breviary and Missal have not in a far greater degree. I know you will snub me for this, and put in lots of *verbiage*, some of which I could anticipate and answer; but it would take too much room, and I dare say you can augur the answers as well as I can the objections.

"Next, the tracts tell a great deal about the clergy 'teaching authoritatively.' Do you think that, on any fair principles of interpretation, the texts which claim authority for the teaching of inspired persons, and those in immediate communication with them, can be applied to the teaching of those who have no access to any source of information which is not equally open to all mankind? Surely, no teaching now-a-days is authoritative in the sense in which the Apostles' was, except that of the bible, nor any in the sense in which Timothy's was, except that of primitive tradition. To find a sense in which the teaching of the modern clergy is authoritative, I confess baffles me. Do you mean, that if his lordship of — taught one way, and Pascal or Robert Nelson another, the former would be entitled to most consideration? or do you give the preference to ordained persons, *ceteris paribus*? The former assertion would be startling; the latter does not come to much."—pp. 401-3.

"And now I will have another go at you, about your rule of faith in *fundamentals*. This is a supposed dialogue between you and the A.

"*Romanist*. I maintain that the doctrine of the Eucharist is a fundamental.—*You*. I deny it.—*R*. Why?—*You*. Because it cannot be proved from Scripture.—*R*. Supposing it granted, do you think that no doctrine is fundamental, which cannot be proved from Scripture?—*You*. Yes.—*R*. Supposing I can show that the early Christians (say of the second and third centuries) regarded the doctrine of the Eucharist as fundamental, should you still say that it was not so, because it cannot be proved from Scripture?—*You*. No; in that case I should admit that it was fundamental; but you cannot show it.—*R*. Then you admit your real reason for denying that this doctrine is fundamental, is not that it is not proved from Scripture, but that it was not held such by the early Christians.—*You*. My reason for denying that it is fundamental, is, that it is not proved from Scripture.—*R*. But, in spite of this reason, you would think it fundamental, if the Fathers thought so; that is, you admit your own reason to be inconclusive: that, even after you had shown that it cannot be proved from Scripture, you would also have to show that the Fathers did not think it fundamental.—*You*. I admit this; but still adhere to my original proposition.—*R*. You have admitted that it is not enough to show that a doctrine *cannot* be proved from Scripture, in order to prove it *not* funda-

mental. Do you think it enough to show that it can be proved from Scripture, in order to prove that it is fundamental?—You. No; I do not think that.—R. Then you have proposed, as a test of fundamentality, one which, being answered, does not prove doctrines fundamental; and not answered, does not prove them not so.

"I will not write any more about this, as I suspect you will skip."—pp. 417-18.

A few days later, he reverts to the subject, in writing to the same friend; for he asks (July 30):—"What does the article mean by 'doctrines necessary to salvation'? No doctrine is necessary to salvation, to those who have not rejected it wilfully; and to those that do reject wilfully, every true doctrine is necessary to salvation." (p. 419.) Two months after this, he returns to his former controversy, and evidently shows his sense of the insufficiency of the grounds on which he and his friends stood regarding authority; for, Sept. 3, he writes thus:—

"As to our controversies, you are now taking fresh ground, without owning, as you ought, that on our first basis I dished you. Of course, if the Fathers maintain 'that nothing not deducible from Scripture ought to be insisted on as terms of communion,' I have nothing more to say. But again, if you allow tradition an interpretative authority, I cannot see what is gained. For surely the doctrines of the priesthood and the Eucharist may be proved from Scripture, interpreted by tradition; and if so, what is to hinder our insisting on them as terms of communion? I don't mean, of course, that this will bear out the Romanists, which is, perhaps, your only point; but it certainly would bear out our party in excommunicating Protestants."—pp. 419-20.

It is evident that his mind was busily engaged with this most important topic; and that every day showed him more and more the perplexity of the views taken by his colleagues, and the necessity of coming to a clearer understanding than they had of the extent of their principles, which, pushed one step farther, would be driven into Catholicity. A letter written to another correspondent, in November following, is evidence of this.

"Nov. 27.....I have been over and over again N[ewman]'s arguments from the Fathers, that tradition, in order to be authoritative, must be in form interpretative, and can get no farther than that it is a convenient reason for [the Church's] tolerating the (I forget which) article. No reason why the Apostles should have confined their oral teaching to comments on Scripture, seems apparent; and why their oral teaching should have been more likely to be corrupted, *semper, ubique, et ab omnibus*."—p. 423.

His mortal course was now, however, drawing to a close; but the last fragment published of his attests how anxiously, how candidly, and how powerfully, his mind was at work with this great subject,—the hinge on which the differences between us and these new divines may be justly said to turn. This piece is a letter, dated Jan. 27, 1836, a month before his death; and as his last illness was of some weeks' duration, this document may be considered his theological testimonial, the last declaration of his yet unbroken mind. It will clearly prove how far he had advanced beyond his fellows, towards the boundary line of Catholic truth. In order the better to understand it, I must refer to the last tract, No. 3, in which I examined the very passages alluded to in the following extract, which had not then come under my observation. I there cited the very example, as Mr. Froude does, of

the Patriarchate of Constantinople, in proof that the patriarchal rights of Churches, even though unjustly acquired, were in course of time respected, and held inviolable. (p. 293.) I also proved the canon of Ephesus, there quoted in defence of the independence of the Anglican Church, to speak only of *new* assumptions of jurisdiction by one bishop or patriarch over sees in which no right had previously been admitted. (p. 295.) The same view I find one of their own most zealous partizans and contributors to have spontaneously taken;—nay, we see him, in the concluding passage of his writings, using severer language to his friend Mr. Newman than I presumed to employ. The following are his words:—

“The other day accidentally put in my way the Tract on the *Apostolical Succession in the English Church*; and it really does seem so very unfair, that I wonder you could, even in the extremity of *οἰκονομία* and *φανατισμός*, have consented to be a party to it. The Patriarchate of Constantinople, as every one knows, was not one ‘from the first;’ but neighbouring churches voluntarily submitted to it in the first instance, and then, by virtue of their oaths, remained its ecclesiastical subjects; and the same argument by which you justify England and Ireland, would justify all those churches in setting up any day for themselves. The obvious meaning of the canon [of Ephesus] is, that patriarchs might not *begin* to exercise authority in churches *hitherto* independent, without their consent.”—pp. 425-6.

After this, what more can we desire in proof of what I asserted at the beginning of this tract, that these *Remains* prove Mr. Froude’s mind to have been gradually discovering more extensive and more accurate views of religious truths and the principles of faith, with such steady and constant growth, as gives us every reason to believe that longer life alone was wanting to see him take the salutary resolve, to embrace the conclusions of his theories to their fullest legitimate extent? While the writings of the new divines seem to represent their theories as perfectly formed, and their views quite fixed, the extracts I have just made show them to be but the shifting and unsettled opinions of men who are yet discovering errors in what they have formerly believed, and seeking farther evidence of what they shall from henceforth hold. My concluding extract shall give fuller evidence of this fact: it is a letter to Mr. Newman, dated All Saint’s Day, 1835.

“Before I finish this, I must enter another protest against your cursing and swearing at the end of — [against the Romanists], as you do. What good can it do?—and I call it uncharitable to an excess. *How mistaken we may ourselves be on many points that are only gradually opening on us!* Surely you should reserve ‘blasphemous,’ ‘impious,’ &c., for denial of the articles of faith.”—p. 422.

With this passage I close Mr. Froude’s *Remains*. Peace be to him! is my parting salutation. The hope which an Ambrose expressed for a Valentinian, who died yet a Catechumen, I willingly will hold of him. His ardent desires were with the truth; his heart was not a stranger to its love. He was one, I firmly believe, whom no sordid views, or fear of men’s tongues, would have deterred from avowing his full convictions, and embracing their consequences, had time and opportunity been vouchsafed him for a longer and closer search. He is another instance of that same mysterious Providence, which guided a Grotius and a Leibnitz to the threshold of truth, but allowed them not the time to step within it, into the hallowed precincts of God’s visible Church.

TRACT 21.

[PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE CATHOLIC
INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN.]

TRACTS FROM THE FATHERS

OF THE

ENGLISH CHURCH.

N^o. 1.

TWO LETTERS OF ALCUIN

ON THE

CONFESSION OF SINS.



[Stereotyped for the Catholic Institute of Great Britain.]

LONDON:

Sold by all Catholic Booksellers, price One Penny, or Five
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CATHOLIC INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN, 14, SOHO SQUARE, LONDON.

Established July 9, 1838.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF ALCUIN.

ALCUIN was born in or about the year 735. From his infancy, as his letters bear witness, he was trained to piety and knowledge by the monks of York; and in the great school which Egbert, subsequently the Archbishop, had founded there, and under the tuition of that eminent man and his successor Ælbert, he learned the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, and the sciences which were taught with great success in that nursery of learning. He made his monastic profession, probably under the rule of St. Benedict, and was ordained deacon. He assisted his masters Egbert and Ælbert in the education of the scholars; and when in 766 the latter was advanced to the archiepiscopal chair, became the superintendent of the school. In 780 he was sent to Rome by Æanbald, the nephew and successor of Ælbert, to receive the pallium for the Archbishop from Pope Hadrian the First,—a pontiff whose virtues he has celebrated, and whom he “recognized as the vicar of the most holy see, and inheritor of the power conferred on St. Peter by Christ.” (Ep. xv. p. 25). On his way home, at the commencement of the following year, he met Charlemagne at Parma, who earnestly desired to detain him to superintend the schools which he was about to establish in his dominions. With the permission of his Archbishop and of the King of Northumbria, he shortly after came to settle in France. Charlemagne welcomed him as a father, confided several monasteries to his care, opened a school in his own palace, and generally assisted, with his family and court, at his lessons. Many similar establishments in abbeys and episcopal palaces were set on foot and promoted by Alcuin. The most distinguished of these was that of St. Martin at Tours. Alcuin was made abbot of this place in 796. He died on the ninth of May 804.—(See Alban Butler's *Saints' Lives*, May 7.)

The version here presented to the reader, is made from the text of Frobenius, prince of the Empire, and abbot of St. Emmeran at Ratisbon, whose valuable edition of all our countryman's works was published in 1777. It may be proper to add, that Alcuin, though he commonly quotes the Scripture according to the Latin vulgate, sometimes gives the sense only and not the precise words. To preserve his application of the Scripture authorities, it has been found necessary to imitate him in this particular; and this will account for the occasional deviations from the phrase of the Doway and Rhemes versions.

I.

[*Ep.* xcvi. *TOM.* I. *p.* 143.]

To his beloved Brethren and Fathers in the Province of Languedoc, the humble servant of the Church of Christ, Albinus,† the Deacon, greeting.*

1. OFTEN have we heard high praise of your wisdom and religion, as well for the holy living of the monks, as for the pious conversation of the laity; the former aspiring to wait on God alone, apart from all tumult of worldly disquiet, the latter being reported as maintaining, by consideration of mind, a pure life amidst worldly occupations. What can be more delightful than this interchange of brotherly love? The one unceasingly assist their countrymen by their daily prayers; the others are eager to sustain their intercessors with the comforts of the present life; mutually imparting to each other the bounteous grace vouchsafed of God. Instructed as we are by your exemplary piety, we beg to be brought to the haven of everlasting rest by the succour of your holy prayers.

2. And as a charitable service on our part, we have been minded to send you an humble letter of ghostly advice, by reason of certain customs which are said to have grown up in your country. For it is reported that none of the laity will make his confession to the priests, whom we believe to have received, with the holy Apostles, from Christ our God,‡ the power of binding and loosing. What does the priest's power loose, if he consider not the bonds of him that is bound? The services of the physician will be at an end, if the sick discover not their wounds. If the wounds of the body require the treatment of the bodily physician, how much more do the wounds of the soul demand the soothing of the spiritual one? Thou wilt confess to God, O man! from whom, whether thou wilt or no, thou canst not be hidden; thou carest not to satisfy the Church in which thou hast sinned. Why did Christ himself command the leper whom he cleansed to show himself to the priests?§ Why did he order others to loosen Lazarus,|| whom he raised to life after he had been dead four days? Could not He, with the same word where-

* See Alban Butler, *Life of St. Benedict of Anian.* Feb. 12.

† So Alcuin generally styles himself in his writings, and often prefixes the name of Flaccus.

‡ *Math.* xvi. 19; xviii. 18.

§ *Math.* viii. 4.

|| *John* xi. 44.

with he bade the resuscitated man come forth from the grave, loosen the winding bands which inwrapped him when dead? Why did he ask the blind men* who cried unto him: "What will you that I do to you?" Could he be ignorant of their heart's wish, who was able to restore them the sight that they desired? Perhaps, could you escape from God's knowledge as well as man's, you would no more confess to Him than to man. It seems a sort of pride this, to despise the priestly judge.

3. If thou say, "It is good to confess to the Lord,"† it is also good for thee to have a witness to this confession. Although the word "confession" does not always signify penance, but oftentimes praise, as truth itself hath said in the Gospel,‡ "I confess to thee Father [Lord] of heaven and earth;" that is, I praise thee, Father of heaven and earth. And in the Creed it is said, "I confess one baptism, &c." having reference to the same word: which word "confess" denotes, in this place, confession of faith, not of sins. Dost thou blush to disclose to man, for thy salvation, what thou dost not blush to commit with man to thy perdition? Wilt thou allow thy servant to be privy to thy guilt, and refuse to have Christ's priest to help thee towards thy reconciliation? Thou hast fallen by the enemy's hand, wilt thou not rise with thy friend's? Thou hast deeply offended thy Lord, and wilt thou have no one to reconcile thee to Him but thyself? Dost thou trust for salvation to thy prayers? Thou despisest the precept of the Apostle, who says: "Pray for one another, that ye may be saved;"§ and again, "If any one be a sinner, let the priest pray for him that he may be saved." What say you to that which we read in the same epistle: "Confess your sins one to another," that your offences may be cancelled? What is this that he saith—*one another*, but man to man, the guilty to the judge, the sick to the physician? And wisdom itself, hath said, by the mouth of Solomon: "He that hideth his crimes, shall not make his way;"|| that is, he shall not make his way unto salvation who studies to hide his sins.

4. Can our crimes be hidden from God, who sees, knows, and considers all things? From man we may hide what we do, but not from God. Did not David¶ say, in the presence of the prophet Nathan, who reprov'd him for his sin: "I have sinned against the Lord." See, this great man would have the prophet as witness of his confession. And because he was not ashamed

* Matth. xx. 32.

§ James v. 16.

† Ps. xci. 2.

|| Prov. xxviii. 13, "Non dirigetur."

¶ 2 Kings (Sam.) xii. 13.

‡ Matth. xi. 25.

to confess his wicked deeds, he immediately heard,—mark, “the Lord hath taken away thy sin.” He disclosed his wound to man, and he received a speedy remedy from God. And in Leviticus* the Lord often charges the sinner to go with a victim to the priest, that he may offer it and pray for him, and his sin may be forgiven. What are our victims for the sins we commit, but the confession of our sins? which confession we are to offer holily to God by the priest, that by his prayers the offering of our confession may be rendered acceptable, and that we may receive forgiveness from Him, unto whom “an afflicted spirit is a sacrifice, and who despiseth not a contrite and humble heart.”†

5. Christ came into this world to be judged by his enemies for our sins, to the end that he might ransom us from the bondage of the devil; and do we disdain being judged by the holy priests of God, to the end that we may be released from the chains of our sins? He, though utterly without sin, refused not to stand the trial of men, and those wicked; and do we, charged with many sins, scorn undergoing a trial before men, and those holy men? Must we not at holy baptism give in to the priest of Christ a confession of our faith and a renouncing of Satan; and so, by the priest’s ministry and the working of Divine power, be cleansed from all our sins? Why must we not also in the second baptism of penance, through the confession of our lowliness, be in likewise absolved from all sins committed after the first baptism, by the means of the priest and the same gracious mercy of God?

6. If sins are not to be laid open to the priest, why are there prayers of reconciliation drawn up in the Sacramentary? How does the priest reconcile [to God] a man of whose sinning he does not know? If, according to Solomon, “wars are to be managed by counsels,”‡ with what assurance do we hope to fight against the devil without the counsel of our leaders that are of the Church? Again, we read also these words of his:§ “A brother that is helped by a brother, is like a strong city.” Whom does the priest of Christ help, the leader of the host of God, the ruler of his camp—if no one deign to seek from him help towards his salvation?—if no one reveal the hidden wounds of the devil’s malice, to be treated by his healing hand?

7. In vain then are remedies stored in the churches, and prescribed by the authority of synods, for every wound of our sins which we sustain, whether from the craft of the old enemy,

* V. 12.

‡ Prov. xx. 18.

† Ps. l. 19.

§ Prov. xviii. 19.

or our breach of God's commandments by spiritual or carnal sins, if they be not exposed to those who are set up in the Church of Christ to heal the rank sores of our crimes. "For by the heart we believe unto justice, but with the mouth confession is made unto salvation."* Not only the confession of Catholic faith, but also the pure confession of sins, with compunction of heart, avails us to eternal salvation; for the Scripture says: "Declare first thy injustices that thou mayest be justified."† And again, "The just is first accuser of himself."‡ If the just, how much more the sinner.

8. If perhaps you say with the Psalmist, "I said, I will confess against myself my injustice to the Lord," I, too, will say with him,§ "Because I was silent, my bones grew old." And again, with another prophet, || "The beasts have rotted in their dung." What means this, but sinners lying in the rottenness of their sins. Whoso sinneth, is laid low; whoso confesseth is rising up. Whoso does penance, returneth to his Father, as the prodigal son in the Gospel is recorded to have said: "I will arise and go to my father, and say to him, father! I have sinned against heaven and before thee." It suffices to make the confession to the priest, in the sight of the Divine graciousness, once; but to the Lord we deem it should be made perpetually, with tears and contrition of heart. "For every one that doth evil hateth the light, and cometh not to the light, that his works may not be reprovèd; but he that doth truth, cometh to the light, that his works may be made manifest, because they are done in God."¶

9. You, brethren, are children of light, and not of darkness; a "people of purchase,"** not of perdition; "a holy nation," purchased by the blood of Christ. "Walk as the children of the light in all goodness," and piety, and chastity, putting off the old man with his sins, and putting on the new, him who is created according to God. Let your conversation be heavenly, and not earthly.†† Love justice, and hate iniquity. He that is sound, let him defend himself with the shield of faith, that the stealthy arrow of the ancient foe may have no power to wound him. But whosoever, either through the frailty of the flesh, or through neglect of circumspection, is wounded, let him have speedy recourse to the healing of confession, lest through the charm of bad habit, the rooting out of the sin should become almost impossible. The Gospel history records our Lord Jesus Christ to have raised

* Rom. x. 10.

§ Ps. xxxi

† Is. xliii. 26.

|| Joel i. 17.

** Pet. ii. 9

‡ Prov. xviii. 17, according to the Greek.

¶ John iii. 20, 21.

†† Col. iii. 9.

three from the dead : the daughter of the ruler of the synagogue, in the house ;* the widow's son, without the gate of the city ;† Lazarus he called to life, out of his tomb, after he had been four days dead.‡ Who are these three dead persons, but three classes of sinners, whom, upon their confessing, the Divine grace is now daily wont to raise up ? It raises up the daughter in the house, by withdrawing from the perpetration of sin him who in his heart consents to sin. It raises up the widow's son without the gate of the city, by making him who sins in outward work apply himself to the remedies of penance. It raises him who is noisome from sinful habit, by drawing penitential tears from his heart, and gives orders for his loosing by church authority, that he may be worthy of the communion of the Lord, and be rendered a partaker of the holy altar.

10. Think of these things, dearly beloved brethren, and in whatsoever of these three states any one may be, let him have speedy recourse to the approved remedies of confession ; let him bathe himself in the healthful bath of penance, that he may partake of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, not unto the judgment of condemnation, but unto salvation and sanctification. And ever remember with thanksgiving, how from a dark and chill land, from the realm of ignorance and wickedness, the mercy of God hath brought you into dwellings of light and gladness, into tents of plenty and righteousness, and with fatherly graciousness, He hath chosen you for His children, that through you His name might be declared amongst the nations. Follow the traces of the holy fathers, and do not bring novel sects into the faith of the Catholic religion. Beware of the poisonous leaven which error spreads ; with sincerity and truth eat the pure bread of holy faith, and drink the wine which the Divine wisdom hath mingled for her chosen ones, and sing to the Lord your God a song of praise, in the concord of peace and the one-mindedness of lasting love ; and with voices all united with the heavenly host praise ye the Lord and say, "Glory be to God on high, and on earth peace to men of good will."§ May the Divine grace go before you, may the Divine clemency follow you in all your ways, and give you to thrive in every good work, dearly beloved Brethren and most holy Fathers!

* Mark v.

† John xi.

‡ Luke vii.

§ Luke ii. 14.

II.

[Tom. II. 154.]

To the dearly beloved children in Christ and hopeful youths that are beheld serving the Lord Jesus in the Church of blessed Martin, the most illustrious Bishop and great protector, and that are trained in the Lord's house by ecclesiastical teachers, I, Albinus, heartily wishing your salvation, greeting in Christ our Lord.

1. DESIRING that you, beloved children, should make progress towards your souls' salvation, it is my purpose to address, with fatherly affection in gentle discourse, some admonitions to you, whereby you may obtain welfare of the present life, and, with God's mercy, the happiness of that which is to come, and lead on your tender years in the school of God's service till ye arrive at the perfect day of old age. And you too, holy fathers, lights of this brotherly congregation, youth's teachers and guides in all goodness, you I beseech to admonish your scholars diligently, to learn what things are pleasing to God and appertain to the salvation of their souls, that so, from their advancement and welfare, you may have a lasting recompense with the Lord. Exhort them to serve God soberly, chastely, modestly, with all humility and obedience, in good conduct and holy conversation and religious chastity, and especially on the confession of their sins; because many are the snares of the devil's fraud against the young, in carnal desires and the other passions of youth.

2. But, (with God's blessing), the devil is foiled in his malice, if the youths make a clear confession, and bring forth fruits worthy of penance; that is to say, add not wounds to wounds, and bruise not again that which is healed. For the saving remedy of penance is not to repeat that which calls for repentance. For it is written, "To the penitent God hath given the portion (way) of justice."* Therefore, O penitent! confess thy crimes, open the secret of thy wickedness by confession. What thou hast done in secret is known to God; and though thy tongue avow it not, thy conscience cannot conceal it. In vain dost thou imagine thy crimes are hidden within doors. All that thou thinkest hidden

* Eccles. xvii. 20.

is manifest to God; and shouldst thou succeed in escaping the eyes of men in thy sins, no ways however can any of thy secret deeds be cloaked from the sight of God. Declare thy sins by confession before thou feel the anger of the judge. Believe me, all the wrong thou hast done will be pardoned, if thou wilt not be ashamed to confess, and wilt strive to efface it by penance; as the Psalmist says: "I said [I will confess against myself] my injustices to the Lord; and thou hast forgiven the wickedness of my sin."* The Lord awaits from us the sacrifice of confession; to bestow on us the comfortable gift of pardon; "he willeth all men to be saved and none to perish": and elsewhere in the Scripture he saith, "In whatsoever day the sinner shall be converted, living he shall live and shall not die."† O singular benefit of the most clement judge! O rich treasure of the Divine graciousness! He calleth for the tribute of confession from sinners; unto this very end that he may not find what he will have to punish. Let us not be unthankful to this great bounty of our Redeemer, who would rather pardon than punish, rather save than destroy. It is the Lord's gain for the servant not to be punished; and a great service is done to our Maker, if those doomed to chastisement be made over to his clemency.‡ For he wishes not to avenge himself, who is prepared to have mercy; as he declares concerning himself by the prophet, "I desire not the death of a sinner, but that he be converted and live."§ See, the true Author of life wills not the death of him who sins, but the life of him who is converted. Accordingly, truth itself says in the Gospel, "So there shall be joy in heaven before your Father and his angels over one sinner that doth penance,"|| and by the Prophet, "Declare thou first thy injustices, that thou mayest be justified,"¶ See the graciousness of the giver of pardon, who, for a passing sorrow, grants eternal joy; these being his words, "Blessed are they who mourn now, for they shall be comforted;"** and elsewhere; "Come unto me all you that labour and are heavy burdened, and I will refresh you,"†† For, as we have observed, he saith, "Declare thou first thy injustices, that thou mayest be justified," and not condemned; that the reward of penance, not the punishment of sin, may be thy lot.

3. Is it as if he were ignorant of our sins, that God calls upon

* Ps. xxxi. 5.

† Ezek. xxxiii. 12, 15.

‡ "Multum confertur auctori, si deputatus poenae veniae condonetur."

§ Ezek. xxiii. 2.

|| Luke xv. 7.

¶ Isaiah xlii. 26 (according to the Greek version).

** Matt. v. 5.

†† Ib. xi. 28.

us to confess them? He who foreknew them before their commission, to whose providence every secret lies open. The benefit of perfect recovery depends on your revealing to the physician the wounds of your conscience. For indeed, without the physician's aid, the sick man is not healed. Your confession is balm for your wounds, and a most assured means towards your health. The sick man asks medicine from the physician, who often toils with little chance of success. But God heals without toil: without delay He vouchsafes the healing of pardon, if devout penance indited in tears be rehearsed to the ears of His clemency. No one, O man, better reforms thee than He who formed thee; nor does any other heal but He that chasteneth and sootheth; for He alone knows the frailty of the work of His hands, who waits only for your confessing, to heal you without delay, who declares by the Prophet Ezekiel, "When thou shalt be converted and shalt lament, then thou shalt be saved."

4. The all-gracious Judge affords us an opportunity of accusing ourselves of our sins before God's priest, that the devil may not again accuse us of them before Christ our judge. His desire is, that they should be pardoned in this world, rather than punished in the next. So the gracious Father, seeing us condemn our sins by penance, finds joy in being merciful, and delights to exercise towards the penitent that compassion which is His property, as He bears witness by the Prophet Isaiah, "I am He that blot out thy iniquities;"* and again, "Be converted to the Lord your God, for he is gracious and merciful, patient and rich in mercy."† Knowing this, blessed David saith: "I have made known my sin to Thee, and my injustices I have not cloaked;"‡ whereas, upon a man's denying the sin he has committed, the penalty of its guilt is enhanced, because the obstinacy of the denial is punished. But perhaps you say, The greatness of my sins affrights me. Nay, rather, the more earnest must thou be in applying the remedy of confession, O sinner! lest thou perish with thy rankling wounds, through shame of exposing to the physician thy many painful sores. In no wise can the number of thy sins outpass the store of Divine clemency. "Delay not to be converted, from day to day," saith the Scripture,§ "for thou knowest not what the ensuing day may bring forth."|| For such as thy last day finds thee, as such thou wilt be judged. And God would not allow thee to know that day before hand, to the end that thou mightest be always ready: such as thou wouldst

* Isa. xliii. 25.

† Joel ii. 13.

‡ Ps. xxxi. 5.

§ Eccl. v. 7.

|| Prov. xxvii. 1.

be when standing before the judge, such prepare thyself to be whilst thou hast time to work. Be a devout trader. Purchase for thyself God's kingdom with the gains of penance, remembering the Lord's saying: "Do penance, and the kingdom of heaven will draw nigh unto you."*

5. For thee, then, O youth! God was made man, to redeem thee; and he delivered himself unto death that he might save thee unto life: why liest thou in the death of sin? Arise and say: "Father, I have sinned against heaven."† Bring with thee a faithful witness of thy penitence.‡ Thou wilt have clean garments: why not seek much more to have a clean soul? Thou wouldst not come bemired into man's presence; why not much rather fear coming bemired with sins into God's presence? Wash thyself with thy tears, that nothing in thee may displease the eyes of His majesty. Who, pray, that falls, does not endeavour to rise? Who runs risk, and does not wish to escape? Thou wilt hereafter rue thy slackness, if thou heed not what avails to thy soul's salvation.§ Arise, son, arise, by penance appease that Father whom by sin thou hast offended. Confess thy fault, that thou mayest be healed by the physician. Be anxious for thy own salvation. If thou thyself have no care for thyself, who can be of help to thee for thy salvation; or who will be faithful to thee if thou be found unfaithful to thyself? It is a great unfaithfulness for thee to be careless of thy own salvation, for thee not to rise by penance from death in sin. The farther thou hast gone off from God by reason of the greatness of thy crimes, the more heartily strive to draw nigh by means of penance. The gracious Father is ready to receive thee, if thou make no delay to return. It seems to thee a rugged work of change, to abandon carnal desires: but much worse lot will it be for thee to burn in everlasting flames, and, for the delights of a short season, to be made over to everlasting punishments. How many now doomed to the torments of hell would be converted, were the time of conversion allowed them?|| All the hardships of the

* Matt. iii. (St. John the Baptist).

† Luke xv.

‡ See the foregoing letter; paragraph the third.

§ "Quid animæ tuæ proficiat ad salutem."—Compare this with the ninth paragraph of the foregoing letter. "Non solum Cathol. fidei, sed etiam pura peccatorum confessio... nobis ad salutem proficit sempiternam."

|| In his treatise "on Virtues and Vices," chap. xii. (Tom. ii. 133), Alcuin dwells more at length on this consideration. "Let the sinner confess during life what he has done, for in hell there is no profitable confession, nor penance availing to salvation. Behold now is the time of salvation, behold now is the time acceptable to God, now is the time of remission for the penitent; after

present life, surely, appear light and in a manner pleasant in comparison with the torments of hell. Thou hast served the devil in lust, serve Christ in chastity : consider the issue of each of these services. The former, namely lust, plunges a man into flames. Chastity, conjoined with charity, leads us to the kingdom of God. Return to the path whence thou hast strayed. The body is wasted with fasting; but the soul gains beauty. The body may be meanly clad; but the very chief adornment is that of holiness. Assiduous watching in prayers and in praise to God, is copying the life of angels. Slender diet is feasting of the soul. If thou have the means, stretch forth thy hand to the poor, for the poor man's hand is Christ's treasury. Nor canst thou justly excuse thyself from works of mercy, seeing that a cup of cold water will be requited with an everlasting reward : to visit the sick, to comfort the sorrowing, to welcome the stranger, to refresh the hungry and thirsty, bring to the possession of the kingdom of God in heaven ; as we read in the gospel.* The doing of such works as these, my son, obtains the remission of sins, yea, and it affords an entrance into everlasting blessedness.

6. Be not ignobly minded. In baptism thou wast consecrated, a son of God : but so high a dignity can be preserved only by worthy manners. The heavenly Father and Lord of all, disdains having the thralls of sin for sons. Shake from off thy neck the yoke of the devil's bondage. Run back to the tenderness of a father's love. Return to the Lord, my son, return ; and after being dead, come to life ; after being lost, be found.† The good shepherd seeks the strayed sheep, and rejoices more over that which was found than over that which was not lost, and brings it back on his shoulders in the midst of the company of angels. Mark that most clement sentence of our tender Lord, who says, " For I came not to call the just but sinners,"‡ to penance. Now the Lord calls sinners to penance, because He desires rather to save than to condemn, and rather that we should rejoice with the saints than that He should punish us with the devil. He calls us by Himself : He calls us by the holy Scriptures : He also calls us by Catholic teachers to return to Him, being as ready to receive us if we be not slow to come to

death will come the time of vengeance on those neglecting to confess their crimes. For all the wicked will have a bitter penance in torments, but their penance avails them not to salvation : but their conscience racks them so as to increase the pangs they suffer. For it was in their power to ward off these hideous torments by confession ; and they neglected doing so."

* Matt. xxv.

† Luke xv.

‡ Matt. ix. 13.

Him. Let us hearken to blessed John the Evangelist, exhorting us to penance. He says in his Epistle,* "If we say, we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us: but if we confess our sins, God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all iniquity." If no one be without sin, who is there that needs not penance, which can hardly be profitable without confession. Let us weigh well the precept of the Apostle James, who says; "Confess your sins one to another."† Let us remember that our Redeemer preferred the publican who confessed himself a sinner, to the Pharisee who praised himself for his righteousness.‡ For our Maker knows the frailty of our nature; and therefore He has vouchsafed the medicaments of penance for our wounds. Let us say with the Prophet;§ Heal me, O Lord, and I shall be healed," and "Lord heal my soul, for I have sinned against thee."||

7. Wherefore, dearly beloved children, hasten to the medicament of confession. Lay bare your wounds in confession, that the wholesome applications may have their effect on you. The days of this life are passing, and each one's time is uncertain; when the dust is to return unto dust, and the spirit return unto God who gave it,¶ and man be judged according to his works. The soul will then have to hear whatever, during her present union with the flesh, she may have done in secret. If now she blush to confess her sins and expiate them by penance, the spiteful accuser, who once prompted her to sin, will appear against her. [It will be so with us] if we neglect "to prevent the face" of our judge "in confession."** For of those sins which we humbly confess, the devil can allege none against us at that awful inquest on our life. Come, then, young men and children, release yourselves from the devil's bondage. Speed by penance to the most gracious tenderness of Almighty God. Do not, through your carnal desires, lose the joys of heaven and the blessedness of an everlasting reign in the company of angels; but encourage yourselves, and act manfully, and fight with your adversary, that you may well deserve to be crowned with the saints of God, and with them possess everlasting glory. And you, most holy masters and fathers of this family, teach your children to live godly, and soberly, and chastely before God, in all humility, obedience, and

* 1 John i. 8, 9.

† James v. 16.

‡ Luke xviii. 14.

§ Jer. xvii. 14.

|| Ps. xl. 5.

¶ Eccles. xii.

** Ps. xciv. 2. The text refers primarily to the confession of praise. Alcuin adapts it to the confession of our sins. St. Gregory the Great did so, long before him, in his 19th Homily on the Gospels.

holiness, and to make a clear confession of their sins to the priests of Christ, and to cleanse the defilements of the lust of the flesh by penitential tears, and to return to them no more, for the last wounds of sin are worse than the first; knowing that you have laid up for you with the Lord an eternal recompense for the salvation of your children, having an everlasting reward in heaven for the welfare of those who serve you on earth.

III.

[Tom. I. p. 255.]

Extract from Alcuin's 192nd Letter, written about the year 801, to the Monks of the Abbey of Fulda, in Germany.

ADMONISH, instruct, train your youths in all holy discipline and the Catholic doctrine, that they may be fit to stand in your place, and give you [the help of] their prayers, wheresoever you may be. Heartily admonish them to chastity, to the confession of their sins, to studious reading, and to labouring with their hands without murmuring, and to every thing that may seem requisite at their age; and let them humbly and religiously submit themselves to their elders and masters. And you that are elders, give them good example, that so they may be instructed, not by word only, but by your religious manner of life. Let them not be voluptuous, or addicted to drunkenness, or haughty, or followers of idle sports, but let them learn to be good servants in the house of God; that, through the intercession of holy Boniface* their father, they may earn blessing and favour from Christ our God. And I entreat you to remember me always in your holy prayers, for the time draws nigh which none can escape; let each one prepare himself, in order to appear not naked† but clad with virtuous deeds in the sight of the Lord his God.

* Styled the Apostle of Germany. His name was originally Winfrid. He was born in Devonshire, about 680, and spent six-and-thirty years of his life in preaching the Gospel amongst the heathen, or half-converted nations. He suffered martyrdom in East Friesland, with many companions of his missionary labours, in 755.—See his Life in Alban Butler, June 5.

† 2 Cor. v. 3. Revel. xvi. 15.

I have sent a yellow pall for the body of holy Boniface, our father, in whose holy intercession for [the cancelling of] my sins, I place great reliance; hoping that I, sinner as I am, shall obtain pardon on that day, when you, holy men, receive the crown of everlasting blessedness.

I have sent a course of masses* to you, most holy priests, to furnish you with prayers to God for every day, as each one's devotion may incline him, when he may wish to offer his prayers in honour of the Holy Trinity, or for the love of wisdom, or for penitential tears, or for perfect charity, or for obtaining the suffrages of the angels, or of all the saints, or when he may wish to pray for the pardon of his own sins, or for any living friend, or for several, or for his brethren departed from this world, or to make special entreaty for the intercession of blessed Mary, Mother of God and ever Virgin, or when he may wish to sing [the mass] of your most holy Father, Boniface,† and invoke his gracious protection.

* Cartulam Missalem. This is explained by his 46th letter to the Monks of St. Vedast (Tom. i. p. 59.) He tells them he had copied certain masses from his own Missal (that used at Tours), and he gives a list similar to that above, observing, that "the suffrages of the angels are very necessary in our present toilsome pilgrimage." The prayers of which Alcuin speaks, and the Votive Masses in honour of the Blessed Trinity, for obtaining the intercession of the angels, &c. are, for the most part, to be found in the Roman Missal.

† Mass, hymn, altar, or church of a saint, denotes a mass, hymn, altar, or church, in *memory* of that saint. This mode of expression occurs in St. Augustine and St. Ambrose, as Alban Butler takes notice.

TRACT 22.

[PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE CATHOLIC
INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN.]

REASONS

FOR

SUBSCRIBING TO THE EXCLUSIVE
TEACHING AND AUTHORITY

OF THE

HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH

BY

JOHN ATHANASIUS COOKE, ESQ.

BARRISTER-AT-LAW.



Stercotyped for the Catholic Institute of Great Britain.]

LONDON:

Sold by all Catholic Booksellers, price One Penny, or Five
Shillings per Hundred for gratuitous distribution.

PRINTED BY C. RICHARDS, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, CHARING CROSS.

REASONS, &c.

AT a mature period of life (the age of thirty-six) I experienced the happiness of hearing, and afterwards attentively reading, the lectures delivered by Dr. Wiseman, at St. Mary's, in Moorfields, on the doctrines and practices of the Catholic Church, and it was in a very early stage of the examination of these doctrines into which those lectures led me, that I became convinced of the gross misrepresentations concerning Catholic tenets which prevail among Protestants; such, for instance, as that indulgences can be granted as licences to excuse sins to be committed; that absolution for sins committed, or to be committed, can be purchased with money; that the angels and saints are worshipped with supreme or divine honour; and that the images of Jesus Christ, the Blessed Virgin, and the saints, are adored by Catholics, as possessing an *innate* and *divine* power. I discovered that Dr. Wiseman's lectures embodied a clear, distinct, and complete refutation of these calumnies and a disclaimer of these absurdities; and they proved that the Catholic Church never did so hold or teach; but that, on the contrary, what the Catholic Church teaches on these subjects, is, that no indulgence can be granted for any such purpose as is pretended by Protestants, and that even *past* sins are not pardoned by an indulgence. I found by the Catholic catechism, that before any person can have the benefit of a plenary indulgence, (which is defined to be a remission of the temporal punishment due to sins, after those sins, as to the guilt and eternal punishment, are forgiven by the sacrament of penance) he must be in a state of grace, confess, and receive the holy communion, and perform the conditions required for gaining the indulgence whilst he is in the state of grace. I found that all the prayer-books in use among the laity stated the conditions upon which such an indulgence is to be gained; which conditions consist, in addition to those above-mentioned, in prayer, alms, and other works of Christian charity. I then learnt, that in regard to the absolution pronounced in the sacrament of penance, what the Catholic Church most clearly teaches is, that without sincere repentance, accompanied with a determination of the sinner never again, by the help of God's grace, to commit sin, (and which is so beautifully expressed in the Catholic act of contrition*) the absolution which the priest, as the minister of God, may pronounce upon a person presuming to approach him in the tribunal of penance,—without such true contrition and determination, so far from being of even the slightest

* The act of contrition here referred to is as follows: "Oh, my God! for the sake of thy sovereign goodness and infinite perfection, which I love above all things, I am exceedingly sorry, from the bottom of my heart, and am grieved for having offended by my sins, this thy infinite goodness; and I firmly resolve, by the assistance of thy grace, never more to offend Thee for the time to come, and carefully to avoid all occasions of sin."

advantage to the pretended penitent, adds to his guilt the terrible crime of sacrilege, by his abuse of this sacrament, and this notwithstanding he may have made the fullest disclosure of his sins.

Upon the next subject, namely, the alleged adoration by Catholics of the angels and saints, I found the Catholic belief to be, that, in the invocation of the angels and saints, they are to be entreated to become *suppliants* on their behalf to Almighty God; and I at once saw, that this communion of saints must be felt by every Catholic to be a most powerful incentive to charity and mutual affection among all who profess and practise his creed. I saw this communion of saints, and this interchange of good offices, existing among living Catholics in a most eminent degree; I saw many pious Catholics, when about to engage in a work which they desired Almighty God to crown with success, or when desiring an increase of grace and fortitude to enable them to bear patiently the crosses of this life, constantly request and have the prayers of their living brethren. I saw that no distinction in worldly rank or fortune was a barrier to this interchange of brotherly charity. I felt this practice to be so heavenly in its nature, and so strictly in accordance with the command of our divine Redeemer, that we should love one another, as well as so consoling to the mind of man, that I believed, and ever shall believe it, as proving its own divine origin.

I then considered the respect paid by Catholics to holy images. I discovered that what the Catholic believes, through the teaching of his Church, is, that it is both lawful and edifying to look upon a crucifix, picture, or any other representation of Christ, his blessed mother, and of saints, with respect and honour, always referring that respect and honour ultimately to Almighty God, and so as to excite or increase in the mind the inward feelings of love towards God. Thus, if the image or other representation be of Jesus Christ—for instance, a crucifix,—the respect is paid on account of, and terminates in, Him, whose sufferings for our sake are thereby represented; and it appeals to the mind as an open book, which may be read and regarded as well by the illiterate as by the learned;—such a representation bringing to the mind the goodness and mercy of Almighty God towards man in this atoning sacrifice; and if the image or other representation be of the Blessed Virgin, the respect of the beholder also terminates in God, who sanctified her by making her the tabernacle of the Holy Ghost,—her, who bore the high dignity of the Mother of God,—her, who in the annunciation of that dignity was by the angel Gabriel addressed by the salutation,—“*HAIL ! full of Grace, our Lord is with thee ! Blessed art thou amongst women !*”—and who by her own holy lips declared, *that all generations should call her blessed*. I found, also, that the Catholic Church did not teach that the representations or images of Christ and his saints, contain, in themselves, any virtue or power to aid

those who keep or look upon them, and I felt that, as we often sin through the unlawful use of the sense of sight, it must be consoling to us to think and to experience that, through a pious use of the same sense, and by fixing our eyes on any image or representation of the sufferings and humility of Jesus Christ, or of the Blessed Virgin Mother of God, we may, in one moment, raise in our minds those feelings of resignation, humility, and charity, which may suppress a rising sin, or, if the sin be already committed, may lead us to an immediate act of contrition.*

One consequence of these discoveries, and the reflections which they produced, was, that my attention was drawn to the state of Protestant society in this country, and, indeed, in every other country in which Protestantism exists, and to the total, and, according to the protesting principle, the inevitable absence of any authority over Protestants, to control or condemn those divisions, which have always arisen, and must necessarily continue to arise, and increase throughout every Protestant society.

Upon my attention being thus, for the first time, seriously drawn to the subject, and upon discovering the misrepresentations of Catholic principles, to which I have referred, I felt it to be due, not only to the security of my own eternal welfare, but to the Catholic religion which I found to have been so cruelly misrepresented, to prosecute an inquiry into the doctrines of the Catholic Church. I prayed to Almighty God for his guidance in this inquiry, and I formed a determination to embrace the Catholic religion, in the event of that guidance leading my mind to the conviction that it was the true one; for of this I felt satisfied, that, as there is but one faith, there could be but one true Church or depository of that faith.

In the progress of this inquiry, (in which I conferred with seve-

* It cannot be doubted that Almighty God has, in many instances, been pleased to manifest his power, and work his miracles, through the instrumentality of the relics of his saints and of inanimate things. This is attested by an authority, to which even Protestants, acting upon their own principles, must bow, namely, the Holy Scriptures: the following instances will suffice to show this:—The instrumentality of the rod of Moses in working miracles (Exod. vii.) The miraculous effects of applying the mantle of Elias after he was taken up into heaven (2 Kings ii. 14.) The restoration of life to a dead body on its touching the bones of Eliseus (2 Kings xiii. 21.) The miraculous cure of a woman who only touched the hem of our blessed Lord's garment (Matt. ix. 21.) The miraculous power imparted to the shadow of Saint Peter (Acts v. 15.) The miracles effected by the napkins and handkerchiefs, that had only touched the body of St. Paul, in casting out devils and curing diseases, (Acts xix. 22.) Now, what candid Protestant can venture to assert that an Eternal God is not equally powerful *now* as when the miracles recorded in the Holy Scriptures were performed, or that the relics of his favoured servants may not be treated with the respect which Catholics pay to them, even if he will not admit, with Luther, what every Catholic believes, and what even Luther himself admitted, namely, a *continued* manifestation of God's word, truth, and power, in the same manner. It is not immaterial on this subject to observe, that Luther, who is continually claimed by the Church of England as one of its fathers, admits the continuance of miracles to his day. His words on this subject are ... "A quo didicimus, et accepimus, ut æternum verbum et veritatem Dei *hactenus mille quingentis annis* miraculis et signis concessam ac confirmatam."—*Luther, tom. vii. cap. De Judæis, et eorum mendaciis.*

ral Protestant clergymen) and in contrasting the articles and state of the religion in which I had been educated, and the hideous misrepresentations of Catholic doctrines by Protestants, with the true principles of the Catholic Church, and the spirit and practice of unity therein, I soon perceived, in a light in which I had never before observed them, the many conflicting sects existing among Protestants, those sects constantly increasing and subdividing, and each of them entertaining doctrines of the most opposite characters, and expressing towards the others feelings of the bitterest hostility, although they all laid claim to the name of Protestant, and all rested, or professed to rest, their respective and opposing systems upon the sole authority of the Holy Scriptures. I saw these sects commencing in this country with "the Church of England," having its modern thirty-nine articles, which some of its greatest and titled supporters and ministers did not scruple to call articles of "*the peace*," as contradistinguished from "articles of faith,"* and thence progressing, until they arrived at Socinianism. I also observed, that even among the members of the Church of England, how very few ever took the trouble of considering, or even of reading, its thirty-nine articles, or understood the doctrines of the Catholic Church, to which the exceptive and dissenting name of "Protestant" was applied; a duty most unquestionably incumbent on those who separate themselves, or who may have been educated in a separated state, from the ancient Church, especially when their own Church disclaims infallibility in teaching. I also remarked how many, even among my own acquaintance, without any scruple repudiated the Athanasian Creed, of which even the eighth article of the Church of England professes to enforce the belief. I witnessed how often the recital of this creed was omitted in churches of the Establishment, on those days which were appointed for its recital; how, also, many in a congregation have, on the occasion of its being publicly read, closed their books, or, in some other marked manner, evinced their dissent from it, and, notwithstanding this, asserted themselves, and were allowed by their clergy, to be members of the Church of England, as by law established, and supporters of its political power. And this is not the only instance in which the clergy and

* See Boswell's Life of Dr. Johnson, vol. ii. p. 89, and the reference in a note there to the expression of Dr. Simon Patrick (afterwards Protestant Bishop of Ely,) edit. 1826. The note here referred to is as follows:—"Doctor Simon Patrick (afterwards Bishop of Ely) thus expresses himself on this subject, in a letter to the learned Dr. John Mapletoft, dated February 8th, 1682-3. 'I always took the [39] articles to be only articles of communion; and so Bishop Bramhall [a Protestant] expressly maintains against the Bishop of Chalcedon; and I remember well, that the [Protestant] Bishop Saunderson, when the king [Charles the Second] was first restored, received the subscription of an acquaintance of mine, which he declared was not to them as articles of "faith," but "PEACE." I think you need make no scruple of the matter, because all that I know so understand the meaning of subscription, and upon other terms would not subscribe.' The above was printed some years ago, in the *European Magazine* from the original, now in the hands of Mr. Mapletoft, surgeon, at Ch. rtsey, grandson to Dr. John Mapletoft."

laity of the Church of England evince their dissent from what their prayer-book prescribes. I will take the practice of fasting as one instance. In the Church of England prayer-book, days are noted to be observed, as days of fasting and abstinence. Now, it is evident that Protestants of the Church of England do not fast, except, perhaps, in some instances, on Good Friday, when they abstain from flesh meat; and that, notwithstanding the table of fasting days, and days of abstinence, to be found in their prayer-book, they condemn fasting as a superstitious practice; and even the clergy of the Establishment eat flesh meat on Fridays, and most other days noted in their own table as days of fasting and abstinence.

The next instance in which Protestants, both clergy and laity, reject their own prayer-book, (and I refer to these things to show how the Protestantism of the "Church of England" is consistent with nothing but inconsistency) is in the form of the Visitation of the Sick, and the auricular confession therein pointed out and prescribed. If there is one subject on which a Catholic is attacked by Protestants more than another, and wherein his feelings are shocked by the flippant manner in which it is treated by them, it is that of auricular confession.

I have often conversed with Protestants on other doctrines of the Catholic Church, and have almost invariably found, that when their arguments have been exhausted and answered on one subject of Catholic doctrine and faith, they endeavour to attack this, to a Catholic, most holy and comfortable duty and practice of auricular confession; but it is surprising to find how very few Protestants are aware of the passage in their own prayer-book to which I refer; it is found in their service for the Visitation of the Sick, and is as follows:—

"[Here shall the sick person be *moved* to make a *special* confession of his sins, if he shall feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter. AFTER WHICH CONFESSION THE PRIEST SHALL ABSOLVE HIM, (if he humbly and heartily desire it) after this sort, 'Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his Church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in him, of his great mercy forgive thee thine offences: and, by his authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. *Amen.*'"

In practice, this confession is not made among Protestants; or if there be any isolated instances of its being made, it is not considered generally in the nature of even a "confidential communication;"—so that if a sick man should confess a sin to a clergyman of the Establishment, and afterwards recover, this consequence would ensue—that there is no duty of secrecy which precludes the clergyman from disclosing the crimes confessed to him, and bringing the man before the tribunals of the country; and that, contrary to the boasted principle of English law, that no man shall be solicited to criminate himself; and, if the clergyman happened to be

also a magistrate, he would actually labour under a *special* and sworn obligation to disclose the matters confessed to him; and then he might, as a temporal judge, condemn the person, who had confessed to him as a minister of religion, to a punishment in respect of a crime which had been disclosed to him *upon his own earnest motion* and entreaty. Now, I would entreat those who consider this subject, to go along with me in seeing the absolute impiety and the trifling nature of this prescribed confession in the Church of England, even if it was made to exist in practice, and then contrast it with the Catholic doctrine and practice.

Every Catholic is taught to feel that he cannot worthily receive the holy communion, or gain the benefit of an indulgence, if he be in the state of sin, or without a previous confession of his sins to the minister of God; and he is also taught, that he should be moved thereto by the love of, and from the horror arising from his having offended, God, and not merely from the dread of punishment, or the fear of approaching death; but, in the Church of England, their auricular confession is not prescribed until the man be sick, it may be with his memory impaired, his general faculties deadened or deranged, and when he is morally and physically unable to form an act of contrition; and, therefore, unable to comply with the "*moving*" request of the minister.

Is not this, I ask, a cruel mockery, if it be not also an absolute impiety? The Church of England either does or does not believe in the efficacy of auricular confession; if she does not believe in its efficacy, I ask, why does the passage above quoted now stand in her prayer-book, and who placed it, and why was it placed there? and did those who placed it there, believe as the ministers and laity of the Church of England now believe and teach? but, if the Church of England does believe in the efficacy of what it recommends to be done in its own prayer-book, why, in the name of truth, justice, and consistency, is the auricular confession therein prescribed, delayed to the hour of human infirmity, it may be of imbecility? But I forbear, because, as a Catholic, it is not for me to solicit the Church of England to reconcile contradictions; but, as a Catholic, it is my *right to demand* of, at least, that sect of Protestants who constitute what is called "the Church as by *law* established," not to revile the Catholic, who, surrounded by the temptations of the world, in the spring, the summer, and the autumn, as well as in the winter of his life, in health, as well as in sickness, resorts to the tribunal of penance, and there, to the duly authorized minister of God, humbly, and with a determination not to sin again, confesses his past sins, and receives with a due disposition the holy absolution through the *ministry* of those to whom our blessed Redeemer has declared, "that whosoever sins they should remit should be remitted, and whosoever sins they should retain should be retained;"* and who, by the particular confession

* St. John, xx. 22, 23. St. Matt. xviii. 18. St. Luke, x. 16.

made to him, knows what sins he is called upon to loose, and when it may be prudent, for a time, at least, to *delay absolution*. Now, if the clergy of the Church of England, instead of blinking these questions, were openly to declare their belief to be in accordance with every part of their own prayer-book, I am convinced that it would appear how very few, in truth, of those who are classed as members of that Church would submit to such teaching. Indeed, if subscription or non-subscription to the liturgy is to be considered as any criterion of a person being or not being a member of a Church, it is fair to presume, that the members of the Church of England would, if exposed to this test, in numbers dwindle into a most insignificant sect; for I myself have never conversed with a single Protestant, speaking on the subject of the auricular confession prescribed in their service for the visitation of the sick, who did not, when it was pointed out to him, unhesitatingly declare his unqualified dissent from it. I felt the weight of these considerations, and I naturally asked myself this question:—whether the system of Protestantism, a system thus evidently, in its chief sect, so accommodating to the pride of human, and of even individual reason,—a system which thus temporises with its own liturgy and articles—could be the treasure-house of the religion of Jesus Christ, or could possess the authority of that united Church which our blessed Lord founded, and on which he so evidently conferred the characteristic of infallibility in faith and doctrine, by his promise, that the Holy Spirit should abide in her to the end of time? and this led me to the consideration of the following questions:—First, does the Bible, which Protestants maintain as containing (clearly laid down to the comprehension of all capacities) all that is necessary to salvation, or to be known by Christians, really contain, so clearly laid down, and, independent of the bare assertion of Protestants themselves, prove itself to contain all that is necessary to be so known? and, secondly, should the Bible be submitted, as it is by the Protestant practice, to the individual examination and interpretation of all Christians, without any regard to the measure of grace, faith, or intellect, of those to whose interpretation it is so submitted?

In reference to the first question, it is perfectly clear, that the New Testament contains no expression, by Christ or his apostles, constituting it the *sole* and *exclusive* authority in matters of faith; but its internal evidences tend to an opposite conclusion, and show that it never could have been intended to form the *sole* basis of, and authority for the Christian faith, to the exclusion of every other authority: such, for instance, as the oral preaching of the apostles and their successors, the fathers of the Church, and the declarations of faith, traditions, and usages of the Church: and the following analysis of the New Testament will, I conceive, alone prove this to be the case.

The New Testament, we all know, consists of the four gospels of SS. Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, the Acts, the Epistles, and the Apocalypse. The *special* cause which induced the writing of each gospel has been handed down to us; for instance, St. Matthew wrote his gospel to satisfy the converts of Palestine; St. Mark wrote his gospel at the pressing entreaties of the faithful at Rome; St. Luke wrote his gospel to oppose false histories; St. John, at the request of the bishops of Asia, to leave an authentic testimony against the heresies of Cerinthus and Ebion.*

Now, as to the four books of the Evangelists, they are evidently records of nearly the same transactions, and they are confined to the same period of time, ending at the ascension of our blessed Lord. Each of these books contains only a few chapters, which evidently do not, and cannot, record *all* that Christ did and preached; indeed, this is expressly asserted by Saint John himself, at the end of his gospel; and, as regards the book of the Acts of the Apostles, this, upon its own face, appears to be an account only of a very small portion of the Acts and preaching of those apostles, for it is almost entirely confined to an account of the conversion, and an evidently incomplete history of the life and preaching of St. Paul. It contains no account of even the death of that apostle, and scarcely any account of the preaching and acts of the other apostles. Now, it cannot be denied, that all which any of the twelve apostles taught, was taught under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit; yet, where is there in the New Testament, any record of their preaching or miracles, save in this short and evidently incomplete book of Acts? The few Epistles, which are those of four of the apostles only, viz. SS. Paul, James, Peter, and John, surely cannot be contended for as containing any evidence of their recording all that is necessary to be known, although they, and especially the Epistle of Saint James, contain what every Catholic must consider to be important proofs of many of the doctrines of his Church, which Protestants reject. The nature of the Apocalypse is too well known to require any commentary. No one can pretend that it is otherwise than prophetic.

Upon the whole, therefore, I cannot but consider the New Testament in the light in which the Catholic Church considers it; viz. with the greatest veneration; but, at the same time, not as an *exclusive* authority for Christian doctrine, or as ever having been intended to be such. In other words, I cannot but look upon it as a short and incomplete account of the lives, preaching, and miracles of Christ, and some of his apostles, several of whom lived many years after the ascension of our blessed Lord, in the constant exercise of their divine commission, teaching the religion

* See "Butler's Lives of the Saints," in his life of St. Matthew, Sept. 21, and the references there to Eus. i. 3, 24. St. Hieron in Catal. Eus. i. 2. c. 15. Luke i. St. Hieron Prolog. in Matt. St. Epiph. hær. 51. s. 12.

of Jesus Christ, and those "other things" which Jesus did, but which, in the language of Saint John, were not contained in his gospel,* and which are, as evidently, not contained in the other portions of the New Testament. I could not, therefore, but view it as a bold assertion, that a small book like the New Testament, so evidently imperfect in its narrative, contains all things so fully and clearly laid down therein as to lead all minds perusing it to the same conclusion.

Upon the second question, *i. e.* can the Bible be properly submitted to the individual examination and criticism of all Christians? And, beginning with the Old Testament, I would observe, that, under the Jewish dispensation, and even among those people whose laws were expressly commanded to be written, a body of teachers was constituted, with a successive authority to teach and expound all things relating thereto: and the authority given by God to those teachers, must be admitted by all Christians to have determined by the institution of the Church of Jesus Christ.

As regards the New Testament, I cannot discover by what means the Protestant proposition can be maintained;—besides, there is an apparent inconsistency in the Protestant practice of submitting the Holy Scriptures to the individual interpretation of all who can simply read them, or listen to their reading, and the attempt of the Church of England to frame its thirty-nine articles; and, the multitude of Protestant sects which have arisen out of

* As a farther proof of this, even in the opinion of Protestants, it may not be out of place to refer to an instance in which a clergyman of the Church of England, recently, and in the most public manner, appears to have admitted the silence of the Holy Scriptures in what must be considered a most important matter; and I will quote this instance in the words of the printed report. They are as follow:—

"Baptism, by immersion, in the Established Church.—We were gratified, in no ordinary degree, by the performance of this interesting ceremony in St. Jude's church, on Sunday morning last. The Rev. H. M'Neill observes rigidly the rules of his Church. He never administers baptism except in the public congregation, and never admits sponsors who are not communicants. On Sunday three infants were brought to the font; the father of one required that it should be immersed. Mr. M'Neill addressed his congregation upon the subject, referring to what he had taught them on former occasions. He said, that while the use of water was prescribed, nothing was prescribed as to the kind of water to be used, whether warm or cold, or as to the quantity, whether much or little; or as to the mode of application, whether immersion or sprinkling. *These details were left open by the Scripture, and by the Church; convenience and decency had conspired to render sprinkling universal; but if any member of the Church conscientiously preferred immersion, he was happy to say that, as a minister of the Church of England, he was at perfect liberty to comply.* Then, after baptizing two infants in the usual manner, he immersed the third in warm water, which he judiciously caused his sexton to prepare for the occasion."—See the *Times* newspaper of 3rd March, 1838.

Here, then, is an instance of a clergyman of the Church of England, who is described as "rigidly observing the rules of his Church," which are said to be capable of proof by the Bible, admitting, in the presence of his congregation, that the sufficiency of the baptism of two of the three infants whom he then baptized (and the Rev. gentleman might have added infant baptism itself), was left undetermined by the Scriptures; and, consequently, that to render such baptism valid, recourse must be had to other authority than that of the Bible, *viz.* tradition; an authority so much condemned, yet, in this instance, acquiesced in by Protestants.

the practice of submitting the Holy Scriptures to such individual interpretation, is a proof to my mind, not to be answered by any mere argument of Protestants, that this their cherished practice of conceding the liberty of individual inquiry and examination of the Holy Scriptures, so far from leading men into a communion of faith, and a due submission to ecclesiastical authority, has produced a variety of constructions of most vital and important passages in those Scriptures—one construction giving birth to one sect, and other constructions to other sects; until, as experience has taught us, a state of religious society in this country has been formed, and now exists, which is unparalleled in any other than Protestant countries, and which renders any principle of unity, as an ingredient of Protestantism, impossible; with this additional mischief, that, by submitting to such individual examination of the Bible only, the system which so acts upon mankind, not only fails in producing unity in faith and doctrine, but contracts and lessens the very evidences of Christianity, which are so satisfactorily and beautifully demonstrated by the preaching of the apostles and their successors the Holy Fathers, and which are preserved to this day in the records and traditions of the Catholic Church.*

* Since these reasons were originally published, in February, 1839, I have read in the *Annals of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith*, (No. 1. p. 65, 1838,) the following letter from Doctor Brute, Bishop of Vincennes, (United States) to the administering Archbishop of Lyons.

Washington, July 25, 1837.

"The feeling noticed at Geneva during the centenary jubilee of the Reformation, is very general here, particularly among the ministers and upper classes. There is no fixed faith, no settled articles of belief. Few individuals can be found to state accurately what they think of points formerly considered to be essential; and the opinions of to-day are found to yield to those of to-morrow. Some years ago, the question, 'Whether each sect ought or ought not to have articles of belief,' was seriously discussed by the Presbyterian ministers at their principal seminary of Prince's Town; and, though it involved the fate of the most fundamental doctrines, even to the divinity of our divine Redeemer, it was yet by a large majority decided in the negative. The efforts of some ministers, who styled themselves 'Orthodox,' to retain or intimidate by excommunicating the innovators, offer but a feeble barrier to the endless multiplication of sects. The congregations of the Presbyterians, of the Quakers, of the Baptists, and of the Methodists, are every day splitting into independent parties; and the consequent quarrels disclose to the public the scandalous causes of the separation. Thus the Anglican Episcopal Church never suffered more from the Presbyterians of the Revolution, than did the Methodist Episcopal establishment from its lately created rival, the Methodist Independent.

"From this total absence of fixed principle and government, from this christianity without faith or authority, have resulted, among the Protestants of the United States, the most profound indifference, and an entire abandonment of all Christian practices. The sacrament of baptism, the last supper, &c. are now looked upon as mere ceremonies, which may be neglected at pleasure; and if the minister speaks of them, he speaks in vain.

"In so vast an extent of territory, inhabited by sixteen millions of people, there are, of course, some exceptions to these general remarks, but, on the whole, the statement I have given is not exaggerated.

"I may say, with equal truth, that in proportion to the efforts which the ministers make to maintain their credit with the different sects, they are every day losing it. Their disputes with the Catholics, by proving more clearly their want of union, end in disgrace. The announcement of foreign missionaries, either to preach the faith to

In pursuing this subject, I will observe, that it is a matter of notoriety, that many clergymen of the Church of England are divided, not only as between themselves and the various sects called "Protestant Dissenters," "Orthodox Dissenters," &c. but also among themselves, in regard to the construction to be put upon the Holy Scriptures. If this were not the case, how could this Church, as she does, consist partly of what is called the *High Church* party, and partly of another body called the *Low Church* party: and this being the condition of the ministry, what must be the state of the laity of the Church of England? But then it is frequently insisted, that obedience to, or a belief in, the thirty-nine articles, is not necessary to constitute a person a member of this Church; and I will here declare, that if any circumstance had been wanting to complete the conviction which formed the ground-work of my renunciation of Protestantism and my conversion to the Catholic Church, this inconsistency would have done it, and relieved my mind of all anxiety on the subject, although, happily, my conviction of the truth of the doctrines of the Catholic Church, as well as upon the just claim of this Church to an exclusive authority, was so complete at the time when I made my profession of the Catholic faith in the autumn of 1837, that even this inconsistency of the Church of England, in first setting up its thirty-nine articles of faith, and then dispensing with the necessity of believing in them all, could not add to my satisfaction and peace of mind in regard to the course which I adopted. But, although the Church of England and its teachers are thus accommodating to the scruples of so many of its nominal members, the law and practice of the Establishment are not equally considerate towards those who seek in the Universities in this country to acquire learned distinctions. For, from its learned members who seek those distinctions, whether lay or clerical, the law enacts a subscription to the thirty-nine articles, which it thus sets up as the standard of its faith and doctrines, whilst it is content never to inquire into the extent of the belief in, or subscription to, those articles by its other members: thus placing the learned portion of its members under one rule or system of belief, and the unlearned under another. Yet this is a system, which its adherents, even in its highest places, (who avowedly envy the principle of unity which exists in the Catholic Church) would call a Catholic system, if they could do so without falsifying the evidences of antiquity, and violating the

Pagans, or to convert the Catholics of France or Italy, makes no impression; and thus, though enjoying the advantages of unrestricted liberty, and far removed from the counteracting influence of the Catholic religion, Protestantism in America, with its various creeds and disunited ministers, is hastening on to a state of greater dissolution than even in Germany, where at least an attempt is made to keep the discordant elements together by pretended unions and the legal sanction of common rituals. Why, then, may we ask, such repeated efforts to introduce into France errors and systems, that must eventually lead to indifference, and, in the name of the Bible, bring on the ruin of all religion?"

propriety of language; but, surely, this could not have been the system of the apostles, who exacted obedience to the teaching authority of their *one* Church, under the severe penalty on disobedience; which penalty consisted in pronouncing, after due warning, every disobedient member of the Church as an excommunicated person, in the exercise of a power given in express terms to her: the gift of which power I look upon as an additional evidence of the necessary infallibility of the true Church, for with what justice or reason can it be conceived, that our Lord would have placed this terrible power of excommunication, of cutting off from the society of the faithful, in other than infallible hands?

The observation which I have already offered respecting the difference of opinion among persons in communion with the Church of England touching the Athanasian Creed, leads to another proof of what I consider to be the false position of this Church: for instance, if the clergy of this Church do sincerely subscribe to this creed, why do they so frequently recognize as members of their Church those persons who are known by them to repudiate it? For very many, if not most, Protestant clergymen would certainly not refuse, to a person known to repudiate and "protest" against this creed, any of the offices of their Church.

Again, it is the practice with clergymen of the Church of England, from their pulpits, to tell their congregations, that if they (the clergy) preach anything but that which can be proved by the Bible, such preaching may be rejected, and that they (the laity) will act rightly in rejecting it. Now this, of a certainty, is so far consistent with the Protestant practice of submitting the Bible to the individual examination of the laity, as the only necessary foundation for faith. But then mark the effect of such a proposition. In the first place, it administers most largely to human pride and vanity, for it constitutes each individual thus addressed an independent expounder of Holy Writ, and his own teacher; and this, necessarily, amounts to a disclaimer on the part of the Church of England, not merely of the title to infallibility, but of the very character of a teaching authority, and, consequently, to a disclaimer of any right to frame or enforce, even as "articles of the peace," any of its thirty-nine articles; for upon what principle can articles of faith, or authorized conclusions from Scripture, or, in other words, a standard of faith and doctrine, be drawn, if the very source from which those articles are alleged to be drawn, is to be made the subject of individual interpretation?

But how different from all this inconsistency and natural weakness of Protestantism is the Catholic principle of unity! This Church, considering the Christian religion and doctrines as having been intended by their Divine Author to continue to the end of time, considers also that Christ gave corresponding and necessary powers to his apostles and their successors, which powers, like

his holy Church, were intended to continue to the end of time, and that the very essence of those powers was an *exclusive* authority of declaring and enforcing the doctrines of this his Church. To such an authority as this, the Catholic believes that it became, and will be the duty of all Christians to the end of time, to bow with submission. But, surely, that cannot be the true Church, the principal and leading act of which is to repudiate and disclaim, as it is evident the Church of England does, the character of infallibility which Christ, in the promise of the presiding power of the Holy Spirit over his Church to the end of time, so clearly made to her; for the unanswerable proposition of even a Catholic child on this subject is equal to a mathematical demonstration,—it being, that where the Holy Spirit of God is to rest to the end of time, there also, to the end of time, must, of necessity, exist infallibility; in other words, a secure protection against any doctrinal error. The Catholic principle, therefore, must be right. It is that, in a Church thus constituted by its Divine Founder, the Holy Spirit, in accordance with the eternal promise of Jesus Christ, abides in her, and effectually protects her from error, whilst the very Protestant principle of submitting the Holy Scriptures to the individual judgment of Protestants, embodies a disclaimer of that *teaching authority* which Christ most emphatically conferred upon his *Church*. Who, therefore, can be so bold as to deny, that the infallibility of the true Church must of necessity be her principal feature and first title to the obedience and submission of her children? And who can with truth assert, that any of the various Protestant sects have any title to such infallibility of character, even if they did not themselves (as they do) disclaim it?

To the end that I may not be exposed to the charge so commonly, but at the same time so unjustly, made by Protestants against Catholics, of a want of reverence for the Holy Scriptures, of a postponement of their authority to that of tradition, and of a fear of their evidences, as tending against Catholic doctrines, I declare, that I, in common with all Catholics, deny this charge to be true; for, with them, I revere the Holy Scriptures, believing the writings which constitute them to have been penned under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit: and I would refer those by whom Catholics are so unjustly accused on this subject, to the constant quotations from the Holy Scriptures in the sublime offices of our Church, to the veneration paid to the holy Gospel at our altars and by all Catholics, and to the prayer contained in the Catholic prayer-books, in reference to the reading of the holy Gospel, from which I may extract the following passage:—"All that is written of Thee, dread Jesus, in thy gospel, is truth itself; nothing but wisdom in thy actions, power and goodness in thy miracles, light and instruction in thy words;" and then I would call their attention to the fact, that portions of the holy Gospel and Epistles

are read in English at mass on every Sunday.* In fact, Catholics are, on this subject, taught to believe that the Holy Scriptures contain words of life; but they are also taught to believe that, by being read, except under the teaching authority of the Church, they may be converted, by individual and unauthorized construction, into words of death; thus verifying the expression of St. Peter, that "there are many things in Scripture hard to be understood, and which the unlearned and unstable wrest to their own destruction." (2 Pet. iii. 6.)

All this must, surely, satisfy any candid mind of the belief of Catholics, under the true teaching authority, in the Holy Scriptures. Besides, every Catholic must feel convinced, that no article of his faith is inconsistent with them, when examined, as they can only with safety be examined, under the infallible instruction of his Church; and that, as to the traditions of his Church, they are received by him upon this principle,—that those acts of Christ and his apostles, which evidently are not embodied in the New Testament, as well as the preaching and acts of those holy men, who, as successors of the apostles, may be well, as they are, called the Fathers of the Church, and to whom the Divine Spirit was imparted, disclose the true doctrines of Christianity, and, *together with the Holy Scriptures*, constitute a mass of evidence to the truths of Christianity, not to be overpowered by the infidel; and confirm the construction of the Catholic Church of the Holy Scriptures, especially in those instances in which many passages therein contained are, and must be admitted to be, of doubtful interpretation, without the aid of the true teaching authority.

Connected with this, we cannot fail to mark the result of the Protestant rule of submitting the Holy Scriptures to the individual examination of Protestants; and in this we witness the existence of numerous opposing sects, each having started into existence upon its own individual examination and construction of those Scriptures; or upon the fanciful, peculiar, and unauthorized interpretation of them by some individual of specious address, and possessing the art of imposing upon the credulous minds of his hearers. We also see that the Church of England has not, upon its own principle of submitting the Scriptures to the individual examination and interpretation of its members, the power, by any public act or council, with any consistency, to separate from itself, or from the name of Protestant, any of those other and numerous sects which have, in their turn, become Protestants against the Church of England; these successive and continually increasing sects among Protestants, according to the

* See the Declaration of the Catholic bishops and vicars-apostolic and their coadjutors in Great Britain, published by the Catholic Institute (sect. 3, p. 7,) which contains a most able defence of the Catholic Church against this unfounded attack on her.

admirable sentiment of Dr. Wiseman, verifying by their existence the justice of God, so often apparent in the punishment of filial rebellion, by permitting the disobedient child, in its turn, to be afflicted by its own rebellious offspring; for the very condition in which Protestant society is now to be viewed is, in itself, a most striking proof of their system not being the true one. Almighty God has vouchsafed to man a living proof of the *truth of Christianity* itself in the state of the Jews; and he seems also to warn Christians against the sin of heresy, and to call those who have wandered from the true Church back to her bosom, by manifesting the unsettled and disunited condition of Protestants in their many and jarring sects and opinions, and in the total absence among them of the Catholic principle of authority and unity to guide and direct their steps; thus making the condition of Protestantism as living a testimony of the danger of *heresy*, by a departure from, and a renunciation of, the teaching authority of the Catholic Church, as the condition of the Jews is of the fulfilment of the prophecies, and the truth of Christianity itself.

These reasons produced my happy conversion to the Catholic Church; and, although I should have felt myself bound to renounce Protestantism upon the conscientious conviction of the authority and infallibility of the Catholic Church, without attending to any controversy in regard to the doctrines of the Church which Protestants do not agree to, (for the *infallibility* of the true Church must, at once, establish her doctrines,) yet, from the admirable frame of Dr. Wiseman's Lectures, I had the opportunity afforded me, of which I availed myself, of considering in detail those doctrines, of contrasting the respective arguments of Catholics and Protestants upon them, and of discovering the misrepresentation of Catholic doctrines in which I had been brought up. I had also the happiness to arrive at the conviction of their truth, in addition to the sincere conviction of the exclusive authority and infallibility of the Catholic Church. And, in conclusion, I would suggest to the various and conflicting sects of Protestants, to pause before they attack the doctrines of the Catholic Church, in order that they may, as a first step, settle among themselves, if they can, which one of those sects is considered—or can be admitted by them to be—the true Church of Christ; and, as such, entitled to place itself in the attitude of an assailant of the ancient faith? and, it would be well for those who call themselves members of the Church of England, to consider whether this Church, who is the mother of so many sects,—she, who in her articles and practice is so temporizing—she, who has varied so often in her doctrines and belief,—can, by any possibility, or even in her own judgment, be the true, the consistent, the infallible, and immaculate spouse of Jesus Christ?

TRACT 23.

[PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDANCE OF THE CATHOLIC
INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN.]

THE
CATHOLIC SCRIPTURIST
OR, THE
Plea of the Roman Catholics.

SHEWING

THE SCRIPTURES TO HOLD THE ROMAN FAITH IN ABOVE FORTY
OF THE CHIEF CONTROVERSIES NOW UNDER DEBATE.

By JOSEPH MUMFORD, PRIEST,
OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

REPRINTED FROM THE EDITION OF 1686.

No. I.

FIRST POINT.—*That Scripture alone cannot be a rule sufficient to
direct us in all necessary controversies.*

SECOND POINT.—*Tradition besides Scripture must direct us in many
necessary controversies.*



[Stereotyped for the Catholic Institute of Great Britain.]

LONDON:

Sold by all Catholic Booksellers, price One Penny, or Five
Shillings per Hundred for gratuitous distribution.

CATHOLIC INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN, 14, SOHO SQUARE, LONDON.

Established July 9, 1838.

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THE PREFACE.

1. Now I beseech you, Brethren, mark those which cause divisions, and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them. (Rom. xvi. 17.) These words were the words of God, and of truth, as well in the year 1517, as at this present year. Had any good Christian spoken these words in that aforesaid year, 1517, all, who had heard them, could have made no other sense of them, but that they were forewarned by them both to *mark* and to *avoid* all authors of divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine which they had learned: yet, as then, there was not any good Christian (unless you will account them for such, whom you yourselves acknowledge to have maintained gross heresies) who did not believe and profess the Roman Faith. This was the *faith and doctrine* which they had learned. Wherefore, when in that year Luther first appeared, causing divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine which they had learned, all were bound, by the advice of the Apostle, to *mark* and *avoid* the said Luther, and all his adherents and followers.

2. But the world, then no less addicted to old vices than to new doctrines, did shut their ears to this advice of the Apostle, and did open their arms to embrace that which was (in so very many points) *contrary to the doctrine which they had learned*. And the misery is, that all those new teachers, which ensued in whole swarms, though they all taught *contrary to what they had learned*, yea, and the one contrary to the other, yet all pretended to teach nothing but Scripture rightly understood, which they all affirmed not to have been rightly understood, for the foregoing thousand years, in such points as then they began to question. Yet with the same breath they said, that in all those several points in which they contradicted the former doctrine (and by doing so caused so great divisions and offences) they did affirm only that to which they were enforced by evident, manifest, and most clear texts of Scripture. Which was to say that, for the precedent thousand years, nobody had rightly understood, or at least every body had by word and practise contradicted, evident, manifest, and most clear texts of Scripture.

3. The good Christians of those ages, and we who adhere unto them, being in the quiet and peaceable possession of what we had learned, were bound (according to the advice of the Apostle) to avoid those new teachers; and it was sufficient for us to show they taught *contrary to what we had learned*, which they themselves confessed to be true, and was too evident to require proof. But because we stood constantly to maintain *what we had learned*, upon this ground, as the Apostle did bid us; our adversaries, desirous to bring us from believing to disputing, would be still importunately pressing us to prove, point by point, every point which we held, by evident, manifest, and most clear Scripture. We well understood that it was their parts (who affirmed all former ages, for some thousand years at least, to have thus grossly erred against clear Scripture) to make good so great and so scandalous an accusation, by producing texts (in the points under question) of so manifest, undeniable evidence against us, that their texts, compared to ours alledged in defence of the same points, should make the truth so clear on their side, that all might be forced to confess they had reason to revolt (as they did) from all their ecclesiastical and civil magistrates, and to frame also a new body by themselves, wholly and entirely, both in doctrine and discipline, quite different, yea, and contrary to all congregations, as then, upon the face of the earth.

4. The exorbitancy of this their proceeding will be unjustifiable, when I shall here produce so many and so loud-speaking texts, for above forty of those points which they disliked in our religion; yea, it was our holding those points, for which, they said, they were enforced to this so unfortunate *a division*. But how weakly they were enforced, upon this account, to *cause such divisions and offences*, will easily be seen by any impartial eye, which shall attentively peruse on the one side all the texts which I shall here allege for forty-five of those points, (for which chiefly they have caused this division) and on the other, the few and inconsiderable, and a thousand-times-answered texts, which they bring to the contrary.

5. This then is the plea of us Roman Catholics, that we, ever since our ancestors in England were Christians, have held *the doctrine which we have learned, still avoiding those who taught the contrary*. For that we have done this in no fewer than fifty points in which we are most accused of novelty, hath been demonstrated in a late book, entitled "England's Old Religion, out of Bede's own words." And though Bede had not been (as he was) the most grave and learned author which ever England had, but had been only a Jack-Straw, living and writing before the year 731, (that is, about nine hundred years

ago); yet to see, in *his words then written*, those fifty points all held and all practised in our England, when England's religion was at the purest, cannot but abundantly convince, that we Roman Catholics did then hold and practise what we hold and practise now. What is this, but to *hold the doctrine we have learned, avoiding those who teach the contrary?*

6. Yet this is not our whole plea; for we know it will be objected that what we then learnt was contrary to Scripture; and they must mean clear and manifest Scripture, or else why do they go against the doctrine and practice which they found agreeing so exactly with the doctrine and practice of old England, as unanswerably demonstrated in that book. But we furthermore plead, that in those very points to which contradiction, yea, and manifest contradiction to Scripture, is objected against us, we have Scripture speaking so fully for us, that no one of those many religions now tolerated in England, can, with any colour of probability, challenge greater evidence of Scripture for their opposite tenets, than we here produce for our undoubtedly ancient doctrine; and therefore this our doctrine, even in this respect, ought, in all reason, to be at least as much tolerated as any of those religions lately sprung up in England. The proof of what I say must rely upon what shall appear to be made good by me, in each point of those forty-five here ensuing.

7. It only remains that I advertise the reader how impossible it is that I, or any one else, should cite all texts just in those very words in which he will find them in his English Bible; for you have so many several translations of the English Bible, that whilst I oblige myself to follow one, I shall make sure not to follow the other. I conceived the best expedient to avoid this difficulty would be to follow always either the very words, or the full sense, of that English Bible which is most universally received. And in this point I have been so very scrupulous, that I continually admonish my reader, if at any one time I chance to put down any single text differing in sense from the English Bible which I have made choice of, as the best edition of their most received Bible; which is that which was set forth at Cambridge, 1635, printed by Thomas and John Buck, printers to that University, which Bible king James did cause to be set forth *out of his deep judgment, apprehending how convenient it was that, out of the original Sacred Tongues, there should be a more exact translation*, as is said in the preface of this translation, dedicated to His Majesty.

A NOTE TO THE CATHOLIC READER.

LET the Catholic reader observe, that when we cite the two books of *Samuel*, the text cited will be found in our two first books of *Kings*. And when we cite here their two books of *Kings*, the text will be found, in our Bibles, in the two last books of *Kings*. For our third is their first; our fourth their second. So also with them, the books of *Paralip.* be called *Chronicles*; the second of *Esdras* they call *Nehemiah*. In numbering also the *Psalms*, they do, from the 10th *Psalms*, differ from us, counting still one more than we, until they come to *Psalms* 147, which from the eleventh verse includes our *Psalms* 147. And thence we go forward with the same account.

THE
CATHOLIC SCRIPTURIST,
ETC.

THE FIRST POINT.

THAT SCRIPTURE ALONE CANNOT BE A RULE SUFFICIENT
TO DIRECT US IN ALL NECESSARY CONTROVERSIES.

1. No Roman Catholic doth deny the Scripture to be a sufficient rule to direct us in all controversies, if we take the Scripture rightly interpreted. And therefore all those many texts which Protestants bring, to prove the Scripture to be our sole rule of faith, are very clearly answered, by saying, that all those texts speak of the Scripture not taken as the letter sounds (for *the letter kills*, 2 Cor. iii. 6), but they speak of the Scripture as rightly interpreted. And Protestants cannot but grant the Scripture rightly interpreted, to be a sufficient rule of faith. But what are we the nearer? For now comes the great question of questions, Who be those that give the right interpretation to Scripture?

2. The very ground of all religions, but the Roman, is the Scripture as interpreted by their own selves, after they have carefully conferred one place with another. For I ask, and ask them again, and again, by whom Scripture ought to be interpreted? They will say, by Scripture conferred with Scripture. Here I must yet ask them again, By whom the conference of one Scripture with another can be made so exactly, that from hence we may come undoubtedly to know the true interpretation? This question I will be still asking them, until they can answer it. For I am sure, that if I press this question home, they must be at last enforced to say, that the ground of their whole religion is, the Scripture interpreted by themselves, when it hath been carefully conferred by themselves: so that the very ground of their whole faith is deceitful, and fallible, if they themselves be fallible, either in interpreting, or in conferring Scripture carefully or skilfully. If they say, their interpretation thus made, is undoubted and infallible, then they cannot blame us for saying, that the interpretation of the Church, made with as great care and skill, used by her in the exact conference of one Scripture with another, is infallible.

3. Stay here, dear reader; and as thou lovest thy salvation, before thou goest any further, ponder attentively, how fallible and subject to a world of errors the ground of all such religions must needs be, which wholly and entirely are found at last to rely upon a mere human interpretation, after that a mere human and most fallible diligence, and skill, hath been employed in conferring one text with another. Then ponder on the other side, how incomparably surer and more justifiable in the sight of God and man, the ground of that faith is, which relieth indeed on the Scripture; but not on the Scripture as interpreted by private and fallible interpreters, after their most fallible exactness of conferring Scripture with Scripture; but which relieth upon Scripture, as interpreted by the Church, after that she, with no less exactness, hath conferred one Scripture with another in a general council, having incomparably greater human abilities, than those of any private man's be, and having the special assistance of the Holy Ghost, leading his Church into all truth: Of this infallibility we shall speak fully, Point v.

4. Now the Scripture, as rightly interpreted by the Church, will send us, for the clearing of many doubts, unto the Church, authorized by Christ to instruct and teach us, as in that fifth point shall be evidenced out of Scripture. The difference then between our adversaries and us, is, that we affirm the Scripture, as it is rightly interpreted by the Church, after she hath exactly conferred, in a general council, Scripture with Scripture, to be the rule of faith, by which she decideth all necessary controversies. But our adversaries, misliking the dependance on the Church, will have the Scripture, by itself alone, to be a rule sufficient to direct each one, who shall carefully confer it, to judge all necessary controversies. This we deny, and though they say it in words, yet in very deed they also come to deny what they say; for, let a man mark it well, and he shall see, that all these sectaries, when they come to the main controversy, do not take Scripture alone, as conferred with Scripture only; but they all take Scripture with their own interpretation, made upon their own conference. And if you tell them they have failed, by not taking due notice of several other texts in Scripture, which should have been pondered in their conference, and would have produced a different interpretation, they will say, their own spirit tells them the contrary: so that finally, they, who laugh at the Church for trusting to be securely guided by the Holy Ghost, come to ground their whole faith upon the assurance of being truly guided by their own spirit or judgment; but let us come to what we propound, and let us prove by Scripture, that Scripture, taken as they take it, cannot be a sufficient rule to direct us in all necessary controversies. This I prove

5. *First*, Because, to end all controversies, we must at least rule ourselves by all the books of Scripture, and we must be assured we do so. This is clear, because by no text of Scripture can it be proved, that any determined book, or number of books, is sufficient to end all controversies. But to do this, the whole number of books written by any Scripture writer is wholly requisite, seeing that no text speaks of any one, or any determinate number; but all speak of all. Now mark to what pass this opinion brings you. For, if we be to judge all necessary controversies by all the books which ever were written by any Scripture writer, we must necessarily have these books amongst us. But we have not in the whole world extant amongst us divers books of sacred propheticall Scriptures. For no fewer than twenty books of the propheticall penmen of the Holy Ghost have quite perished, as the learned Contzen proveth in his preface upon the four Gospels; and I will prove this as far as is sufficient by these following texts: Josh. x. 13: *Is not this written in the book of Jasher?* Again, 1 Kings iv. 32: *Solomon spoke three thousand proverbs, and his songs were one thousand and five.* Again, 1 Chron. xxix. 29: *The acts of David first and last, are written in the book of Samuel the seer, and the book of Nathan the prophet, and the book of Gad the seer.* Where be these two prophets' books? Again, 2 Chron. ix. 29, mention is made of the *books of Nathan the prophet, and the prophecy of Aijah, and the visions of Iddo the seer.* And chap. xii. 15, in the book of *Schemiah the prophet, and Iddo the seer, concerning genealogies*; which seems to be a different book from *his Book of Visions* before specified. And chap. xiii. 22, mention is made of the *story of the prophet Iddo.* And chap. xx. 34, mention is made of the *book of Jehu son of Hanani.* And chap. xxxiii. 19, we find mention of the works of the *sayings of the seers.* We know then by Scripture that what is said by those Books, is said by prophets: and we also know by Scripture, that *God spoke in time past unto the fathers by the prophets*, (2 Peter i. 21). Moreover, we know by Scripture, that *Prophecy came not in old time by the will of man; but the holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.* (2 Peter i. 21). Standing therefore to what is known by Scripture, these books, which have perished, did deliver what was spoken by the Holy Ghost, and contained the true word of God. Whence is proved, that we have not, now, entirely the whole word of God written. And this is further proved by the ensuing texts of St. Paul: 1 Cor. v. 9: *I wrote to you in one Epistle.* Note, that he saith this in his first Epistle to them: where is this Epistle which St. Paul wrote to them, before he wrote the first to them? *I wrote to you.* We then say, give us all sacred propheticall writings which ever were writ-

ten, or give us at least some one single clear text, which tells us, that we are to end all necessary controversies by such books alone as be now extant in the true canon of Scripture, or else be ashamed to speak without a text in this very question, in which you affirm, that all our necessary controversies must be ended by only clear Scripture. The controversy about this very question is one of the greatest of all controversies, and yet you would have us credit you, without being able to bring clear Scripture for what you say; especially Scripture conferred with these now cited texts, of which, I dare say, you never thought. And though you should bring me a clear text to prove what is desired, yet where would you find a clear text, to show me that all those twelve books, yea, or any one of them, which you have rejected amongst the *Apocrypha*, do not belong to the true canon of the whole Scripture. Remember, I call for a text as you bid me, and not for a reason against which we have our reasons; the text says, you must end all necessary controversies. Let then some text be brought able to end this, even in your own judgment.

6. *Secondly*, If Scripture only be the rule to end all necessary controversies, then some ages had no such rule at all, but were destitute of all assured rule to end their necessary controversies, and that for two thousand and four hundred years together. For Moses, who was the first Scripture writer, was not born, but after the world had stood two thousand and four hundred years, as may be made apparent by Scripture, in calculating the ages of such as successively lived one after the other, according to his own history of *Genesis*: so long, therefore, the world was without any Scripture. Scripture, then, is not the only rule of true faith, seeing that Sarah, Rebecca, and others of those times, had true faith, though their faith was only squared by the rule of the tradition of their Church, as we shall see in the next point, No. 2.

7. *Thirdly*, The rule, by which all men should be ruled in all necessary points, should be in a language understood by all. But it is clear, that most of the Jews, in the captivity of Babylon, had lost the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, wherein the old Scripture was written. Neither was the Bible translated into the Syriac language till some years after our Saviour's death. Syriac differs as much from Hebrew, as Italian from Latin; and the very letters differ as much as Greek and Latin. The Jews then for about fourteen generations understood the Hebrew no more than your people now understand the Bible in Latin. But of all this I shall speak more fully in Point xv. No. 1.

8. *Fourthly*, That cannot be a sufficient rule to decide all necessary controversies, which speaks not one word of many necessary controversies: but the Scripture speaks not a word of many necessary controversies; *ergo*, and first, it is necessary to

know which books of Scripture be canonical, and which not: also, whether the canonical books we now have, be alone sufficient to guide us in all necessary controversies? Then whether they can do this, if they be not incorrupt. And how we shall assuredly know whether they be incorrupted, or not? Or, which is the copy that is uncorrupt? Again, which is the true translation of this copy. Again, which is the true sense of this translation, and that assuredly, with a clear text for this assurance? Of these and many more particular controversies, not a word in Scripture. Again, standing to Scripture alone, the heresy of Helvidius, denying our blessed Lady ever to have remained a virgin, seemeth rather to have had some colourable defence, than any clear judgment given against it by Scripture only. For Matt. i. 25: *He knew her not till she brought forth her first-born Son.* In which text these words, *till she brought forth* and those others, *her first-born son*, give some colour to say she had other sons afterwards. For which doctrine, Helvidius was held an heretic by St. Augustine, (*Hær.* 84) and by St. Hieron, *contra Helvidium*. You may see four-and-twenty necessary points set down all at large by Optatus Ductor, in his *Question of Questions*, no one of which is clearly decided in Scripture.

9. *Fifthly*, That cannot be a sufficient rule to decide all necessary controversies, which in such controversies speaks not clearly, but is very hard to be understood as the Scripture is. Whence we see all controversies arise about the true meaning of such and such texts. So 2^d Pet. iii. 16, in the which (Epistles of St. Paul) are certain things hard to be understood, which the *unlearned and unstable wrest*, as they do the other Scriptures, *unto their own damnation*. Whence it is evident, that *damnable errors* may be incurred by misinterpreting *places hard to be understood*, and so this *hardness* is found in *points necessary to salvation*: for in such only, *damnable errors* can be incurred.

10. *Sixthly*, Christ did not command any one of the Evangelists to write his Gospel. They all did write of themselves upon particular occasions, expressed by Eusebius. St. Luke tells you in his preface, why he did write uncommanded. Christ then intended to leave us some other rule than this, which he never commanded to be written at all, much less to be written so, as to be to us the only rule of faith.

11. *Seventhly*, By reading the ceremonial law, given by God to Moses, so clearly, so distinctly, and so close together, in the compass of no great book, I evidently infer, that if the self-same most prudent law-maker had intended, in the books of canonical Scripture, to have delivered unto us the sole rule of faith, and which alone we are to follow; he would not only have clearly

told us so, but he would with no less, but rather with more clarity and distinction, and in a far less compass, have set down unto us this rule, entirely and completely together in some one part of the canonical Scripture, distinctly expressing all those points, the belief of which he exacts of us under pain of damnation. For this did much more import to be done thus plainly and distinctly, than the setting down of the Jewish ceremonies: for is it likely, that the same God who prescribed unnecessary ceremonies to be so clearly and distinctly set down in a few leaves, to direct the Jewish Church, which is but the hand-maid, would not, for the Church of CHRIST, which is the mistress, give as clear a direction in points wholly necessary to salvation; but would send every one of her children to read over the whole Bible, and to pick out here one place, and there another, as Protestants say, God sends us to seek even the most necessary points of our belief, (which He requires of us under pain of damnation), now, in this place of so vast a volume as the Bible is, now in another place hard by, now in another a great way off; and so to go seeking from the beginning of *Genesis*, to the end of the *Apocalypse*: and this, though the number of points necessary to salvation be but small, as Protestants all agree? I cannot, therefore, think it was God's intention to leave us to the Bible only, as to the sole rule of faith.



POINT II.

TRADITION, BESIDES SCRIPTURE, MUST DIRECT US IN MANY NECESSARY CONTROVERSIES.

1. *First*, The word of God may be notified either by tradition, without writing: or by Scripture, or writing. It is undoubted, that the word of God written, or unwritten, is the rule of faith; wherefore, seeing it hath been proved (in the former Point) that the written word of God is not our only rule of faith, it evidently followeth that God's unwritten word, notified by tradition, must be taken as part of this rule.

2. *Secondly*, Moses was the first Scripture writer, and he, according to his own story, did not write till the world had continued above two thousand and four hundred years: so long then all the faithful in the world were truly faithful without any Scripture. All this long time then, the unwritten word of God (that is, tradition) was the only rule of faith: for even then many had that faith which is defined by St. Paul, (Heb. ii. 1,) which I prove, because in that very place he numbers Abel, Enoch, Noah,

Abraham and Sarah, all having the faith he there described; and yet Sarah cannot be shown to have had her faith grounded on any other word of God, but that which was delivered by the tradition of the Church in her times. And generally, then, the faith of all true believers was grounded upon tradition only. By this tradition they knew that God *blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it*, (Gen. ii. 3): and so all held themselves obliged to keep the sabbath. By this tradition they knew the distinction of beasts, *clean and unclean*, (Gen. vii. 2). By this tradition they knew themselves obliged *not to eat the flesh with the blood*, (Gen. ix. 4); so likewise, that the tithes were to be paid to the *priest*, (Gen. xiv. 20). By only tradition they knew the fall of Adam; their future salvation by the Messias to come; their remedy from sin by penance and repentance; their reward of good, and punishment of evil. Again, from Abraham until the written law, (that is, for some four hundred years) they knew by tradition only, that *this is the covenant which ye shall keep between me and you, all mankind shall be circumcised, an infant of eight days*. (Gen. xvii. 10.) Now give me one text if you can, which bids us not take tradition for a rule of faith after the writing of Scripture.

3. *Thirdly*, Even after the writing of Scripture, the Gentiles had not the Scripture, yet by tradition only many of them (as appears by the book of *Job*) retained true faith. And even among the Jews, after they had the Scripture, several necessary points were left to be known by tradition only; as the remedy for original sin before the eighth day, and for women children both before and after; as also by only tradition they knew, that all the virtue that sacrifices had to take away sin, was from the blood of their Redeemer to come. The observing of all these traditions was not any unlawful addition to the written word of God; whence you may understand the clear meaning of those words so often objected against us, (Deut. iv. 2): *You shall not add to the word I command you, neither shall you diminish aught from it*. For here is only forbidden to add contrary to the law. So that other place, (Chron. xii. 32): *Whatsoever I command you, observe, thou shalt not add thereunto, nor diminish from it*. For this place is meant only of not offering any other sacrifices, besides those which were in the law prescribed: but it was ever lawful, for lawful superiors, to add more precepts agreeable to the law. So chap. ii. 30, 31, after the children of Israel, according to law, had kept the solemnity of Azymes seven days, (ver. 23): *the whole assembly took good counsel to keep other seven days*. And ver. 27: *Their prayer came to the holy habitation of heaven*. This addition then did not displease God. Again, (Esth. ix. 27): *The Jews ordained, and took upon them and their*

seed, and upon all that would be joined with them, so as it should not fail that they keep these two days, and that these days should be kept throughout every generation, every family: behold here another addition. And behold also another again of the dedication of the altar, made for eight days from year to year, (1 Mace. iv. 56, 59). And that you may know that this book is Scripture, or at least, that a feast is to be kept not appointed in Scripture, our Saviour himself did keep this feast, (John x. 22), as I shall show, Point 38. Again, the change of the sabbath into the Sunday is only clearly known by tradition: yea, the manner of keeping it is contrary to all Scripture we have; for Scripture saith, (Lev. xxiii. 32): *From even unto even shall you celebrate your sabbath.* Yet we do not begin the Sunday the even before, neither dare we work after the even upon Sunday. Who taught us this? Tradition only.

4. *Fourthly*, Tradition is (and therefore is truly to be held) the word of God, making us fully assured of what is not written. For example, for some years after the death of our Saviour, his glorification after death was not written so as to express, that Jesus was that Christ whom God had glorified; and yet before this was written, St. Peter said truly, (Acts ii. 36): *Therefore let all the house of Israel know assuredly* (mark the word *assuredly*) *that God hath made the same Jesus, whom you have crucified, both Lord and Christ.* We may then have an infallible faith of what is not written, yea, we are forbidden to believe otherwise than was delivered by tradition, (2 Thess. ii. 14): *Therefore, brethren, stand and hold the traditions you have been taught, whether by word, or by our epistle.* For what he taught by his tongue only was as truly the word of God, as what he did also write with his pen. Yea, this which I call tradition is the epistle of Christ, (2 Cor. iii. 3): *You are the epistle of Christ, not written with ink, but with the spirit of the living God.* This epistle *written with the spirit of the living God* is no less true, nor of less credit than what is written with ink in papers. Wherefore most of the apostles did give their converts no other form of belief, but what (by their preaching) they had written in their hearts, *not with ink, but with the spirit of the living God.* For the proper subject to receive and retain the word of God, is not paper, but the hearts of the faithful. Whence, St. Irenæus, (lib. iii. cap. 4) *What if the apostles had also left no Scripture! Ought not we to follow the order of tradition which they delivered to them, to whom they committed the Churches? To which ordinance many nations of those barbarous people, who had believed in Christ, do consent without letter or ink, having salvation (that is, soul-saving doctrine) written in their hearts.* For a world of the first believers did never so much as see all Scripture. It was the

year 99, before St. John wrote his gospel : and when the canon of Scripture was fully ended, there is no mention made even of the least care taken by the apostles, to divulge the Scripture in barbarous languages ; no, nor to divulge it in Latin itself, as you must needs say, who deny primitive antiquity to all Latin editions. All this clearly proves, that tradition was relied upon, as upon the word of God itself. Whence St. Paul did not only counsel, but also command the Thessalonians to withdraw themselves from all who walked not after the tradition they had received of their pastors, (2 Thess. iii. 6) : *Now, said he, we command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition which he received of us.*

5. It was for the keeping this tradition, and form of faith, why he praised the Romans, (chap. vi. 17) : *You have obeyed from your heart the form of doctrine which was delivered you.* This form could not be a form contained in the whole canon of Scripture, for the whole canon was not finished when St. Paul did write this. It was therefore *the form of uniform tradition* delivered in each Church, which taught by word of mouth all things necessary : for this he praised the Corinthians, (1 Cor. xi. 2) : *Now I praise you brethren, that you keep the traditions* (so you put it in the margin ; but in the text you read, *ordinances*) *as I delivered them to you.* This *form*, these *traditions*, these *ordinances* are inculcated again and again, (1. Tim. vi. 20) : *O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust :* and, (ver. 3) : *If any one teach otherwise, he is proud, knowing nothing.* Again, (2 Tim. i. 13) : *Hold fast the form of good words which thou hast heard of me : that good thing which was committed to thee, keep by the Holy Ghost.* Again, (chap. iii. 14) : *But thou continue in those things which thou hast learned, and been assured of, knowing of whom thou hast learned them ;* learned, I say, by word of mouth, for by writing he had received but little. So also, when as yet by writing he had taught the Romans nothing, he, in his first and only epistle to them, wrote thus, (Rom. xvi. 17), *Now I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which you have learned.* Likewise, when as yet he had written nothing to the Galatians, for where is any such writing ? he begins thus, (Gal. i. 6) : *I marvel that so soon you are removed from him, who called you into the grace of Christ unto another gospel.* I say, removed, that is, changed from the *form of faith* which I delivered, which was a true, though not a written gospel, *into another gospel* taught by these new *otherwise teachers* ; yet, saith he, with all earnestness, *Although we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let them be a-*

cursed, (ver. 8). St. Paul as yet had preached nothing to them in writing, but they had received all by *oral tradition*, and yet notwithstanding once again more vehemently, (ver. 9): *As we have said before, so I say now again, If any man preach any other gospel unto you than that you have received, be he accursed*. Note the word *received* intimateth that they had all by tradition. For what, as then, had they received from him in writing? And he saith no more than other apostles (who did write nothing, but delivered all by oral tradition) might truly have said of the gospel so delivered by them. Neither did St. Paul speak of what they should receive many years after, but of what they had *as then received*; for that was as true as any thing they should receive by writing. And therefore for their forsaking of what they had received thus, he most deservedly saith unto them, *O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you?* (chap. iii. 1). For indeed they seem bewitched out of their senses, who, to follow the private judgment of some *otherwise teachers*, reject what they had *received* by the full and still continued report of all Christianity, from the first teachers of the faith.

6. They object tradition to be the word of men; but all these arguments show this apostolical tradition (for which only we now contend) to be the word of God; *A form of sound words*. And (1 Thess. ii. 13): *Ye received the word of God which ye heard of us, ye received it not as the word of men, but (as it is in truth) the word of God*. Behold, what was heard by them only by word of mouth, was *in truth the word of God*. Therefore a fit rule of faith, even before it was written.

7. They ask, how we know a true apostolical tradition from a false one, which is the tradition of men? I answer, that a true apostolical tradition cometh down handed by a full unanimous report of all Catholic nations in all ages, attested by their universal practice and uniform doctrine, what is thus delivered is the doctrine of the Church diffused, and therefore infallible; upon this ground (for other infallible grounds you have none) you receive only such and such Scripture for canonical, and such and such copies of the Scripture for authentical. We can therefore, to the full, as well distinguish true traditions from false ones, or apostolical traditions, from traditions of ordinary men, as you can distinguish the authentic copy of their writings from such as are forged or corrupted; for you must first distinguish the truth of the tradition which recommends such books unto you from all false traditions.

TRACT 24.

[PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE CATHOLIC
INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN.]

A SEARCH

MADE INTO

Matters of Religion,

BY

FRANCIS WALSINGHAM,
" DEACON OF THE PROTESTANT'S CHURCH,
BEFORE HIS CHANGE TO THE CATHOLIC.

Extracted from the Edition of 1609.



[Stereotyped for the Catholic Institute of Great Britain.]

LONDON :

Sold by all Catholic Booksellers ; price two pence, or ten
shillings per hundred for gratuitous
distribution.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

	Page
Of my Doubts, my Acquaintance and first Conference with an old Catholic Man	3

CHAPTER II.

Of my second Conference with the old Catholic Man.....	16
--	----

CHAPTER III.

Of my third Conference with the old Catholic Man	26
--	----

A SEARCH

MADE INTO

MATTERS OF RELIGION.

CHAPTER I.

Of my Doubts, my Acquaintance and first Conference with an old Catholic Man.

To the end, gentle reader, that thou mayest better understand the nature of the case that fell out to me, I have thought it expedient to lay down a brief relation of my state and condition, before I fell into any doubt about religion at all. Thus then, in brief, the matter passed with me. I was brought up from my tender years in London, by the care of my very good patron Sir Francis Walsingham, counsellor and secretary to the late Queen (Elizabeth), under the father-like tuition of Mr. Humphrey Walsingham, my near kinsman. I was by him placed for several years in St. Paul's School, where I had my first beginnings both of learning and religion, never once doubting of the truth of any position held by the Protestant's Church.

When I came to sufficient years to be able not only to follow sermons, but to read books of controversy written by Protestant authors, I was not negligent therein, as my often and diligent reading in the writings of Fox, Jewell, Calvin, and Beza may bear me witness. By which readings and conferences with others of the same religion, I became so fervent, that I resolved to make myself one of the Protestant clergy; and for the accomplishment thereof, I procured myself, in the year 1603, to be made deacon, by the hands of my Lord Bishop of Ely; and having taken that degree, I thought it incident to the same not only to confirm myself, in that way, but others also whomsoever I could.

For this purpose, I was wont gladly to lend books to any that would read them, inducing them also earnestly to the same. On one occasion it fell out, that one of my acquaintance, to whom I offered a Protestant book, was content to receive the same, on condition that I should promise him to read another book that he would lend me; and this condition I gladly accepted. But finding myself strangely troubled in my judgment and conscience, and having very unexpectedly conceived many doubts by the perusal of this Papistical book, I was moved at length (after the failure of other means which I attempted for my satisfaction) to repair unto his Majesty (James I.), as head of the Church, to whom I had before taken divers oaths of obedience in spiritual affairs. By his Majesty I was referred to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and had sundry conferences with him and his chaplain, and sundry other learned men assigned by him. I read also sundry books which his lordship appointed me, but received no sufficient contentment of mind in the doubts I had entertained. I resolved, therefore, to read more both of Protestant and Catholic books, with greater attention than I had done before, especially to try which side dealt the more sincerely in quoting authors for proof of their opinions: but, after much examination, I could find no reasonable satisfaction to my doubts and difficulties, but rather increase of them both. I could not tell what to do; but resolved to go forward in reading more books, both Protestant and Catholic.

At length I was obliged to interrupt this course of reading, by reason of a long journey that I was compelled to make; in which journey (among other things not necessary to be mentioned here) I became acquainted, by means of friends, with a certain old man of the Roman religion, who soon appeared to me to be not only learned, but also to have been, in times past, in the very same doubtfulness wherein I now found myself; and this gave me the more encouragement to deal frankly and freely with him. Accordingly, I recounted to him all that I have already stated, at large, and with sundry circumstances which I have not thought fit or necessary to put down in writing.

I recounted unto him more in particular what accidents had fallen out unto me; where, and with whom I had been; what I had done; what I had thought; what I had discoursed with myself; what I had read and sought; what I had found; and in what perplexity I was to see myself entangled in mind, as for the present I was: for that,

having found so many things so contrary to my expectation and former opinion of men and matters as I had done, by looking into their writings, I could not tell what to think or what to say, and much less what to do or resolve; but yet very loath to break off this search wholly, and yet more loath to make such a resolution of change in religion as many reasons seemed to induce me unto, and therefore I said I meant to take a mean way between both, which was to suspend my judgment for some more time, and to continue my search and reading of books in the same manner as I had done before.

All which being heard by the old man, he smiling, told me, that he knew where the end would be, but yet seemed not wholly to dislike my determination, though he told me that it was a long way about, and not sufficient, secure, or possible for all men; notwithstanding, if I would do it profitably, and to the true quieting of my conscience indeed, he said, it was necessary I should observe certain notes and animadversions about the manner of my reading, which he had partly fallen upon in his younger years, when his case perhaps was not far unlike unto mine, but much more had observed them since that time, by longer use and experience in such affairs. Whereof I accepted willingly, and desired him to let me know what they were, for that I was earnestly set upon the matter; and I apprehend, said I, that the very state of my salvation doth depend much upon the event of this search.

Whereunto he answered, saying: And that is the very first advice of all that I was to give unto you (but I see God hath prevented me), that you should apprehend this matter as a point of singular moment and importance, and not read lightly—either for curiosity, as many do; or negligently, for recreation or to pass the time; nor with the spirit of contradiction, to find out faults whereon to quarrel without just occasion—but sincerely and in conscience, making God himself the judge, and proposing for that end the only knowledge and finding out of this truth for your direction and instruction, and his glory and service; for that by this way you shall, as it were, oblige him to give you light and assistance to discern the same. And you must make account (quoth he), that if the true comprehension or error in any one principal article in controversy between us doth draw with it the peril of everlasting damnation if we miss therein, how much more in them altogether, whereof you intend to make judgment by this your reading; for which cause you have great need to stand attent,

The first note of the old man about profitable reading of books of controversy.

be humble, devout, indifferent, pray much, and be earnest with God to enlighten you in this behalf. And this is the first advertisement, whereof in effect all the rest dependeth.

The second note. Another is, that when you begin to read about any controversy, you endeavour first to apprehend well and briefly the true state of the question, not believing one side only, but searching out what each side sayeth and holdeth therein; for that in this point, above others, you shall find fraud oftentimes to be used by your Protestant writers of divers sorts and sects, every one proposing the state of the question advantageously, as himself would have the reader to understand it, and not as his adversary doth hold it indeed. As for example, in the controversy about good works, Protestants propose the question thus: *Whether a man may be saved by works without grace?* which is easy for them to impugn, for that it is false. But the true state of the question is—*Whether by grace, and good works that proceed from grace, and are dignified thereby, Christians be saved?* And so in all the rest, if you be vigilant, you shall find much fraud used commonly in proposing the true state of the question, in some untrue sense and meaning. And though I could here allege you almost infinite particular examples, yet, for avoiding prolixity, I think best to remit you unto John Fox, who, in his Acts and Monuments, setting down the differences in doctrine between his and our Church, is convinced to have made about one hundred and twenty lies in three leaves, and especially in this point, about misrelating the true state of the question. Wherefore I would advise you (sayeth the old man) that this point be diligently looked unto.

The third note. Thirdly (sayeth he); when you have the true state of the question, you must be very careful to hold the same continually in your mind, making often reflection and recourse thereunto about the discourses which you shall read in your author, considering well and attentively whether they be to the purpose in hand, and do level right at the mark proposed, or no; or run aside to impertinent matters, as often you shall find they do, and fill up leaves with things that are far from the principal substance of the question; so as this must serve you as the plummet or square doth to the mason or architect, to tell you whether the building go straight or no. And whatsoever you find that inferreth not or concludeth not the principal point in question, that you must lay aside for the time, though it be otherwise never so witty, pleasant, or probable, until you have considered that which toucheth the purpose

directly, for that you shall find many authors in these our days who, pretending to prove directly some conclusion in controversy, will afterwards slip aside, and draw you into so many by-matters, as will either confound your judgment and memory, or weary your patience, and thereby make all your reading unprofitable, and to no purpose. And this is a kind of falsehood, no less hurtful, though not so shameful as that of wilful falsifications; for this also is both wilful and witting, the writer knowing well enough that it proveth not his purpose, but deceiveth and abuseth the reader by drawing him to impertinent matters; but yet he useth it, either for ornament and some show of furniture, or to weary the reader, as before I said. And the only way to discover this, and to avoid the inconvenience thereof, is to recal often to mind the true state of the question.

The fourth note may be, to ponder well the weight of all such arguments as are alleged; for albeit they be to the purpose, and not wholly impertinent, yet may they be weak and feeble, and not able to infer so much as is required. And these may be of two sorts, either out of Scripture or ancient Fathers. As for the Scriptures, forsomuch as not the sound of words, but the true sense and meaning thereof, is that which most importeth the securest way, and most reasonable to assure ourselves of this true meaning; you are to look and consider how the same was understood and interpreted by ancient Fathers before these our controversies did arise. As for example: when we of our side do allege for proof of purging fire after this life the place of St. Paul, in his First Epistle to the Corinthians (c. 3, v. 15). *He shall be saved, but so as by fire;* and the Protestants allege on their side the saying of Solomon, *Where the tree falleth, there it lieth*: no man shall ever find that this latter place was alleged in this sense by any ancient Father whatsoever. But for the other to the Corinthians, that it was understood and interpreted so of purgatory in the next life, may be showed by the clear testimony of many ancient Fathers, as namely, St. Augustine most expressly in sundry places of his works, and before him out of Origen, and after him out of St. Gregory, and other expositors in different ages. And this may serve for a note concerning the Scriptures, forsomuch as that every man pretendeth to allege them for himself abundantly, and to make his chief stay therein, whereas being rightly understood, they can make but for one part only.

As for the Fathers themselves, when they are alleged by any party,

it is to be considered in what age they wrote, and whether that which they say, was ever found to have been contradicted or reprehended by others of that age or after them. For that when this is not found, though any Father's sentence doth not make a matter fully *de fide*, or of necessity under sin or heresy to be absolutely believed; yet is it a weighty proof that the thing, which he affirmeth was so believed by the whole Church of his days, and consequently were great temerity to discredit the same; for so much as that Church being acknowledged by all to have been the true Catholic Church, it must needs be presumed to have held nothing generally, that the Catholic known Church of the precedent age did not also believe and teach: and so from one age to another both upward and downward may this demonstration be made, which ought to be a great motive to a discreet man to think seriously hereof.

The fifth note.

It is much also to be considered, when the testimony of any ancient approved Father is brought forth, whether it be conformable to the rest of his doctrine or no, containing a conclusion purposely treated by him, and not some particular saying wrested from him by violence, as oftentimes your men use to do. And therefore when the matter is of importance, his whole discourse is to be seen and perused with that which goeth before and ensueth, to see how they hang together. And this I advertise you in particular, that whensoever you see any clear or pregnant authority of any one ancient Father alleged by your men for their own side, there do you stand attent and examine the place exactly, and I do assure you, you shall find either fraud used in misalleging or misconstruing, or that the place itself well considered will answer itself; for that truth cannot be contrary to truth. And forso-much as the same truth in substantial matters of religion was holden then, which is held now, the self-same Church with the self-same guidance of God's holy spirit, having passed down by them, and now come to us: these doctors and Fathers could not be, in any real point of doctrine, of a contrary judgment either to themselves or to the teachers of our Church now, except it can be evidently shewed where and when, and upon what occasion the disagreement and falling off began. Neither must words of creeping in, or secret entrance of errors be admitted in this point, except the fact may be proved and convinced: for that the Church's governors in every age as they were vigilant in noting the very first and least beginnings of errors and heresies in other points, and did both condemn and cast forth the same.

so would they have been also in these which now Protestants object unto us for errors and heresies, if they had been taken for such, or had been discrepant from the doctrine of former times. And with the observance of this only note you shall be sure to have all the rank of ancient holy Fathers with you.

This also is worthy the weighing, that your Protestant writers by all The sixth note. apt occasions do seek, as it were, by anticipation or prevention, to diminish the credit of the ancient Fathers, when they shall be brought against them, making comparison between them and Scriptures (wherein notwithstanding there is no comparison at all) and telling their readers, that they are not to be believed as judges in controversies, except they bring Scriptures; and those you must think understood and expounded in such sort, as your men like the exposition. And this I doubt not, but you have observed already, both in M. Jewell and other Protestant authors, that you have read, and may do in others hereafter; which is an argument, that they have no confidence indeed in the Fathers, though for a shew they make fair weather for a time with them; and this is one notorious difference between them and us, that when they do allege any places out of ancient Fathers sounding to the favour of any doctrine of theirs, that is in controversy with us, if you demand them whether they will stand absolutely to the Fathers' determination in that and all other controversies that he handleth, they will refuse it, but we not, if it be a matter not contradicted or censured by any other ancient Father, or by the Church of that time. As for example: When they allege St. Augustine, as often they do, against *Free-will*, and do cite divers particular sentences for the same, if you ask them whether they will stand absolutely to St. Augustine's judgment in this point, and in all other points of controversy between us, as *Purgatory*, *Prayer to Saints*, *Prayer for the dead*, *Merit of good works*, *Sacrifice of the Mass*, and the rest, they dare in no wise accept thereof; but Catholics have no difficulty to admit the same; for that they know, that St. Augustine in his doctrine, allowed by the general Church of his days, could not probably contradict either himself or the doctrine of the same Church in our days; and so consequently our men may securely join with him in all, and so they do.

And lastly, I would advertise you, that when you have read all that The seventh note. you can read in your Protestant writers, which you shall always find to be of one and the same spirit in the thing you most mislike and

complain of, I mean in false and slippery dealing; yea, and when you have read all the books of our side also, if it were possible for you to read and ponder them all, you shall hardly find any certain rule to resolve upon by much reading, for that the one saying, and the other unsaying, and the one accusing the other of falsehood, and protesting truth themselves, will always hold your mind in suspense. And the controversies be so many, and the discourses so large upon every controversy, and the shifts of them that mean not simply are so innumerable, as in part you have proved, that it will be impossible for you to quiet and settle your judgment without some more certain rule than reading at random. And albeit it were possible for you that are learned and studious, and patient of so much labour, and have commodity of books to inform yourself thoroughly in every particular controversy by this mean of reading; yet, is it not possible for thousands of others, who have not these means nor helps. And yet must we think that God hath kept some way for them also, both to inform and resolve themselves securely in matters of Religion, that concern their salvation: of which means it may be, we shall have better occasion to treat more hereafter.

Now for the present I do not mislike your purpose of reading more books; for it will serve at least as a weak medicine that moveth humours, though it bring them not forth; or as the sun in March, that raiseth vapours, but dissolveth them not; and so this your reading will serve to fill your head full of doubts at least, though not so soundly to resolve, as will be needful to the settling of your understanding and judgment, which God will supply afterwards, I doubt not, by some other way; and so do you proceed in God's name to follow the search by reading, as hitherto you have done. For these are the few notes that now come into my mind for your better direction; and it may be, that hereafter upon further conference, I may think upon more.

When the old man had said all this, I could not but thank him for his friendly and careful dealing with me, acknowledging that I had discovered some of these observations in my own reading before, and very desirous I was to have understood more largely and particularly of that compendious way, and more certain, which he mentioned for resolving a man's judgment. And albeit I guessed what he meant thereby—to wit, the resolution of the universal Christian Church in every age; yet, not to suffer myself over much to be pressed that

way, I passed over the matter slightly for that present, that I was desirous to go forward in reading of more books; and so we parted, and went to bed.

But having thought better that night of the matter, and foreseeing, and partly also feeling, that which he told me, that by much reading of books of different spirits, style, and doctrine, I should but increase my own doubts and difficulties, and put myself to more pain and affliction of mind, I began to desire to be informed more particularly of that briefer way or mean insinuated by him, of resolving myself by the authority of the Church; which desire of mine, when I had well thought of, and imparted it to the old man, he said, that he did ever think so, that I would fall upon that in the end, or else remain restless; for that it is more easy (quoth he) to gather doubts than to resolve them, as it is more easy to raise up dust than to lay it again. And moreover he said, that this was indeed properly to seek to be a true Catholic, for that the principal difference between a Catholic and an heretic is this, that the one embraceth *traditum non inventum*, to use old Tertullian's words, that which is delivered unto him by authority and succession of the Church, and not invented of himself, as the heretic doth, who thereof is called a *chooser*, for that he followeth not that which is delivered, but preferreth his own choice, either in things devised by himself or by others.

And by this occasion he entered into another short discourse, but very substantial, as to me it seemed, of the folly of the one and true wisdom of the other; showing, first, that there could be nothing more fond than the temerity of an heretic or sectary that will govern himself in matters belonging to his everlasting salvation or damnation by his own head, or by some few of that sect which he is of, in respect to the universal Catholic Church. And this he made to seem very ridiculous indeed, by bringing in the example of some four or five of different sects in Germany, though all against the Catholics, as Lutherans of both sorts, Zuinglians, Calvinists, Anabaptists, Trinitarians, and others; whereof, if you take one of their learned men of each side (sayeth he), and demand him why he hath left the Roman religion, he presently will say,—that he followeth the Scriptures, and they not. And if you demand him again why he differeth from each of those other sectaries who allege Scriptures as fast as he, and do divide themselves from the Catholics by the same reason of Scriptures that he doth, and yet disagree from him, he will say,—that albeit they

My perplexity about my continuance of reading books of controversies.

The folly and temerity of heretics and sectaries.

allege the same Scriptures, and are copious therein, yet that they do err in the interpretation thereof. And the same will they say of him, and each one of his fellows. And when you come to the proof, no one of them hath any more but his own head, imagination, and opinion for his ground and assurance, and yet will each one adventure his soul therein; which, in truth (said the old man), is a very madness indeed, if you consider it well.

The Catholic Roman Church a guide and direction to all men.

But on the other side (sayeth he), the man that leaveth his own judgment relieth upon the authority and determination of the universal visible Christian Church, as commended and proposed by Christ himself to be obeyed, descending down from age to age, for a public direction to all, until the end of the world. This man, besides the merit of obedience, deserveth also the praise of highest wisdom, for that to prefer the judgment of so great a number of learned, holy, and virtuous men, as have been and be in that Church from time to time, before his own private judgment, is most evident and apparent wisdom, even considered according to the principles of human wisdom; but much more, if we respect Divine reasons, as namely, that our Saviour himself hath promised to be with that Church, and assist the same with his holy spirit unto the world's end, insomuch as the gates of hell shall never prevail against it to bring it into error. And the Apostle St. Paul doth assure us that it is and shall be such a pillar and foundation of truth, as we may build and rely upon the same without fear of falling; which thing the holy Father St. Augustine considering, gave this general direction in his book against Cresconius the heretic: *Quisquis falli metuit hujus obscuritate quæstionis, Ecclesiam de ea consulat*. Whosoever feareth to be deceived by the obscurity of this question (whereabout we two do contend), let him go and ask the Church thereof: which St. Augustine must needs mean, of the governors and chief pastors of the Church.

Matt. 16.

Aug. lib. cont. Cresc. cap. 83.

This counsel gave St. Augustine to Cresconius (said the old man), and the same do I give to you, which is a more compendious, easy, and certain way, than to weary yourself by reading so many books, whereof one doth impugn and contradict the other. And you may think that if Almighty God had left no more sure and certain means to find out the truth in times of controversies than this of examining particular books, he had left us and our salvation in a very doubtful and uncertain case, and for infinite people it were wholly impossible for them to be saved; for that some cannot read, some cannot understand,

some cannot buy books, some have no leisure, some cannot judge of what they read, and much less resolve doubts that may arise thereon; and yet must all have means to be saved. But by the other way of following the visible Church and known pastors thereof, all men may be directed, both learned and unlearned, rich and poor, young and old, idle and occupied; wherein is seen Almighty God his holy providence and provision for all, leaving no man or woman without sufficient means of direction for their salvation, if they will accept thereof and use the same, and if they do not, they must needs be inexcusable. Neither can there be any other reason more effectually alleged of that admirable and dreadful sentence of the holy Apostle St. Paul, whereby he pronounceth all heretical men to be subverted and pulled up, as it were, by the roots from all life and nourishment of God's grace, and damned by their own judgment, than this, that they having so clear and infallible direction left unto them upon earth, as this: *Dic Ecclesiæ*—tell the Church of it; and, *He that will not hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an heathen and a publican*: yet do these kind of men choose rather to be their own directors, judges, and arbiters in matters of religion, than to subject themselves unto the judgment and direction of this pillar of truth left unto them by our Saviour.

The means left by Christ to instruct all men in the truth, that will.

Tit. 2.

And this in effect was that which the old man spake unto me at that time, though with somewhat more large discourse, showing me also by some examples and testimonies of the primitive Church, how presently after the Christian Church was founded, and began to rely upon her, and cite her authority for resolution of matters, as when St. Paul said to the Corinthians in a certain controversy, *Si quis videtur contentiosus esse, nos talem consuetudinem non habemus, nec Ecclesia Dei*. If any man will seem to be contentious in this point, and not to admit that which I say, I do give him this resolution, that neither we nor the Church of God hath any such custom: where we see the custom of the Church alleged by St. Paul for a final resolution. And the like the old man affirmed, that I should find in other most ancient authors, that lived in the next age after the Apostles, as namely, Tertulian, in his book *De Præscript. adversus heret.* of prescribing against heretics; which in effect was nothing else but the alleging of the faith, practice, and custom of the universal visible Christian Church from Christ to his time against the innovations of those heretics. The holy martyr and B. St. Irenæus, in like manner, in five books written

1 Cor. 11.

against the same hereticks, doth use the very same kind of argument (sayeth he) of convincing the truth by the authority of the Church, as may be seen, among other places, by the first four whole chapters of his third book.

In all which four chapters (said the old man) you may see in what order that most ancient blessed martyr thought best to confute the heretics, that is, the choosers of his days, immediately after the Apostles; to wit by shewing first, how the Christian Church, now spread over the world, received the Gospel: that is to say, partly by writing, and partly by tradition. And, secondly, that hereticks did obey neither of these exactly, but made choice of this or that, and abusing them both at their pleasure. And for that there might some question be made, which was this Church that had so received and conserved the Gospel by these two means? he doth thirdly demonstrate the same in his third chapter by the orderly succession of bishops, from the Apostles' time to his which conserved also their tradition. And lastly, for more certain confirmation of all, he addeth the testimonies also of such as lived with the Apostles, and saw them in flesh. And then the said holy father con-

Irenæus, l. 3, hæres. c. 4.

cludeth thus (quoth the old man):—*Tantæ igitur ostensiones cum sint hæc, non oportet adhuc querere apud alios veritatem, quam facile est ab Ecclesia sumere: cum Apostoli quasi in depositarium dives plenissime in ea contulerint omnia quæ sint veritatis: ut omnis quicunque velit,umat ex ea potum vitæ. Hæc est enim vitæ introitus. Omnes autem reliqui fures sunt et latrones, propter quod oportet devitare quidem illos. Quæ autem sunt Ecclesiæ, cum magna diligentia diligere, et apprehendere veritatis traditionem.* “Whereas then these things are so great and evident demonstrations” (to prove that which we have said) “we must not seek the truth from others, than from those that be in the Church, from which Church it is easy to take the same: forsomuch as the Apostles did most fully place in the same Church, as in a rich treasure-house, all things that belong unto the truth of Christian religion, to the end that every man that would might take from thence (*to wit, from the said Church*) the drink of life. Forsomuch as this Church is the gate of life, and all others (*that are not of her*) are thieves and robbers, and therefore we must avoid and fly them. But whatsoever the Church delivereth, we must, with great diligence, love the same, and receive from her the tradition of truth.” So St. Irenæus: which the old man exhorted to consider and ponder well.

And truly this place being read again and again by me, seemed very forcible to persuade me to abbreviate my course in reading so much by myself (though I told not the old man so much presently) and to take the other way so much recommended here by St. Irenæus, of relying upon the Church. For I thought with myself, that if in that very next age after the Apostles, wherein St. Irenæus lived, he made so great account of the succession and tradition of this visible Church, as he doth well shew by setting down in the precedent chapter, all the names of the bishops of the Roman Church, from Linus, that succeeded St. Peter, unto Eleutherius, that lived with Irenæus, being twelve in rank and number, and that in those days there was so great authority ascribed to the tradition of the Church: much more might there be now, after more than fourteen hundred years' continuance of the said Church since Irenæus' time; whose earnest admonition here given, to take all direction of truth from the said Church, as from a rich treasure-house, did greatly move me; as did also his straight prohibition, not to seek the same elsewhere, or by other means. For that, as he said, all out of her, are thieves and robbers; which words sticking in my mind, I purposed with myself to think better of them.

See Irenæus, cited before, part 3, c. 7, nu. 9.

And besides this the old man had before counselled me in this point to read in St. Augustine somewhat more largely and fully what he writeth in several places of his works: and upon sundry occasions concerning this sure means of relying upon the Church; and how the said father, though otherwise never so learned, did himself in all his greatest difficulties and controversies with heretics, and counselled other men to do the same, making this ever his surest bulwark for all kind of defence against the impugnations of heresy and heretics, for the final determination of all controversies: as namely, what books, and which are Scriptures, when any question was made thereof: and which are the true originals, traductions, interpretations or expositions: which the true sense and meaning of the Holy Ghost, and other like difficulties. And I gave my promise that I would perform the same. And so taking time for the said performance, I took my leave of him for some two or three days.

To rely upon the Church, a sure way to salvation.

CHAPTER II.

Of my second Conference with the old Catholic Man.

ALBEIT I had proposed at my taking leave of the old man, to have returned unto him again within some three or four days; yet did I find so many things to think upon, by reason of the former speeches he had with me; that I could not well put myself in order to talk with him again in eight or ten days. For first I went to read over the book named by him of *Tertullian de Præscript. adversus hæreses*, wherein I found so many observations set down by him against heretics of his time, agreeing also just to the different professors of new religion in our time, as they might seem to have been written now, and not so long ago; I mean for the matter, and not for the style, which easily sheweth itself to be very ancient.

Next I took into my hands to peruse the foresaid work of Irenæus, written in like manner against heretics of the same age, though somewhat before Tertullian, but especially his third book and chapters before mentioned, wherein I found in like manner great matter to muse at; sundry points and passages offering themselves very opposite, and prejudicial to the cause of Protestants in our days, if we will believe them, as I saw no reason why we should doubt thereof; and, consequently, I did wonder at myself, how I had been so earnest and resolute in times past against many things as false, superstitious, and wicked, which I saw to be very familiar to the ancient Fathers.

But principally did I persist and spend more time in perusing a certain collection of St. Augustine's works by Hieronymus Torrens, not sparing also to go now and then to read the places themselves in St. Augustine, his own larger volumes, and ever found faithful dealing in quotations and allegations: but that many things of good moment I perceived to be left out by the collector, for brevity's sake, which seemed to me to serve no less to this purpose than those which he had cited. And this made me see that he dealt not ambitiously to ostentation, but only that he had care, least his collection might grow to over great a bulk.

And as for the particular argument recommended unto me by the old man about the authority and infallibility of the Church's direction,

I found it so fully handled by St. Augustine in many parts of his works, as I remained fully satisfied of his sense, belief, and judgment therein, he esteeming no way sure and secure but that; which was a great cooling to my hot desire, that I had before, in going forward to resolve myself by my own labour, in reading books of controversy on both sides. For I did evidently seem now to see, that no certainty could be gathered by a man's own wit and discourse, except he joined it with the sense of the Church, and submitted it to the judgment thereof; which Church, according to St. Augustine, Christ our Saviour hath appointed to be judge and umpire of all controversies, as well out of the Scriptures, as others belonging to faith. And this he proved at large both in his writings against Manichæus, and to Honoratus *de utilitate credendi*, as also in his book *de doctrina Christiana*. He affirmeth also against Cresconius, and elsewhere, *Quod ex sola Catholica Ecclesia veritas conspicitur*, that truth is only seen, or discovered from, or by the Catholic Church: and in this he goeth so far as he sayeth: *Ego vero Evangelio non crederem, nisi me Ecclesiæ Catholicæ commoveret autoritas*. I truly would not believe the Gospel except the authority of the Church did induce me thereunto.

The high authority of the Church with St. Augustine.

And finally, not to stand any longer upon this point, I fell upon a certain devout speech or prayer made by St. Augustine to the Church after his conversion, wherein asking her humbly forgiveness for leaving her in his youth to follow heresies, he sayeth: That if Christ her spouse had not been infinitely merciful unto him, *absorbuisset me vorago fallaciæ*. The gulph (sayeth he) of heretical deceit had swallowed me up: and then, continuing his speech, sayeth further: *Noli decipi nomine veritatis, hanc sola tu habes*. Be not deceived with the name of truth (which Faustus and other heretics do pretend), thou only hast this truth in thee. By all which, and much more which I found in St. Augustine, I did easily see his mind to be, that there is no certainty or security in matters of faith, but by the direction of the visible Catholic and universal Christian Church in every age. Whereupon I was resolved also at length to seek out this Church, and follow the same.

¹ Lib. 15. Cont. Faust. Manich. c. 3.

But now for the finding out of this Church, and what signs and proprieties she hath, as that she is one only, and can not be many: that she is visible, and visibly dispersed over the whole world, and thereby also universal: that she is infallible, and cannot be deceived nor deceive, being assisted with Christ's promise of perpetual presence of the Holy

Points held by St. Aug. of the Catholic Church.

Ghost with her, and consequently can never fail, or fall into error; that she containeth not the good or the elect only in this life, but also divers wicked, as the barn doth wheat and chaff: that she have continued perpetually and visible from Christ to our days, by manifest succession of bishops known to the world, and shall do so to the end: that there is no hope of salvation out of her, though a man live otherwise never so well, and give never so much alms, yea, give his blood, or suffer never so much for the profession of Christ's name; all these points, I say, I found so copiously and clearly determined by St. Augustine in the very same sense that the Roman Church doth hold them at this day, and Protestants deny them; and the same avouched so constantly, and proved so copiously out of Holy Scripture, and evidency of logical reasons, as I was wonderfully convinced in my mind thereby,

Other heads of doctrine taught by St. Aug. against these our Protestants:

1.
Traditions.

And furthermore, I must tell you also, that whilst I was in search of these things about the authority of the Church, I fell upon many other points belonging to the controversies of our days, so effectually handled, disputed, and resolved by St. Augustine against the Sectaries of his time, which were above twelve hundred years gone, and the same also so forcible against the Protestants, that they seemed as if they had been written in these our days; as, namely, about tradition of the Apostles in the Church, come down unto us by continual succession: that they are to be followed, and greatly esteemed: that the Evangelists themselves in writing the Gospel did follow tradition: that all things which are to be believed are not in the Scriptures, but many are to be believed by only tradition, and the like.

2.
St. Peter.

About St. Peter, the Apostle, and succession of Roman bishops in that seat, and supremacy of the same see, St. Augustine discourseth and proveth largely St. Peter was *head of the Apostles*; that he was the foundation of the Church: that he was both *Bishop of Rome*, and *martyred there*, and that from him unto St. Augustine's time the succession of Roman bishops continuing, made it a most certain sign of that to be the true Catholic Church.

3.
Justification.

About *Justification* St. Augustine holdeth *sola fide impium non justificari*, that a wicked man is not justified by only faith, which he urgeth so much in divers of his works, as he sayeth the Epistles of St. Peter, St. John, St. James, and St. Jude, were expressly written against that heresy of only faith, falsely founded, in the very Apostle's time, upon the words of St. Paul, evil understood, *that a man is justified by faith with-*

Rom. 3.

out the works of the law; which words St. Augustine doth expound at large in sundry parts of his works, there gathered and laid together, and overlong here to be repeated. But all his discourses seemed unto me so fully to agree with the opinions of the Roman Church of this day (for this was my principal search) as I could find no difference at all, though I read twenty-four paragraphs of places, of St. Augustine, laid together of this only point concerning justification, which contain above an hundred several testimonies of his.

I perused also greedily what the said doctor writeth of the necessity of observing the ten Commandments and of doing good works, wherein I find him to hold expressly, *that the said Commandments are not impossible to be kept, and that faith without good works is not sufficient to salvation*; that the contrary was the heresy of the *Eunomians*: that there is great difference between the precepts of Christ, and his counsels; the former being of necessity unto salvation to be observed, the other appertaining only to perfection.

And I pass over here many other points of controversy which I read very largely disputed by St. Augustine, as about the sacraments of the new law, their nature and number, the custom of the Church in baptising infants, of the ancient ceremonies of baptism, the sign of the cross, exorcism, exsufflations, thrice dipping in the water. And the like of the sacrament of confirmation and chrism; of the eucharist and real presence, very largely; of the external sacrifice of the mass, how it was held for propitiatory for the quick and dead in St. Augustine's time, and offered also specially for the dead, and in the memory and honour of saints, though not unto saints, but only to God; that it was held *for an apostolical tradition* in St. Augustine's time, to offer wine in the sacrifice mingled with water; that the said sacrifice was *to be offered* upon altars, and only by them that were fasting, and other like points.

Furthermore, I examined what St. Augustine held concerning the sacrament of penance, which is very much, showing that after baptism this sacrament is the only refuge and remedy for sins, which, as he teacheth, are of necessity to be confessed unto the priest, and absolution to be had from him, and satisfaction to be made according to the judgment of the said priest, which I leave to be seen by the reader more at large.

Divers other controversies I ran over also, as that of purgatory, wherein St. Augustine is very large and resolute, proving out of the Scriptures the necessity of the purging fire in the next life, and terrify-

4.
Of keeping the
Commandments.

5.
Sacraments.

6.
Baptism

7.
Confirmation.

8.
Real presence and
Mass.

9.
Penance.

10.
Purgatory.
Ib. l. 4, 3, 1.

ing Christians by setting down the grievousness thereof : and yet that venial sins, and not mortal (except first the guilt thereof be forgiven), be to be purged therein. Then about *praying to saints* and *prayer for the dead*, set fasts of the Church, especially that of the Lent, to be an apostolical tradition, as also the choice of meats upon certain days. The high privileges of virginity, the sole life of priests and bishops, institution of monks, and religious orders, and other such points of controversy, I found so distinctly and perspicuously handled by St. Augustine, in so many books of his works, and so clearly in favour of the Roman religion, at this day ; as I began to imagine that the Roman writers could scarce set down matters more evidently for proof of their cause, than these testimonies, discourses and resolutions of St. Augustine do make for them : whereby my admiration was yet more increased of mine own former blindness, folly, and simplicity, that, notwithstanding my often reading over sundry ancient fathers, did think for many years together, papistry to be a new device, and most of their opinions and positions never heard of in the old Christian Church.

11.
Prayer to Saints,
and for the dead.

12.

Set Fasts.

13.

Virginity, &c.

My former error
of judgment about
the antiquity of
the Roman posi-
tions.

My resolution to
follow the Church.

Wherefore, coming to talk again with the old man, I could not tell well what to say unto him, but only this,—that I had read as he willed me, and had found much more than ever I thought to find, so that now my appetite of reading more and more Protestant books of controversy was quite taken from me, for that I did see that it was but breaking of a man's brains indeed, there being nothing to subsist in but a wild wandering field to weary a man's self. Wherefore I told him that now I was ready to follow his advice, and to resolve myself upon the direction of the Church, according to St. Augustine's counsel, praying him, that as he had been the persuader thereof unto me, so he would give me some particular advertisements how I might best proceed therein. To this he answered,—that he was glad of this my resolution, whereby he did assure me, notwithstanding, that I should not loose the freedom of my own judgment in subjecting it to the Church, but rather perfect the same ; for that Catholic men (said he) do allow as great a latitude unto their reason and discourse as Protestants can do, though for the conclusion they have far greater helps than the other to make it well, which is the direction of the said Church, which direction, besides the multitude of almost infinite learned men that are of that Church, being privileged by the most certain assistance of God's holy spirit, as hath been said, is a happy restraint, if it be a restraint. For as a temporal prince (sayeth he), though never so wise, doth not think it

The assurance of
infallibility in the
Catholic Church.

an abridgment or prejudice to his wisdom to follow the opinion of his counsel, though divers of them perhaps be more unlearned than himself, nor have assurance of infallibility in their determinations; so much more may a private man justly subject his judgment to so many hundreds, yea thousands, of learned men that are in the Catholic Church, having this also assurance given them by the word of God, that besides their learning, wit, prudence, and experience, there is superadded also, superior rule of infallibility by the perpetual assistance of the Holy Ghost; whereof, unto us that live in these days, there is added yet further an experiment also of sixteen hundred years past, wherein this visible Christian Catholic Church having been thus guided and directed throughout infinite tempestuous storms of errors and heresies that have molested the same, yet were they all overcome by her at the last, and her Catholic and obedient children led through all those storms with safety and security of faith; whereas other far more unfortunate in this behalf, *naufragaverunt circa fidem*, have made shipwreck of their faith, to use the Apostle's metaphor and comparison. And the chief reason hereof is, that they, lacking this guide and sure pilot, which is the Church's rule, could not be constant and firm in any one thing, but ran into variety of opinions, with often changes and alterations of the same, as all sectaries were wont to do; and you cannot, sayeth he, but remember the note given thereof by old Tertullian, in his foresaid book of Prescriptions, which you said upon my motion you had read over, for he handleth the matter most excellently.

Now then (quoth he), if you have fully made this resolution not to follow your own judgment any more hereafter, but that of the universal Church, I see no cause why you should not be accounted a true Catholic, and of our religion; for that the natural essence of being a Catholic standeth principally in this,—that a man, forsaking particular opinions of these or those men, or of particular conventicles or congregations, as also the mastery of his own wit, will, or fancy, doth subject himself to that which the common known universal Church, that hath come down by succession of bishops unto our time, doth hold, teach, and believe. Wherefore, if you have won yourself in this point (quoth he), I see no difficulty in the rest, for that in particular controversies, and the proofs and reasons thereof, you may inform yourself afterward with more commodity. Neither do we hold that all Catholics are bound to know the grounds and reasons of all controversies, as neither all conclusions and positions in divinity; but

The essence of a true Catholic.

it is enough that they do believe them *fide implicita*, as schoolmen say—that is, in believing the Church that teacheth them, and all that the Church holdeth; so this doth not exclude their obligation to know and believe the most principal points, as namely, the articles of the common creed, *fide explicita*—that is to say, expressly and in particular. When I had heard this, I demanded of the old man whether there were nothing else required to make me a good Catholic but only to subject myself to the judgment of the Church, in believing all that she believeth and rejecting all that she rejecteth? Whereunto he answered, No, for matter of faith; but for matter of works and good life, which we hold, sayeth he, to be necessary with faith, there are divers other points to be performed by you to make yourself a good Catholic.

A question of mine to the old man about being saved in both religions.

Upon this, I told him that I had thought with myself, and heard other men also of good account for their learning affirm, that supposing the Roman Church were or be the true mother Church, and consequently that religion good, or at least not so evil as some others do make it, yet that the Protestant religion seemeth but a reformation only of those defects and abuses which were presumed to be in the other; and therefore, albeit this reformation should pass somewhat too far, and, as they say, launch too deep, and cut off some things for superfluous or superstitions which are not evil, yet that all this may be tolerated and excused by fervour of zeal and good intention of the Protestants' behalf: how say you to this, sir, quoth I? For as on the one side I would be loth to leave undone any thing which is necessary to my everlasting salvation, so on the other side I would not easily go further than absolutely is needful, nor make any change without precise necessity; for that you know what dependeth thereon, for my whole estate of life in this world at least.

The old man, his answer.

To this demand the old man answered,—that for my temporal state which I last mentioned, he could say little; but that he thought it both least and last to be considered or esteemed in respect of eternal life in the world to come, depending of the right profession of true religion in this; and that the promises and threats of Christ our Saviour in this behalf, for gaining or losing a man's soul, for confessing or denying him before men, were sufficiently known unto me, and consequently he left that as an irrefragable conclusion with every true Christian man, that for any least point of true religion, yea, for any one syllable (as St. Basil said to the heretical emperor, his deputy),

both life and lands, and all other temporal respects, are to be neglected.

Now, whereas you say that divers do presume Protestant religion to be but a reformation of abuses in the Catholic, and that they do agree in substantial points of Christian faith; first, for the pretence of reformation, it is common unto them, with all other heretics, from the beginning of Christianity, who ever began, and must do, with the same pretence of reformation; for that otherwise (retaining the name of Christians), they could have no justifiable cause to contradict the Catholic Church, but only to say that she was out of order, and they were sent to reform. And this is to be seen in all books, Fathers, histories, and other authors that ever wrote against heretics.

Whether Protestants have reformed the Church,

Secondly, it seemeth a very absurd position, that Catholics and Protestants at this day do not disagree in substantial points of Christian faith; for that their disagreements being known to be perhaps in above one hundred points, great and small, partly about the God-head of Christ, his Church, head, members, and authority thereof; his descent to hell, and remission of sins, all which are articles of the common creed; partly also about Sacraments, both of their nature, number, force, and efficacy; about the real presence, the effect of baptism, external sacrifice, mass, purgatory, praying to saints, prayer for the dead, faith and works, manner of justification and the like, all which are known to be very substantial points; it is (I say) very absurd, and plainly tending to a secret kind of Atheism, so often to allege and urge, as some good fellows do, that Protestant and Catholic religion do not differ in substantial points; whereas we read in the ancient Fathers, and especially such as wrote by name against heretics and heresies, as St. Irenæus, Tertullian, Epiphanius, Theodoret, and St. Augustine, that many were condemned for heretics by the ancient Catholic Church, and so ever held, for much fewer, and far lesser differences from the known Catholic Church than these are, yea, if it were but a discrepancy maintained with obstinacy in some one only point; whereof infinite examples might be given, but one shall suffice out of the last Father mentioned, to wit, St. Augustine, and this in the very last lines of his book *de hæresibus ad Quod-vult-Deum*, where having reckoned up all the known condemned heresies in his days to the number of eighty-eight he sayeth,

Difference of doctrine between Catholics and Protestants.

Possunt et hæreses aliæ, quæ in hoc opere nostro commemoratæ non sunt, vel esse, vel fieri, quarum aliquam quisquis tenuerit

Aug. l. de hæresib. ad Quod-vult-Deum, to. 6.

Christianus Catholicus non erit. There may other heresies be, or spring up, besides these which in this work are recounted, whereof whosoever shall hold any one, cannot be a Catholic Christian. Whereupon I do infer, that if the holding of any one lesser heresy than are propounded in St. Augustine's book, be sufficient to deprive a man from being a Christian Catholic, how much more will so many heresies and sects as before are said to be between Protestants and Catholics in grave matters, be able to work the same? Especially for so much as sundry of them also, which are here recounted by St. Augustine, in his work, as notoriously condemned by the Church of his days, are in the foresaid number of Protestant's opinions, as that of Aerius against prayer and oblation for the dead, against set fasts of the Church, and the like. Those also of Iovinian and Vigilantius against the distinction of mortal and venial sins, against fasting and abstinence from certain meats, against the merit and privileges of virginity, and other such points.

Heres. 58.

A desperate opinion that Catholics and Protestants may be saved together

Wherefore this seemeth to be but a refuge of a very careless conscience, if not devoid of all true faith, to hold that Protestants and Catholics, differing as they do, may be of one Church, or saved together; which refuge divers do fly unto, as I understand now in these later days, I mean of Protestants (for that no Catholic of judgment can ever hold the same), partly as it seemeth out of the mistrust of their own cause, partly of sloth and unwillingness to labour for seeking out the truth, partly that having determined with themselves to hold fast the worldly commodities which they possess, or hope to have, they would be gladly eased of that care of pursuing differences in religion; but this cannot be, as now you have heard, for that there is but one faith, one God, one baptism, one truth, and one reward, for defence and profession of the same; so as in this I would not wish you to flatter or deceive yourself.

About abuses pretended to be reformed by Protestants.

Now as for abuses pretended to be reformed by your Protestants, it is as deceitful a pretence as the other, that every man may be saved in his own religion. For as on the one side no man can deny, that in so great a house and kingdom, as the visible Catholic Church is, spread over all nations, divers abuses might creep in, worthy to be reformed; so on the other side we must consider, whether the Protestants had authority or intention, or means to reform them truly, or not. For first these abuses must be reduced to doctrine, or manners, or both. And as for doctrine, if there were any superstitious thing that was

privily taught or practised in some particular place, by some particular men without approbation of the universal Church, then was not the admonition of the Protestants in that point reprehensible, if they had made it orderly, that is to say, unto the bishops and pastors of the Church to reform those abuses; which course yet I think they did practise in very few places at their beginning. But if the doctrine misliked were generally held by the Church, then was it no abuse, but a lawful use, and it belonged not to the Protestants to condemn, or control the same; having no authority thereto.

But if the abuses were about manners, and ill life, either in the people or some pastors thereof, then albeit both sides must confess that reformation was to be wished, and ought to be procured by all lawful means; yet whether the Protestants did take the right way thereunto by tumultuous impugning, as well doctrine as manners (as at their first entrance they are known to have done) is by indifferent men discreetly to be considered. As also, whether in the places they have reformed (not to say deformed) they have brought forth better manners, more virtuous life, more sincere and severe Christian discipline, more abundance of good works, more faithfulness and charity in conversation than was before. For if these effects do not appear, then is it but fraud and deceit, to cover all these breaches and broils in the Church of God with the cloak of *reformation of abuses*, wherein for the most part, if you stand attent, you shall find one of these two points commonly to be true; first, that the abuses objected by them, for the most part, are either feigned, or exaggerated, or called abuses where they are good uses; or if they be abuses indeed, yet by disorderly going about to reform the same, it appeareth they have been rather increased than amended, for that the pretenders of reformation were not assisted by God's spirit to that work, as by the event is seen. And so much of this matter.

Thus much and somewhat more being discoursed by the old man, about the point by me proposed, he returned again to the point mentioned by him, but intermitted upon my new demand, that I being settled once in faith by the sure and compendious way of believing the universal visible Church, and relying upon her authority (as before hath been declared), there was necessary another care, no less important than the former, which was, of conforming my life and actions according to the prescript of the said Catholic faith, wherein, he said, that there was much more labour and length of time to be bestowed than in

The old man's
doctrine and
counsel about
good life.

the other. For that our evil affections were harder to rule, and to be subdued to good life, than our judgment and will to true belief; yet (sayeth he) the Catholic Church, with the assistance of God's holy grace, doth prescribe also to this matter so many sweet and effectual remedies, as, with a little good-will and industry, all difficulties are easily overcome. Whereat, when he saw me somewhat moved, and to desire to know what these means were, he told me that this should be for another conference; counselling me, in the mean space, to commit the matter very seriously unto Almighty God, as a business of the greatest importance that ever hitherto I took in hand, or ever should. And with this we ended our speech for that time.

CHAPTER III.

Of my Third Conference with the old Catholic Man.

SOME days having been spent by me in the cogitation and consideration of the former points recommended unto me by the old man, in the end of the precedent chapter, and some earnest prayer in like manner having been offered up by me to the same end, according to the coldness and weakness of my devotion, I repaired again unto him, desiring that he would proceed in that argument, which before he had touched, concerning the manner and particular means, how a man that was resolved to strive or contend no more about his faith, but rather to believe and rely upon the Church, might go forward in that work, and build good life upon this foundation, and thereby receive both rest and peace of mind in this life (which hitherto I had not done) and some pledge or earnest-penny for everlasting salvation in the next.

The way of obtaining peace of mind.

Whereunto the old man answered, that the way to arrive unto this was already known, and set down by the Holy Ghost in these words: *Declina a malo, et fac bonum*; Decline from evil and do good. Of which two members the first comprehendeth all the means that God hath prescribed unto us to deliver us from sin, either already by us incurred, or for time to come to be avoided. The second containeth the different ways, how to do good, and exercise ourselves in all kind of Christian justice, piety, and other virtues. Neither doth (quoth he) the Catholic Church prescribe these things only in generality of words, as your Protestants do, but doth come to the immediate particulars; teach-

eth how, and when, where, and what you must do, and taking you, as it were, by the hand, leadeth you from step to step, till, by assistance of God's grace, you arrive to the perfection of a Christian life, she proceeding in this matter, as a true mother indeed with her children, by restraining them, first from things that are hurtful and noisome, and then giving them wholesome nourishment and instruction.

Wherefore the first cause of declining from evil, according to the spirit and meaning of the Catholic Church, is, for a man that hath offended Almighty God by sin after his baptism, to be heartily sorry for the same, to seek means to understand and apprehend truly the grievousness thereof, as also the high offence that it hath given and giveth to Almighty God, provoking his just wrath against the offender, and severe punishment in the next life if it be not prevented by us through sorrow and repentance in this. By which considerations is wrought in us both a great detestation of our sins already committed, and also a resolute and firm purpose to avoid the same and other like for the time to come, so as a man maketh a resolute determination with himself (so far forth as human frailty may by the assistance of God's grace be presumed of) never to offend again, either by consent of heart, word, or deed (for by these three means especially sin may be committed) the majesty of Almighty God: and if by frailty he should do, yet to rise again by the same means of faith and repentance, by the benefit of the holy sacrament of penance, containing in it both this wholesome sorrow already mentioned and the absolution of the Church, left by Christ our Saviour, to this effect, to the pastors thereof, with his authority for binding and loosing of sins, as also the pious disposition of mind in him, that hath offended, to concur where in he may, to some reasonable satisfaction on his part, for the hurts already done and committed.

What it is to decline from evil.

This, quoth the old man, is the sum of our doctrine and practice, concerning the first step of our new building, which is to dig down deep, and cleanse the foundations, that a new edifice of good works may be erected after, and the old loathsome rubbish shall once be cast out and removed. And whereas I have named two points here (quoth he) the one of doctrine, the other of practice in this affair; it may be the one is known to you in part by our books, but of the other, which is practice, I suppose you have had little experience; and therefore I could wish that you would take some particular time to attend thereunto more exactly. For I do not doubt, but that according to the good disposition of mind, which it seemeth to me that God hath bestowed

upon you, you will take both great profit and comfort thereby. And if you do not (quoth he) then say that I have deceived you, which I would be loth to have you think, especially for so much as the time will be so short, wherein you shall make the trial, whether I have deceived you or no.

My resolution to
confess my sins
to the priest.

Hereupon I demanded him, what he meant by this trial, and by this particular diligence, which he would have me to use; for I confessed unto him, that having now settled my mind, and satisfied my understanding for matters of faith, I felt a good desire also in myself to accommodate my life for the time to come to a more diligent observation of God's commandments, so far forth, as by human frailty I should be able to perform. I told him, moreover, that for cleansing the foundations which he speaketh of, I felt in myself no evil disposition, for that I had resolved now, and won myself, as I thought, in the principal point of repugnance, which was, as he called it, sacramental confession to the priest, having read so much and so effectual doctrine touching this point, both in the places of St. Augustine before alleged and other Fathers, concerning the absolute necessity of that manner of confession, as I deemed it a point of great folly to adventure the loss of a man's eternal salvation (if they teach true) upon the natural repugnance which men have to utter their sins to another.

You say truth (quoth the old man); you are in a good way, and I make no doubt but God Almighty will assist you to the attaining of your heart's desire in this behalf; but yet, to perform this matter more soundly and substantially, as it is a matter of the greatest weight that possibly can be, I would wish you should retire yourself for some eight or ten days from the common conversation of men, and attend wholly to this matter alone, between God and you, and your ghostly Father; for I dare assure you, that you will think them afterward the best bestowed days that ever you spent in your life. Wherein shall I spend them? quoth I. In this very matter which you now treat, said he; of clearing the rubbish of sins past, and laying a new foundation of good works and a more perfect Christian life for the time to come. But yet, as this may diversely be done with more or less perfection; so I desire much that you should do it, if it may be, in this retired order which I have mentioned; for you shall discover many things thereby which now you cannot see, and hardly can be inculcated by me, but God himself will teach them you, and that in so clear and sweet a manner, as you will afterward wonder at his goodness toward you.

But, sir (quoth I), I would gladly know in particular what is to be performed by me in this retirement which you persuade? Your particular employments (quoth he) in these days are certain considerations

The spiritual exercise which is used among Catholics.

or meditations of heavenly things, thereby to make deeper impression in your mind and memory about these two points so much stood upon by St. Augustine in his meditations and prayer to Almighty God; *ut cognoscam te, ut cognoscam me*—that I may know thee, and what thou art; that I may know myself, and what I am. For that in these two knowledges consisteth all our happiness. And to come to this knowledge, you shall have certain practical directions given you, both by the meditations which you are to make, and counsel of the spiritual Father, that assisteth you therein. The labour is not great, though somewhat it will be, especially in the beginning, until you be somewhat inured with such manner of mental prayer, for which they will prescribe you ordinarily, if your health will permit it, four or five several hours in the day—the one at midnight, the other early in the morning, the third a little before dinner, and the other two after noon. They will prescribe you also manners and particular observations how to make this meditation and mental prayer with fruit and benefit, how to prepare yourself for every hour of prayer, what and how much to read of spiritual books, how to discourse, how to note good motions of God towards you therein, how to discern between the suggestions of good and bad spirits, how to stir up your own affections, how to deal with God in your petitions, and other such particularities, which now you can hardly think of, and they will be both precedents and instructions unto you for your whole life afterward.

And for that, the whole purpose of these spiritual exercises (for so they are called) do tend to the two main points before mentioned, of declining from sin and doing good, the first days of this retirement are principally bestowed upon the first point for clearing the foundations (as hath been said), prescribing sundry ways and means how to stir up true sorrow for our sins, by sundry considerations, examples, comparisons, sentences, and precedents out of holy Scripture, and other such like motive contemplations, which being seriously and earnestly treated at some more than ordinary length in solitary manner between God and our souls alone, do make far deeper impression than can be imagined by them that are accustomed to handle these things but slightly, or in haste.

The end, then, of these first days, is to look into our own defects, to know our own unworthiness, to detest our own wickedness and pro-

pension to sin, to rue in our hearts that we have offended so good and so merciful a God, to confess the same first to his Divine Majesty, as principally injured thereby; and then, for his sake, and in his name, to his servant and minister, the priest, who sitteth in his place, and hath his authority for hearing, discerning, and absolving our sins, to make a firm purpose to live more warily for the time to come, by avoiding occasions and other enticements of our infirmity, to inure ourselves with some sorts of temporal satisfactions by penal works, whereby our sensual appetites may the better be restrained, and our inferior man be brought into more subjection, so as it dare not again so easily rebel, being put in fear of the severity of our spirit and superior man against him. These, I say, and some such other, are the effects of the first days' labours, which spiritual writers do call the purgative part of these spiritual exercises.

How we may
learn the other
part, which is to
do good.

The other days that do ensue are applied to some other effects; for that, having now made up the accounts, as it were, with God Almighty for the time past, we begin to make and follow a new reckoning; wherein, first, we attend to procure new light and illustration of our minds, darkened before by the multitude and frequent use of sin, to behold the bright face and countenance of virtue in all sorts of Christian piety, which are principally taken out of the most excellent sampler of the life and actions of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Whereunto we are exhorted, both by himself, and his holy examples, and by all good men, to conform ourselves (by imitation) whereinsoever we may: whereby it cometh to pass, that we, seeing our own defects, and lack of true virtues for the time past, and discerning, by little and little, the seeds of these most excellent heroic virtues, exercised by our said Saviour, and left unto us as a pattern to follow, we do enkindle, by little and little, our desires, and inflame our affections to a new and far more perfect endeavour to the obtaining and practising, with the assistance of God's holy grace, of so many of those virtues, some more, some less, as the same holy grace, joined with our own endeavour and co-operation, shall enable us unto. And this is that *facere bonum*, which before I mentioned, comprehending, indeed, all sorts of good, by exercising all sorts of virtue which are incident to a Christian life; than which life (being well performed) no one thing created can be imagined more excellent, consisting of the two parts before-mentioned, of *declining from evil, and doing good*.

For if the former part, which is *to decline from evil*, do compre-

hend in effect, that a man is heartily sorry for all the evil that ever he hath done, and that he will never wittingly commit any more, either in thought, word, or deed, forso much as lieth in him, and that the doing of good containeth the exercise of all good works whatsoever that lie in our power, the practice of all virtue, all good desires, wishes, all fear and obedience towards Almighty God, all love and charity towards our neighbour, all justice and equity towards ourselves. If this, I say, be so, as now in part we have declared, what more excellent thing can be imagined than this kind of life, if it be well fulfilled; for inducement whereunto the later days of this retirement are deputed, and divers rules, directions, helps, and means are prescribed, as well for the attaining of several virtues, as for resisting, repressing, curing, and healing the opposite vices, and instigations to the contrary. Wherefore (sayeth he) I can say no more unto you, but *veni et vide*, come and see, and prove a little, whether this be so or no; and take some few days for your retirement, and commit yourself to the guidance of some skillful spiritual man for that purpose: and after you have done, we shall talk together again, and I hope to find you very well satisfied, and contented with your labour and time spent therein.

And now, when this speech of the old man was uttered, I found myself in effect so obliged to follow his counsel and earnest exhortations, as I could not well say no to the same, though I felt some little repugnance at the beginning, to be solitary so many days together. But afterward, my desire increased again to make experience of the thing so much commended, and so I retired myself for some ten or twelve days, leaving all human company and conversation for the time, but only with my spiritual Father, that came at certain hours to visit me, talking only of the matter we had in hand, and that briefly also, and with the party that served me, and brought me necessities, who in like manner was abridged in his speech with me, but only such necessary words as belonged to matters of his charge. All the rest of the time I passed over alone in solitariness, and some little desolations at the beginning, which perchance arised out of the novelty of the thing, and my being unaccustomed to pass without company; but afterward, I confess, I found a new world, and felt so many inward consolations, and most sweet visitations from the Father of Mercies, as I neither needed or desired more company, but thought myself most happy when I was most alone, and remembering often

The manner of
my spiritual exercise.

that saying of Scipio, recorded by Cicero : *Nunquam minus solus quam cum solus*, I was never better accompanied than when I had no company. And methought I did both see and read more of myself, as also of Almighty God, in that solitary darkness (for oftentimes I shut also my windows, for more recollection of my spirits together) than ever I had done before in all the books that I had read over by light. And I found the occasion fit indeed, and very effectual, for the two points before mentioned by St. Augustine, *Ut cognoscam te, ut cognoscam me* : to look into Almighty God, his omnipotency, everlasting power, mercy, clemency, severity, benignity, providence, patience, love, and other such like excellences, with the contemplation of all the contraries in myself, as of myself, and thereby to exalt him most infinitely, and to debase myself most worthily.

These things (I say) the opportunity of that time and place did offer unto me, whereby I might much have profited myself, if my diligence had been correspondent thereunto : and therefore, returning to the old man again, after the days before-mentioned, I could not but confess, that I was greatly bound and beholden unto him for the counsel and direction he had given me ; and that I found the commodity itself to be such indeed as he had described unto me, or rather more ; and that I had seen so much thereby, and conceived such purposes for the order of my life to come, as I hoped by God's holy grace, that they would stay me from ever sliding back again to my former supine and careless manner of living ; for the everlasting salvation of our souls should be preferred before all other respects human whatsoever. And this I desire thee (good Christian reader) to believe, and assure thyself to be most true, as at the last day, when we shall appear before the tribunal of our Saviour, and all hearts made known, will evidently appear. Christ Jesus make thee partaker of his holy grace, and of the heavenly light of his only saving truth of the Catholic Religion. Amen.

TRACT 25.

[PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDANCE OF THE CATHOLIC
INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN.]

THE CATHOLIC SCRIPTURIST

OR, THE
Plea of the Roman Catholics.

SHEWING

THE SCRIPTURES TO HOLD THE ROMAN FAITH IN ABOVE FORTY
OF THE CHIEF CONTROVERSIES NOW UNDER DEBATE.

BY JOSEPH MUMFORD, PRIEST,

OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

No. 2.

THIRD POINT.—*Of the Never Failing of the Church, which being perpetual can preserve perpetual traditions. Also of Succession of True Pastors and Professors.*

FOURTH POINT.—*Of the Universality and Vast Extent of this Perpetual Church, which also must be the converter of Gentiles. This, no Church, differing from the Roman, ever was.*

FIFTH POINT.—*Of the Infallibility of the Church.*



[Stereotyped for the Catholic Institute of Great Britain.]

LONDON.

Sold by all Catholic Booksellers, price Three Halfpence, or Seven Shillings and Sixpence per Hundred for gratuitous distribution.

PRINTED BY C. RICHARDS, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, CHANCERY CROSS

CATHOLIC INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN,

14, SOHO SQUARE, LONDON.

ESTABLISHED JULY 1838.

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POINT III.

OF THE NEVER FAILING OF THE CHURCH, WHICH BEING PERPETUAL CAN PRESERVE PERPETUAL TRADITIONS. ALSO OF SUCCESSION OF TRUE PASTORS AND PROFESSORS.

1. If the Church of Christ could fail, or cease to be, it is evident tradition might fail, and not be preserved in its purity. The true Church is both infallible, as long as she lasts (of which see Point v.), and is also sure to last to the end of the world. Yea, she is assured all this time to have a lawful succession of true pastors, and under them true professors of the faith in a vast number: find any such Church, besides the Roman, if you can, and I give you leave to call that the true Church. And lest perhaps the great number of powerful texts, which we are to cite, should work small effect with minds prepossessed with one or two objections to the contrary, we will first clear them, and then pass to the manifold clear texts which demonstrate the true Church at no time to be a lurking invisibility.

2. The prime objection is from the words of Elias (1 Kings xviii. 22), "I, even I, only remain a prophet of our Lord." And in the next chap. (v. 10) "I, even I, only am left," which again he repeats ver. 14. I answer, that at least, he is told presently by God (ver. 18), "That there were left in Israel seven thousand men, whose knees had not been bowed before Baal." And in the former chapter it is manifest he knew of a hundred prophets. For (ver. 13), Abdias told him, "I hid of the prophets of our Lord a hundred men, by fifty and fifty, in caves." Wherefore he well knew, that there were many faithful, amongst whom so many prophets were known to him; yea, hence it is clear that he was not the only prophet left. Wherefore those words, "I, only I, remain a prophet of our Lord," are to be understood thus: "I, only I, remain a prophet," standing openly to oppose their fury amongst the apostate tribes of Israel. For Elias knew full well, that not all the Children of Israel, but only ten tribes, were fallen from God, 1 Kings xii. He knew also that the still faithful tribe of Juda (including Benjamin) afforded "Rehoboam a hundred and fourscore thousand chosen men" to fight against the other revolted ten tribes, ver. 21; which is again repeated 2 Chron. xi. with a notable declaration how much the true Church, even then, flourished in Judah and Benjamin, Rehoboam himself building "fifteen cities enclosed with walls." And (ver. 13) "The priests and Levites that were in all

Israel resorted to him out of all their coasts." And (ver. 16) "Of all the tribes of Israel, whosoever had given their hearts to seek their Lord God of Israel, came into Jerusalem to sacrifice, and they strengthened the kingdom of Judah." All this Elias knew very well, and also that which follows, to wit, that Asa reigned over all Judah in all piety and peace, 2 Chron. xiv. And "he built other fenced cities in Judah." And (ver. 8) "Asa had of Judah an army of three hundred thousand, and of Benjamin two hundred and eighty thousand." And he defeated "ten hundred thousand Ethiopians." And (2 Chron. xvii.) Josaphat, who lived in the days of Elias, was yet greater than Asa his father, both in piety and power. For (ver. 10) "The dread of our Lord came about all the kingdoms of the lands that were about Judah, neither durst they make battle against Josaphat." And he built many strong cities, and stupendous was the number of his forces, ver. 14: of Judah under Abnath three hundred thousand; and two hundred and eighty thousand under Johanan; and two hundred thousand under Amasias; and two hundred thousand under Eliada; and two hundred and eighty thousand under Josabad. All these make eleven hundred thousand, and sixty thousand soldiers. And yet the Scripture saith, "All these were at the hand of the king, besides others whom he had put in walled cities in Judah." Behold the Jewish Church, even at her lowest ebb. Christ's Church is the mistress, and of higher dignity. Wherefore at all times after her beginning, you must find me at least as many visible professors of her doctrine, as the Jewish Church had in her meanest condition. "For the New Testament is established in far better promises," Heb. viii. 6. As also appears by the texts which here shall be cited. All which texts convince such a perpetual, conspicuous, and visibly flourishing state at all times, that no Church differing from the Roman can be showed to have had anything like it.

3. The other only considerable objection is, that perhaps these promises, made to God by his Church, concerning his always protecting her, were made upon this condition, that he would do this, if she should persevere to keep his commandments, for so all his promises to David and Solomon are made. I answer, that it is evident that some promises which seem made to them and their posterity, are not to be literally understood of their posterity according to the flesh, but as they by grace be sons of Christ, who was the son of David. And divers of these promises are made so absolutely, that absolutely they admit of no such condition. Take for proof hereof that convincing text, (Psalm lxxxix. 4) "I have made a covenant with my chosen, I have sworn to David my servant, Thy seed will I establish for ever, and I will build up thy throne to all generations." All which is only verified in

Christ, who, in his Church, "hath given him the seat of David his father, and he shall reign in the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end." As the angel said, Luke i. 32. After this promise of everlasting perpetuity to his Church, lest any one should think his promises might be made void by any sins of hers, or to be made only upon condition of their walking in his commandments, he added in the same Psalm, (ver. 29), "And I will put him the first-begotten high above the kings of the earth; I will keep my mercy unto him for ever, and my testament faithful unto him. I will put his seed for ever and ever, and his throne as the days of heaven. But if his children shall forsake my law [this cannot be possibly in your doctrine spoken of the elect], and will not walk in my judgments; if they will profane my justices, and not keep my commandments, I will visit their iniquities with a rod, and their sins with stripes: But my loving-kindness I will not take away from him, nor suffer my faithfulness to fail. My covenant will I not break, nor the thing which is gone out of my lips. Once I have sworn in my holiness, if I lie to David, his seed shall continue for ever, and his throne as the sun in my sight, and as the moon perfect for ever." This text speaks home to prove what I intend, to wit, that these promises be made upon Christ, "the son of David, the son of Abraham," (Matt. i. 1); and as St. Paul teacheth, that only those who believe in Christ be the true children of Israel and Abraham, so they only be the true children of David; and concerning them is verified the promise, which, as is here said, for no sins of theirs shall ever be frustrated. "Not as though the word of God had taken no effect, but they that are the children of the promise are counted for the seed," Rom. ix. 6.

4. And in this sense the sacred text speaks, (2 Sam. vii. 16): "And thine house and thy kingdom shall be established for ever before thee, thy throne shall be established for ever. According to all these words did Nathan speak to David." So Psalm lxxii. 5: "They shall fear thee as long as the sun and moon endure, throughout all generations. He shall have dominion also from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth." In whom can these texts of Scripture be verified but in Christ, ever reigning in his Church diffused, even in a flourishing condition, over the face of the earth. According to what is said (Luke i. 32): "The Lord God shall give him the throne of his father David; and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever [by having still the kingdom of his Church, consisting of those true Israelites of whom St. Paul spoke], and of his kingdom [or Church] there shall be no end."

5. Isaias everywhere is very full to this purpose; chap. xlix. 14: "And Sion said, our Lord hath forsaken me, and our Lord hath forgotten me. Why, can a woman forget her infant, that

she will not have pity on the son of her womb? And if she should forget, yet I will not forget thee. Behold, I have written thee in my hands." And again, (chap. liv. 9): "As in the days of Noah is this thing to me, to whom I swore I would bring in no more the waters of Noah upon the earth, so have I sworn not to be angry with thee, nor to rebuke thee. For the mountains shall (sooner) be moved, and hills tremble: but my mercy shall not depart from thee, and the covenant of my peace shall not be moved, said our Lord, thy miserator. Poor little one, shaken with tempest, without all comfort, behold I will lay thy stones in order, and will found thee in sapphires, and I will put the jasper-stone for thy munitions." And again, (chap. lx. 15): "I will make thee the pride of worlds, a joy unto generation and generation." Ver. 18: "Iniquity shall be no more heard in thy land, waste and destruction in thy borders, and salvation shall occupy thy walls, and praise thy gates. Thou shalt have no more the sun by day, neither shall the brightness of the moon enlighten thee (these are too mean lights for thee); but the Lord shall be to thee an everlasting light, and thy Lord God for thy glory. Thy sun shall go down no more, and thy moon shall not be diminished, because the Lord shall be unto thee an everlasting light, and the days of thy mourning shall be ended." Again, (chap. lxi. 6): "You shall eat the strength of Gentiles, and in their glory you shall be proud, everlasting joy shall be to them. I will give their work in truth, and make a perpetual covenant with them, and they shall know their seed in the Gentiles. All that shall see them shall know that these are the seed which the Lord hath blessed." Again, (chap. lxii. 3): "Thou shalt be a crown of glory in the hand of our Lord, and the diadem of a kingdom in the hand of thy God. Thou shalt no more be called forsaken, and thy land shall be called no more desolate; but thou shalt be called my will in her, and thy land inhabited, because it hath well pleased our Lord in thee, and thy land shall be inhabited. Thy God shall rejoice upon thee; upon thy walls, Jerusalem, I have placed watchmen all the day, and all the night; for ever they shall not hold their peace." See here the continual visibility of the Church in her watchmen and pastors, of which consequently there must be a perpetual succession. And, (ver. 8), "Our Lord hath sworn by his right hand, and by the arm of his strength, if I shall give thy wheat any more to be meat to thy enemies, and if the strange children shall drink thy wine." And he concludeth, (ver. 12): "Thou shalt be called a city sought for and not forsaken." That the true Church also shall have a perpetual succession of priests and Levites, is clearly expressed in the last chapter of Isaias; in which after the prophet had named Africa, Lydia, Italy, Greece, and the islands afar off, he addeth,

(lxvi. 21): "And I will take of them to be priests and Levites, saith our Lord; for as the new heavens, and the new earth, which I make to stand before me, so shall stand the seed of your name." Note, that these Levites be now not by birth, but by election, ordained to be such out of several countries, Italy, Greece, and other islands, which names your Bible avoids to translate.

6. St. Jeremy is no less copious, chap. xxx. 11: "Though I make a full end of all nations, yet I will not make a full end of thee; but I will correct thee in measure." The Church indeed may be chastised for awhile, but never be brought to consumption. For, (chap. xxxi. 36) "Thus saith our Lord, that giveth the sun for the light of the day. the order of the moon and the stars for the light of the night, &c. If these laws shall fail before me (saith our Lord) then also the seed of Israel shall fail from being a nation before me for ever. If the heavens above shall be able to be measured, and the foundations of the earth to be searched out, I also will cast away all the seed of Israel." Again, (chap. xxxii. 38): "And they shall be my people, and I will be their God; and I will give them one heart, and one way, that they may fear me all their days, and it may be well with them, and with their children after them; and I will not cease to do them good. And I will make an everlasting covenant with them; and I will give my fear in their heart, that they may not revolt from me." Again, (chap. xxxiii. 14): "Behold the days will come, saith our Lord, and I will raise up the good word, that I have spoken to the house of Israel; in that time I will make the spring of justice to bud forth unto David, and he shall do judgment and justice on the earth. This saith our Lord, there shall not fail of David a man to sit upon the throne of the house of Israel [Christ must successively have his vicar or vicegerent in all ages], and of the priests and Levites there shall not fail before my face a man to offer holocausts, and to burn sacrifices, and to kill victims all days." Behold a succession of lawful priests still offering sacrifices, expressed by the priests and sacrifices as were then only known. Again it followeth, "And the word was made to Jeremy, saying, if my covenant with the day can be made void, also my covenant may be made void with David my servant, that there may not be of him a son (a vicar or vicegerent) to reign in his throne, and the Levites and priests my ministers; yea, (ver. 22) even as the stars in heaven cannot be numbered, and the sand of the sea be measured, so will I multiply the seed of David my servant, and the Levites my ministers." Whence it is evident, that the number of lawful priests, by lawful mission and ordination, shall not only never fail, but also never fail *to be a great number*. There followeth again in the same chapter the former covenant repeated once more.

7. Ezekiel also speaks very home, chap. xxxiv. 22: "I will save my flock, and it shall be no more a spoil, and I will raise up over them one pastor, who shall lead them; my servant David he shall feed them, and he shall be their pastor; and I the Lord will be their God, and my servant David the prince of them. And, (ver. 28): "And they shall be no more a spoil to the Gentiles." Again, (chap. xxxvii. 23): "Neither shall they be polluted any more in their idols; and I will cleanse them, and they shall be my people and I their God, and my servant David king over them, *and there shall be one pastor over them all*. They shall walk in my judgments, and they shall keep my commandments, and they shall do them, and they shall dwell on the land which I gave to my servant Jacob, themselves and their children, and their children's children, even for ever, and David my servant a prince for ever. And I will make a peace to them, an everlasting covenant shall be to them, and I will found them, and will multiply them, and will give my sanctification in the midst of them for ever," &c. And the very last verse of the last chapter, "The name of the city from that day: our Lord there."

8. Clearly also Daniel, (chap. ii. 44): "In the days of those kingdoms the God of heaven shall raise us a kingdom that shall not be dissipated for ever [but still continue in the quality of a kingdom]; and this kingdom shall not be delivered to another people, and it shall consume all the [idolatrous] kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever, in quality of a kingdom."

There is little need to pass to the New Testament, the Old sufficing, if anything will suffice. Of Christ's gospel St. Paul says, (2 Cor. iv. 3): "If our gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost." Either you must confess yourselves lost men, or you must say, that at no time Christ's gospel lay hid so as you could not tell who professed it. I insist not in the known places, as that the Church (Matt. xvi. 18) "Is built upon a rock, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Again, it is evident that she must still be visible in all ages, that we *may still* at any time *tell the Church*, and *hear her*, (Matt. xviii. 17); and be still *fed by her* doctrine and sacraments. For these be the two essential marks of a true Church, as Protestants say. Hence Ephes. iv. 11: "He gave some apostles, some prophets, and other some evangelists, and other some pastors and doctors, &c. until we meet all in the unity of faith," which will not be till the world's end. "These be the light of the world, still set upon the candlesticks, never hid under a bushel," Matt. v. 14. *A city upon a hill*, still to be seen. And though the *mustard-seed* was the least at the beginning, yet in the growing it proves a tree, and all fowls repair to it, Matt. xiii. 32. Yea, this must be a Church perpetually continuing in such reverence to our blessed Lady, that

her words must be fulfilled, Luke i. 48: "All generations shall call me blessed." And (ver. 33), "Her son shall reign in the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end." And so himself saith to his apostles, (Matt. xxviii. 20): "Behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world." His apostles were not to be in the world even to the end of the world. The promise therefore is, to be with them in the person of such as should succeed them in teaching and preaching, &c. Again, in the like sense he saith, (John xiv. 16): "And he will give another Paraclete, that he may abide with you for ever."

All these texts demonstrate what we have undertaken to prove. And hence it doth unavoidably follow, that the Church must in all ages have a continual succession of true preachers of the Word of God, and true administration of sacraments; for these two things (even according to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England) are the two essential signs or notes of a true Church, which must ever accompany her in all ages. And if a Church be (as St. Cyprian saith) *a flock adhering to their shepherd*, then as in all ages there is a flock of Christ, so there must be a shepherd, to whom this flock may and must adhere. And therefore a lawful succession of true pastors must needs in all ages be found in the Church, at least without any considerable interruption; and this is expressed in several texts here cited. Now ponder, that this is to be found in no Church, but the Roman. See more in the next point.

POINT IV.

OF THE UNIVERSALITY AND VAST EXTENT OF THIS PERPETUAL CHURCH, WHICH ALSO MUST BE THE CONVERTER OF GENTILES.—THIS, NO CHURCH, DIFFERING FROM THE ROMAN, EVER WAS.

1. If the Church were to remain perpetually in any very small extent, or bigness, perhaps we might hear little news of her in some ages. But the true perpetual Church (foretold to be in all ages in the texts now cited) is likewise in Scripture, no less clearly foretold to be in all ages, so universally spread, and so visibly numerous, that the very recital of these texts is enough to put quite out of countenance any other Church, but the Roman, especially being that this true Church is so manifestly said to gain this her vast extent by the multitude of Gentiles which she is to convert to her. A thing which evidently must be verified in the true Church, and yet it is evident, that this only is verified in the Roman Church; that is, no Church (but such as was joined to her in communion) ever converted any one parish of Gentiles.

2. The texts which evidence this vast extent of the true Church, are, Gen. xiii. 16; "I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth:" and chap. xv. 5; "Look up to heaven, and number the stars if thou canst. And he said to him, so shall thy seed be." Again, (chap. xxii. 16): "By my own self I have sworn, saith the Lord, I will bless thee, and I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and as the sand that is by the sea. And in thy seed shall be blessed all nations of the earth." Now St. Paul tells us (Rom. ix. 8), "Not they that are the children of the flesh [of Abraham] they are the children of God; but they that are the children of promise are esteemed for the seed." And if still you contend, that these texts are only for the Jewish Church, you must also remember that Christ's Church is the mistress, she the hand-maid, and that as St. Paul says, "The New Testament is established in far better promises," Heb. viii. 6; and must flourish far more than ever the Jewish Synagogue did. Hence (Apoc. vii. 5) St. John, after "twelve thousand of every tribe of Israel were signed, saw a great multitude which no man could number, of all nations, tribes, peoples, and tongues." But let us go on.

3. David, (Psalm ii. 8): "Ask of me and I will give thee the Gentiles for thy inheritance, and thy possession to the end of the earth." Psalm xxii. 27: "All the ends of the earth shall remember and be converted to our Lord. All the kindreds of the nations shall adore in his sight." Again, (Psalm lxxii. 7): "In his [Christ's] days shall the righteous flourish so long as the moon endureth. And he shall rule from sea to sea, and from the river even to the ends of the round world. Yea all the kings of the earth shall adore him; and all nations shall serve him." Psalm xcvi. 3: "All the ends of the earth have seen the salvation of our God." Of what Church is this true besides the Roman?

4. In this point of the multitude of Gentiles to be converted, none more eloquent and copious than the prophet Isaiah, chap. ii. 2: "And in the latter days [the New Testament is called the last hour, John ii. 18] the mountain of the house of our Lord shall be prepared in the top of mountains, and all nations shall flow unto it: and he shall judge the Gentiles," &c. Again, (chap. xlix. 1): "Listen, O you islands, and attend you people from afar." And then (ver. 6): "It is a small thing that thou shouldst be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to convert the dregs of Israel. [It is too poor a thing for Christ to be author of so small a Church as the Jewish Church was.] Behold I have given thee to the light of the Gentiles, that thou mayest be salvation even to the farthest parts of the earth. Kings shall see, and princes arise; and adore for our Lord's sake. Behold these shall come from far, and behold they from the north, and the sea; and these from the south country. Lift up thy eyes

round about and see all these are gathered together, they are come to thee." And (ver. 19): "Thy deserts, and thy solitary places [in which nobody before served God], and the land of thy ruin shall now be straight, by reason of the inhabitants. And yet shall the children of the barrenness say in thine ears: The place is straight for me, make me space to dwell." Then, (ver. 22): "Behold I will lift up my hands to the Gentiles, and to the people I will exalt my signs. And they shall carry thy sons in their arms, and thy daughters upon their shoulders. And kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and queens thy nurses. With a countenance cast down to the ground they shall adore thee, and they shall lick up the dust of thy feet." [Kings prostrating themselves at the feet of Christ's vicar, and kissing them.] Again, (chap. liv. 2): "Enlarge the place of thy tents, and stretch out the skins of thy tabernacle; for thou shalt penetrate to the right hand, and the left. And thy seed shall inherit the Gentiles, and shall inhabit the desolate cities." Here note, that these things were spoken to the Jewish Church, telling her how much the future glory of Christ's Church should exceed her, and so to her the prophet said in the first verse: "Praise O barren woman which barest not, sing praise, and make joyful noise, because many are the children of the desolate [Gentiles], more than of her that hath a husband." To wit, the synagogue to which he had been so long espoused. So that it is flatly against Scripture to make the Church of Christ at any time so barren, as the Synagogue was in the days of Elias. Although even then she had in the field far above eleven hundred thousand men, besides many thousands of soldiers in her walled cities, as we showed Point III. No. 2. Much more is it against Scripture to make her so little as not to be visible, or known. And therefore again, (chap. lx. 1): "Arise, be illuminated, Jerusalem, because thy light is come, and the glory of our Lord is risen upon thee. Gentiles shall walk in thy light, and kings in the brightness of thy rising. Lift up thine eyes and see round about: all these are gathered together, they are come to thee. Thy sons shall come from afar, and thy daughters shall rise from thy side. Then shalt thou see, and abound, and thy heart shall be enlarged, when the multitude of the sea shall be converted to thee. The strength of the Gentiles shall come to thee, the inundation of camels shall cover thee." Ver. 10: "The children of strangers shall build thy walls, and their kings shall minister to thee, and thy gates shall be open continually, [never shalt thou be invisible, for] day and night they shall not be shut, that the strength of the Gentiles may be brought to thee, for the nations and the kingdoms that shall not serve thee shall perish." What nations can serve (yea and be bound, under pain of perishing, to serve) an invisible Church?

Again, (ver. 15): "I will make thee an eternal excellency, a joy unto generation and generation, and thou shalt suck the milk of Gentiles, and thou shalt be nourished with the teats of kings." Again, (chap. lxii. 2): "And the Gentiles shall see thy righteousness, and all the kings thy glory."

5. Jeremy also everywhere fully, (chap. xxx. 19): "I will multiply them, and they shall not be few, and I will glorify them, and they shall not be small." Christ's Church still shall ever contain a vast number of people. Again, (chap. xxxi. 34): "And a man shall no more teach his neighbour, and a man his brother, saying, know our Lord, for all shall know me from the least of them to the greatest, saith our Lord. Thus saith our Lord, that gives the sun for the light of the day, the order of the moon and stars for the light of the night. If these laws shall fail before me, saith our Lord, then also the seed of Israel shall fail that it be not a nation for ever before me." This text cometh convincingly home to prove that this universality shall be perpetual, and no more fail in any age than the light of the sun and moon. As long as they last, this Church shall be a flourishing *nation for ever*. For again, (ver. 37): "Thus saith our Lord, if the heavens shall be able to be measured, and the foundations of the earth beneath to be searched out, I also will cast away all the seed of Israel." And then in a metaphor of a city built upon hills, far distant from one another, he says this so vastly extended city "shall not be plucked up, and it shall no more be destroyed for ever," which is a gallant expression of the perpetual universality of the Church, for ever retaining a vast great extent in any ages whatsoever. The same follows, chap. xxxiii. 20: "Thus saith our Lord: If my covenant with the day can be void, and my covenant with the night, that there be no day nor night in their time; also my covenant may be made void with David my servant, that there be not a son of him to reign in his throne, and Levites and priests my ministers. Even as the stars of heaven cannot be numbered, and the sand of the sea be measured, so will I multiply the seed of David my servant, and the Levites my ministers." Now if the number of priests, pastors, and teachers shall be so great at all times; how great at all times, and how exceeding visible must be the number of the people who are visibly to be ruled, fed, and taught? And yet again (ver 25): "If I have not set my covenant between night and day, and laws to heaven and earth; surely I will also cast off the seed of Jacob, and of David my servant, that I take not of his seed princes of the seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." These Levites and priests shall not be so by birth, but they shall be taken out of Italians, Africans, Grecians, the islands, as Isaias saith in his last chapter, ver. 21, though your Bible did not interpret the

Hebrew names of the countries. These texts then manifestly tell the perpetual succession of priests and pastors in Christ's Church, so that we are no less assured of having lawful princes in the Church lawfully, still governing the same, than we are assured of having night and day, and the heavens moving above us, and the earth standing under us. A point much to be noted; yet we may confidently say, No Church, no Church, but the Roman, can do this.

6. Ezekiel, chap. xvii. 22: "Thus saith our Lord: and I will take the marrow of the high cedar, and will set it, and will plant it upon a mountain, a mountain high and eminent. On the high mountains of Israel will I plant it, and it shall shoot forth into a bud, and shall yield fruit, and it shall be into a great cedar, and all birds, and every fowl shall dwell under the shadow of the boughs thereof, and shall there make their nests." Behold Christ's Church, which in her beginning was but a small grain of mustard-seed, now grown up to the greatness of such a cedar as this is. And not grown, and grown, until at last she was grown quite invincible. Memorable is that text, (chap. xxxvi. 25): "And I will pour out upon you clear water, and you shall be cleansed from all your contaminations, and from all your idols will I cleanse you, and give you a new heart, and will put a new spirit in the midst of you, and will [by my grace] make that you shall walk in my precepts and keep my judgments and do them." [Before we go farther I pray take special notice, that the Church by the grace of Christ is freed from fear of being abandoned, because she did not at anytime grow to forsake God's judgments, for He will still give her grace to keep them.] "In that day that I shall cleanse you from all your iniquities, and shall make the cities to be inhabited, and shall repair the ruinous places, and the desert land shall be tilled; and they shall say, (This land untilled is become a garden of pleasure." And, (ver. 37): "I will increase them with men like a flock, as the flock of Jerusalem in her solemn feasts; [in which feasts many thousand men, gathered out of every household of that nation, did use to go up to Jerusalem] so shall the desert cities be full of flocks of men." How can universality, and a most visible numerosity be more fully expressed; when even the desert places shall be filled, as Jerusalem was thronged and crowded in the solemnities thereof? Daniel, (chap. ii. 35) makes the Church of a little stone grown into a mountain, filling the whole earth; how ridiculously then do you tell me, you can scarce see it for this thousand years before Luther?

7. Mich. chap. iv. 1: "And it shall be in the latter end of the days, [1 Joh. ii. 18, the time of the New Testament is called the last hour] there shall be the mount of the house of our Lord

prepared in the top of mountains, and high above all the hills, [what more visible?] and people shall flow unto it, and many nations shall hasten, and shall say, Come, let us go up to the mountain of our Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob," &c. And, (ver. 7): "I will make her that labours into a mighty nation, and our Lord will reign over them from this time, now and for ever." So that "from this time, now and for ever," the Church was promised still for all ages to be a *mighty*, or *strong nation*. Never a small invisible unknown company.

8. Zach. chap. xiv. 8: "And it shall be in that day, living waters shall issue forth from Jerusalem; half of them to the east sea, and half of them to the last sea; in summer and winter shall they be, and our Lord God shall be king over all the earth: and in that day shall be one Lord, and his name shall be one." And by and by he tells us at large, even to the end of the chapter, how all nations shall be accursed that come not up to adore in his Church. A manifest sign of her perpetual purity in doctrine. For how would God lay such curses and plagues upon men, for refusing to follow the Church erring.

9. Malach. (chap. i. 11) tells us, the Church shall be extended as far as the sun-beams among the Gentiles. "From the rising of the sun, even to the going down thereof, great is my name among the Gentiles; and in every place there is sacrificing, and there is offered a clean oblation, because my name is great among the Gentiles, saith the Lord of Hosts." Behold the true Church, all the world over, offering a pure and grateful sacrifice.

10. The places of the New Testament are more known, as that the Church by reason of her continual universality, is a *city upon a hill*, still to be seen from all places. A *candle upon a candle-stick*, as well seen to the whole world, as a candle to the whole room in which it burns. The Apostles are sent to *preach to all nations*. The little *mustard-seed* grows to the biggest of all plants, like the cedar in Ezekiel, chap. xvii. 22. St. Peter's net is even broken with the taking of fish, &c. But because the New Testament writes no farther than the Acts of the Apostles, and contained but a small part of them, the subsequent conversion of the multitude of nations, of the strength of Gentiles, and of all the kings of the earth (as the above-cited texts declare) is to be taken out of history, in which manifestly the truth of all that was foretold doth appear. But all this wholly and entirely, was performed by the Roman Church only, that is, by such as have been known to have joined in communion with her. If you say the Roman is not the true Church, here foretold by the prophets, then I pray ponder well how impossible it is for you upon earth to find any other Church to which those manifold prophecies, with any show of probability, can be applied.

POINT V.

OF THE INFALLIBILITY OF THE CHURCH, AND CONSEQUENTLY
OF HER FITNESS TO BE JUDGE OF CONTROVERSIES.

1. Note, that in two manners or ways, things of belief and practice, may be delivered by a community:—The first is, when such things once received by the said community, are perpetually retained by the same in all places by the public practice; and also, upon all occasions, taught by word of mouth, and expressed in written books. Thus our common-law in England (though never written by any law-maker) is notwithstanding by daily practice most faithfully kept, and hath been so for so many hundred years by the whole nation diffused. And in this manner the Church diffused keepeth in perpetual practice, and delivereth to her children as infallible truth, what was first delivered unto her, by commission from God, either in writing or by word of mouth. The other way of making and delivering laws, is to call together the representative body of the community. So here in England our statute-laws are made, not by the king alone, nor by the parliament alone, but by the order both of the king and parliament. And what is thus enacted is the decree of the nation representative. Now as the representative of our nation is the king and parliament, so the Church representative is the chief pastor thereof, together with a lawful general council. And the definitions and decrees set forth by their authority, are called the definitions and the decrees of the Church representative. All such definitions we Roman Catholics hold infallible. Whether the definition of a council alone, defining without their chief pastor, or the definitions of the chief pastor alone, defining without a council, be infallible or no, there be several opinions amongst us; in which we do and may vary without any prejudice to our faith, which is not built upon what is yet under opinion, but upon that which is delivered as infallible; and we all unanimously hold that to be so, which the universal Church representative, consisting jointly of the chief pastor of the said Church voting in, and with a general council; not that this representative made wholly of men, is not, of its own nature, subject to error. For this we never affirm. And so our adversaries say nothing at all to the purpose, whilst they labour to prove this. Let them disprove, if they can, (and that out of Scripture alone) that which we say, namely, That this Church representative is infallible merely and purely by the special assistance of the Divine Providence, always affording to his Church a sufficient measure of “the spirit of truth to lead her into all truth.” And that he is ever so surely resolved to do this, that no sins of his Church shall ever hinder him from doing it, as

is most expressly delivered by God himself, (Psalm lxxxix.) in the words cited by me at large, Point III. No. 3. Which place the reader shall find most convincing to prove, that notwithstanding all the sins that shall ever happen in his Church, the sun and moon shall sooner fail, than God will fail to provide a successor in Christ's throne, to govern his Church in the profession of truth, so as *his faithfulness shall not fail, or none of his words be frustrated*; which you shall see delivered again and again in the ensuing places of Scripture. All which (to the number of thirty) I gather so fully, because the Protestants exclaim against nothing more than the Church's claim to infallibility, which Dr. Ferne calls, *The very bane of Christendom*, though it be the very groundwork of Christianity. For all the interpretation of Scripture is fallible, if the interpretation of the Church be fallible, even then when she hath carefully conferred Scripture with Scripture.

2. And to avoid confusion, I will divide these thirty texts into these three several sorts. The first sort shall contain either such as command us absolutely to follow, and obey the Church in such a manner as would wholly misbeseem God to command us, if she could thrust errors upon us for divine verities; or such texts as teach us to rely more upon the Church than could prudently be done, if she could teach error. The second sort shall contain a multitude of such glorious expressions made everywhere of the Church, as would be most empty and truthless if the Church should ever prove a mistress of errors, and press them on her children for divine verities. The third and last sort shall be such texts as plainly affirm truth to be still taught in the Church, and to be entailed upon her, promising she shall not revolt from it, but stand still a true pillar and ground of truth.

3. *Of the first sort of texts*, we have these, by which either God commands us universally to follow his Church, or speaks that of his Church which could not be delivered as it is, if this Church could err. For example, how could God glory in the multitude of such as follow his Church, if, by so doing, they should be led into error? And yet (Isaias ii.) God seems to glory in the multitude of those who confidently resort to the Church, as to a mistress of assured truth, to be instructed by her, saying (ver. 3): "Let us go up to the mountain of our Lord, and he will teach us his ways, and we shall walk in his paths, and he shall judge among the nations." Behold Christ erecting a court or tribunal in his Church, *to judge among nations, and decide all their controversies*; which must needs suppose obedience to be yielded to this judgment. Yea, the same prophet adds, (liv. 17): "That no weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper: and every tongue resisting thee in judgment thou shalt condemn." And the prophet, there, from the beginning manifestly speaks of Christ's Church. *Thirdly*, (Isaias lx. 12): "The nation and kingdom that will not serve thee, shall perish." Under pain of perish-

ing the Church must be obeyed. Whence *fourthly*, (Ezech. xlv. 23): "They [that is the priests] shall teach the people what is between a holy thing and a thing polluted, and the difference between clean and unclean, they shall show them. And when there shall be controversy, they shall stand in judgment, and shall judge according to my judgments." This being their office, the people's office must needs be, not to judge them, but obey them.

4. Whence, *fifthly*, Christ (Matt. xviii. 17) commands all to obey the Church, under pain of being held here on earth as *publicans* and *heathens*, and of having this sentence ratified in heaven. "Tell the Church, saith he, and if he will not hear the Church let him be unto thee as a heathen, and a publican. Amen. I say unto you whatsoever you shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever you shall loose upon earth, shall be loosed also in heaven." Here you see obedience to be yielded under pain of being held *as a publican or a heathen*, and this sentence to be ratified in heaven. Now, if the Church could err in teaching, for example, that Christ is truly present in the sacrament, and hence oblige all to adore him therein, as much as they adore him in heaven; and could oblige them to this under pain of being held as publicans and heathens, and held so as well in heaven as upon earth, surely this cannot be an error. For then in heaven this sentence would never be ratified. And tell me not, that this text speaks of private differences between brother and brother, though I deny not but this is also true, in such differences as belong to the court or tribunal of the Church. Yet hence it evidently follows, that this text doth much more concern those differences in point of religion between brother and brother. Both because these do more properly belong to the court of the Church, and to her tribunal; as also because when scandal and offence is given to our brother in point of heresy, tending to the seduction of his soul, our brother seeing this soul-murdering sin broached to his own ruin, and to the eternal ruin of his brother, hath far greater reason in this case, than in any other, to *tell the Church his mother*, to whom, in this difference, above all other *differences*, it properly belongeth to look to the safety of her children. For this is an offence and scandal to the whole brotherhood of all Christianity. Therefore, in these points of highest concernment, we are most bound to *hear the Church*, under pain of being accounted *publicans* and *heathens*, and of having this heavy sentence *ratified in heaven*.

5. *Sixthly*, (Matt. xxiii. 1): Then Jesus spoke to the multitude, and to his disciples, saying, "Upon the chair of Moses have sitten the Scribes and Pharisees [by which sitting, with lawful succession, they, as wicked as they were, are known to be lawfully authorized prelates]; all therefore whatsoever they shall say unto you, observe and do." Behold here a precept of obeying in *all whatsoever*. And therefore behold a precept, which could not be given, if that which

is delivered by public authority of the Church, were not secured from error in *all whatsoever*.

6. *Seventhly*. The first and best Christians did practically acknowledge their belief of the infallibility of the Church. For, to have a decision of the most important controversies, (Acts xv. 2) "They appointed Paul and Barnabas to go up, and certain others of the rest, to the apostles and priests, unto Jerusalem, upon this question." And the Church assembled the first council, in which, though this council were assisted by the Holy Ghost, yet "there was made a great disputation." (ver. 7.) And then the definition of the Church came forth in these words: "It seemeth good to the Holy Ghost and us." (ver. 28.) Other lawful councils, knowing the Holy Ghost also promised to them, do use to set forth their definitions with the same words, and this most agreeable to Scripture. For (John xv. 26): "When the Paraclete cometh, whom I shall send from my father, the spirit of truth, he shall give testimony of me, and you shall give testimony." Mark this conjunction of *he* and *you*; he the *spirit of truth*, and *you* governors of my Church; so that you in giving testimony may freely say, "It seemeth good to the Holy Ghost and us."

7. *Eighthly*. It is clear, out of Scripture, that the first Christians were so fully possessed with the belief of the infallibility of the Church, that they would believe nothing but what they knew conformable to her doctrine. St. Paul was a Scripture-writer, and so great an apostle, and yet he saith of himself (Gal. ii. 1): "Then after fourteen years I went to Jerusalem again [not merely to satisfy a vain fancy of some particular men, but] I went up according to revelation, and conferred with them the gospel, which I preach among the Gentiles. But [I conferred] severally (or apart) with them that seemed to be something, lest perhaps I should run, or had run in vain." So that he thought all his *fourteen years'* preaching, and also his future preaching, might come to be *in vain*, unless even his doctrine were made known to be approved by the Church, as wholly conformable to the Church. So much, in these golden days, were the first Christians taught to rely upon the Church, which had been imprudence if she had been fallible. Yet we must not think that then they did apprehend, that the approbation of the Church did add any degree of truth to his doctrine, as it doth not add any degree of truth to the Scripture; or pretend to have power to change, or correct true Scripture. And so St. Paul saith, (ver. 6): "For to me, they that seemed to be something, added nothing." For as the touchstone adds no value to the gold, but only evidently manifesteth which is true gold, which not: so the Church, as then, did only manifest infallibly the truth of what he had preached. So also the Church, as now, doth only manifest to us, that such and such books be the true Word of God, such and such be not; such be true copies, such not, &c. But the Word of God hath its true worth from itself, and not from the

Church, as the gold hath its being true gold from itself, and not from the touchstone. So when Catholics say with St. Augustin, (Cont. Epist. Fundam. chap. v.): "I would not believe the gospel unless the authority of the Church moved me," they do not mean, that the Church can add, or take away from the truth of any true Scripture; but they mean, that, by her definition, as by a sure touchstone, it is now manifestly assured unto them, that such a book is true Scripture, and such not. And as the oral preaching (even of such an apostle as had been a Scripture-writer) might have been *in vain*, without this approbation, so also might his writings have been in vain. Whence we see that his epistle unto the Hebrews was not known or acknowledged as God's word, until the Church approved it. If the Scripture-writer himself teacheth *in vain*, without this approbation, much more will his writings teach in vain.

8. *Ninthly*. The Church is to be followed by us as an assured approver or reprover of spirits, and consequently as infallible. John i. 4: "My dearest, believe not every spirit, but prove the spirits if they be of God." Then (ver. 6): "We are of God; he that knows God hears us [pastors of the Church]; he that is not of God hears us not. In this we know the spirit of truth, and the spirit of error." Here St. John expressly means to give to posterity a *standing rule* to know a true spirit from a false one. To wit, *by the hearing of us, or not hearing of us*. This could not be a rule to us, who live after the apostles, if by *hearing us* he only meant the apostles, and not their successors. Yea, he could not mean only the apostles; for the other apostles were all dead when he wrote this. Wherefore, the true sense of St. John is: "In this we know the spirit of truth, and the spirit of error, if they hear us,"—pastors and governors of the Church. Not that each one of these pastors and governors apart can say to any one, *hear me*, unless he teach that which all the rest are sufficiently known to teach, but they in a general council may most truly say, *hear us*. He that knoweth God heareth us.

9. *Tenthly*. In declaring the true meaning of the true Scriptures, the practice and doctrine of the Church is necessary to be followed as a certain guide. For example, when Christ said, "Do this in remembrance of me;" he did impose, saith the Church, a true command to do so. Yet, though Christ no less clearly said (John xiii. 14) "That we ought to wash one another's feet; for I have given you an example, that as I have done, so you also should do;" he did not impose, saith the Church, any command obliging us to wash one another's feet. For though he said, "We ought to wash one another's feet," yet, by the practice and doctrine of the Church it is assuredly declared to us, that these words of Christ contain no precept, though the former do.

10. *Eleventhly*. The same apostle, in his first epistle (ii. 19), after that, concerning heretics, he had said, "They went out from us," he turns his speech to those who still remained in the Church, sub-

ject and obedient to it; and of them he saith, "But you have the unction from the Holy One, and know all things." To wit, the spirit of truth, residing in the Church, to teach her all truth, maketh you, who are guided by the Church, to know all things necessary for your information and instruction.

11. *Twelfthly*. It is grounded in this infallibility of the Church, that her prelates may exact obedience of her children in captivating their understanding to the faith, which she (by commission from Christ) delivereth unto them (2 Cor. x. 4): "For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty, through God, casting down imaginations or reasonings, and everything that exalts itself against the knowledge, and bringing into captivity all understanding unto the obedience of Christ, and having in a readiness to revenge all disobedience." So St. Paul. But it is most irrational to say, God should empower his Church to force men to follow a Church, which not being infallible, must needs confess that she may deceive you, and enforce you to follow errors. Yet, this in a Church having the infallible assistance of the Holy Ghost, is most rational. For there you are, to your apparent good, enforced to follow truth in place of such error, as might be most hurtful to you.

Thirteenthly. The same St. Paul tells us, that God, out of an express intention which he had to keep us from all wavering and unsettlement in faith, resolved so to assist the governors of his Church, that we might rely securely upon them. For (Ephes. iv. 11) "He gave some apostles, and some prophets, and other some evangelists, and other some pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry; for the edifying of the body of Christ, until we all come into the unity of faith, [To what end all this? to the end] that we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness," from which his providence had not thus secured us, unless these our teachers had been infallible, when defining in a lawful council, or proposing what is universally taught by them.

12. *The second sort of texts* proving the infallibility of the Church, contains such glorious titles given her, or such admirable things spoke by God's own mouth of her, as must needs be vain, empty, and truthless words, if the Church ever prove to be a mistress of errors, obtruding them on her children for divine verities. *First*, (Psalm cxxxii. 13): "Our Lord hath chosen Sion, he hath chosen it for an habitation unto himself. This is my rest for ever and ever; here will I dwell, because I have chosen it." Now Christ's dwelling-place, as St. Paul tells us, is his visible Church (1 Tim. iii. 15): "That thou mayest know how to converse in the house of God: the Church of the living God." He could not be taught how to converse in an invisible Church: he speaks then of the Church visible. Far be it from this house, to be a store-house of

errors. For how then it could it be Christ's desirable *habitation*, and his *rest for ever and ever*?

13. Again (Isaias liv. 4): "Fear not, for thou shalt not be ashamed: neither be thou confounded, for thou shalt not be put to shame." What greater shame or confusion to a Church, which should be the pillar and ground of truth, to see herself grown now to profess open superstition, idolatry, and other pernicious errors in whole swarms? How then is that true which follows?

14. *Thirdly*, (Isaias lx. 15): I will make thee an eternal excellency, a joy of many generations." *Fourthly* (ver. 18): "Thou shalt call thy walls Salvation, our Lord shall be unto thee an everlasting light. Thy sun shall go down no more, and thy moon shall be no more diminished, because our Lord shall be thine everlasting light." Words manifestly spoken, not of the elect, but of the visible Church on earth, even from the beginning of the chapter; for (ver. 10) he tells how "kings should minister to her, and how he had struck her [when she was the synagogue] in his indignation." Which words cannot be understood of the elect, or the invisible Church. And so he still goes on speaking.

15. *Fifthly*. In the like sense (lxii. 3): "Thou shalt be a crown of glory, thou shalt be no more called forsaken [as thou wert when thou wert the synagogue] but thou shalt be called my delight in her. And *sixthly*, to secure her from all error contrary to his will, he adds, (ver. 6) "Upon thy walls, Jerusalem, I have appointed watchmen [and how careless soever they be by their own nature, yet by my continual assistance] all the day, and all the night for ever, they shall not hold their peace." To wit, by crying down errors. For they had better have held their peace, that preached publicly errors everywhere. And (ver. 12): "Thou shalt be called a city sought for, and not forsaken." And yet Protestants say, they did laudably *forsake* every visible Church upon earth, by adhering to Luther and his followers, who did separate themselves from all Churches visible in the whole world, openly professing, that as then there was no one Church on earth worth *seeking for*; and so they did not join themselves in communion with any Church then upon earth, but pretended to return to the primitive Church, as it was above a thousand years before; which is to say, that, for this whole last thousand years, the Church was a city *forsaken*, and that (for so long) her communion *was not to be sought for*.

16. *Seventhly*. There is a very convincing text, to prove the Church to be by divine Providence assuredly provided of faithful pastors and governors. Jerem. xxxiii. 25: "If I have not put my covenant to night and day, and laws to the heaven and earth; then will I cast away the seed of Jacob, and David my servant, that I do not take from his seed princes to be rulers over the seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." So that we shall be as sure not to fail of

faithful princes and governors in the Church (for none but such as are truly faithful, can be truly said to be the *true sons of Jacob and David*) as we are sure to have night and day, the heaven turning over us, and the earth standing still under us.

17. *Eighthly*. The prophet Ezech. (xxxiv. 22): "I will save my flock, and it shall be no more into spoil." But what spoil would that scab of error make over all Christ's flock, if it so infected it all, as Protestants say it did; yea, they will have even idolatry itself (the most deadly murrain) to have infected the whole Church this last thousand years and more.

18. *The third and last sort of texts* to prove this infallibility, contains such as plainly say, that God will still direct his Church to follow truth, or that it shall not revolt from the truth, but be a most direct way to the truth: that the spirit of truth shall be, as it were, entailed upon the doctrine of the Church, with which Church this spirit shall ever abide, teaching her all truth. So, *first*, (Isaias lxi. 8): "I will direct their work in truth, and I will make an everlasting covenant with them," of preserving this never-failing truth. *Secondly*. Behold how plain and direct a way to truth is promised the Church of Christ: (Isaias xxxv. 5): "Then shall the eyes of the blind be opened, &c. And a highway shall be there, and it shall be called the way of holiness [the Holy Catholic Church]; the wayfaring men, though fools, shall not err therein." It is therefore a way infallibly leading to truth. *Thirdly*. The same prophet, (lix. 20): "There shall come a redeemer to Sion, and to them that shall return from iniquity in Jacob, saith our Lord. As for me, this is my covenant with them: my spirit that is in thee, and my words that I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, from this present and for ever." With what clearer words could the spirit of truth be entailed upon the Church present in each age, or be more clearly said to reside ever *in her mouth*, with which she delivers all her doctrine?

19. *Fourthly*. Most clearly (Jer. xxxii. 39): "I will give them one heart and one way, that they may fear me for ever: I will make an everlasting covenant with them, that I will not turn them away from them; but will put my fear in their hearts, that they shall not depart from me." Note, I pray, these words, "I will put my fear in their hearts, that they shall not depart from me." Wherefore they did not revolt from him; they did not depart from him. *Fifthly*. No less fully speaks the prophet Ezekiel (xxxvii. 24): "My servant David king over them, and there shall be one shepherd over them all. They shall walk in my judgment, and observe my statutes, and do them. Moreover, I will make a covenant of peace with them: it shall be an everlasting covenant with them; and I will set my sanctuary in the midst of them for evermore."

How fully is all this spoken of a visible Church, having one *shepherd over all*. Yea, the very heathens shall know who they be, as there is said. *Sixthly*. That according to the prophet Micah (iv. 5), "All people will walk every one in the name of his God, and we will walk in the name of our Lord God for ever and ever." Which they do not, who walk in a labyrinth of gross errors for a thousand years together; it followeth, "I will make her who was cast off a strong nation, and the Lord shall reign over thee from henceforth and for ever."

20. *Seventhly*. Matt. xvi. 18: "The gates of hell shall not prevail against it." If hell could ever come to make the Church a mistress of errors, so as to hold them forth for divine verities so many ages together, the gates of hell should highly prevail against her. Now I pray note, that for many ages there were no Christians which were not either manifest heretics (and held so by the Protestants themselves) or which did not (as all Roman Catholics now do) worship and adore Christ, as much under the shape of bread in the Eucharist, as they worship him sitting at the right hand of his Father. If this be idolatry, the gates of hell have prevailed against the Roman Church, yea, and against the Churches in Greece, in Armenia, in Æthiopia, &c. who all, ever since they were Christians, have held this our doctrine, and do still hold it, though they add a world of other errors. Where then shall the Protestants find Christ a Church, against which the gates of hell have not a vast long time together prevailed? They must either be forced to make Christ false in this his doctrine, or to confess our doctrine true. If it be not, how was this *covenant everlasting*, as hath been so often said in the now cited texts; and also in the text following, in which Christ made the *everlasting covenant*, formerly promised to be made?

21. *Eighthly*. St. John xiv. 16: "And he will give you another Paraclete that may abide with you for ever, the spirit of truth, whom the world knows not; but you know him, because he dwells with you, and shall be in you." Now the apostles, not being to be *for ever*, and the spirit of truth being promised *for ever*, we cannot but say, that the promise of this *spirit of truth* is made also to the successors of the apostles, the governors of Christ's Church, to "Abide in them, and be in them, as the spirit of truth," directly opposite to the spirit of error. So, *ninthly*, (John xvi. 12): "Many things I have to say unto you, but you cannot bear them now, [hence appears how weighty those things were] but when the spirit of truth cometh, he will guide you into all truth." To private persons the Holy Ghost is given as the spirit of sanctification; but to the Church he is given as the "Spirit of truth, guiding her into all truth," and so directly excluding all error from her.

22. *Tenthly*. That convincing place of St. Paul shall end all these

texts, (1 Tim. iii. 15); where speaking of the visible Church, in which he teacheth Timothy how to converse, he speaks thus, "That thou mayest know how to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of truth." Can I lean more assuredly than upon the pillar of truth? Can I even wish to have a surer ground than the *ground of truth*? And yet such a ground is the Church acknowledged in this text, if it be not perverted by such interpretations as be the inventions of men, but of men unable to confirm their interpretation by any text clearer than this. Here then behold we have produced no fewer than *thirty texts* for the infallibility of the Church; whereas not half so many, nor half so convincing texts can be alleged against it. And yet grant this and you must grant all. Note, that besides these thirty texts here alleged, I have also all those numerous and most full texts, related at large Point III. For whatsoever proves that the true Church cannot fail to be a true Church, proves also her infallibility. For truth of doctrine is essential to a true Church. If, therefore, by being fallible and erring, the whole Church could recede from the true doctrine of Christ, it manifestly follows, that the whole Church could fail to be a true Church, contrary to these most express Scriptures there plentifully alleged.

23. Most impertinent is the distinction which our adversaries use, to avoid the force of these texts. They say that the Church may be taken in two ways. First, for the visible Church, containing all believers, as well reprobate as elect; and this Church they say may err. Secondly, for the invisible Church, which only contains the elect; and this they say cannot err. But this is a palpable contradiction, if well noted. For this invisible Church of the elect, which, as you say, cannot err, is contained in the visible Church: in which, as you say, both reprobate and elect are contained. Which visible Church you also say may wholly err. But if the whole visible Church wholly err, then also the elect contained in it may err: or if they cannot err, then many in the visible Church cannot err. And yet you cannot find many in any Church visible upon earth, whom you can show on the one side to have differed from the belief of the Roman Church, and on the other to have been guarded from error, as those who make the true Church must be. Again, I have showed that many texts here by me cited speak clearly of the visible Church.

TRACT 26.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE CATHOLIC
INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN.]

N U N S AND MONASTIC INSTITUTES.

ABRIDGED FROM A PAMPHLET PUBLISHED IN 1815



[Stereotyped for the Catholic Institute of Great Britain.]

LONDON:

Sold by all Catholic Booksellers, price Threepence, or Fifteen Shillings
per Hundred for gratuitous distribution.

PRINTED BY C. RICHARDS, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, CHURCHING CROSS.

CATHOLIC INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN,

14, SOHO SQUARE, LONDON.

Established July 9, 1838.

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N U N S

AND

MONASTIC INSTITUTES.

A COMMUNITY of Nuns, is an Association of Catholic Women, who, having no relish for the pleasures of the world, nor feeling themselves inclined to perform the duties of a married state; and actuated by motives of religion, freely, of their own accord, and after the most mature deliberation, and a long trial, engage themselves by solemn vows, to practise the Evangelical Counsels, under the obedience of one common Superior of their own choice, and according to certain rules and constitutions which they have adopted: some devoting themselves to the education of youth; others to the care of the sick in hospitals; and some few to a life of retirement and prayer. If the liberty of conscience of which we boast, as one of the most valuable consequences of our wise constitution, is not to be confined to books, certainly Catholics have a right of *exercising, without molestation, that mode of religion which they think best.* And if, according to the principles of their religion, it is an acceptable thing before God, to tend to perfection by the practice of the evangelical counsels—surely a small number of their daughters have an incontrovertible right to tend to that perfection. And if they imagine that they will correspond better to their holy vocation, by living in retirement with companions of their own sex, than by remaining amidst the busy scenes of the world, why should such a liberty be denied them? Is there any law divine or human compelling women to marry? Is there any obligation of conscience to live in the town

rather than in the country? Is there more virtue in idling away our time in visits, balls, frequenting the theatre, &c. &c. than in living in the company of pious friends, who have the same inclinations, and make their happiness consist in the discharge of the useful occupations and religious duties which they have voluntarily imposed upon themselves? But as this concise, though sufficient defence of our nuns would not satisfy those who know them only from the falsehoods and satires of the day, let us enter into details respecting them.

The nuns who devote themselves to the education of youth, do it from the purest and noblest motives,—from motives of religion. They think themselves answerable to God, for the negligences which might endanger either the health or the morals of the children entrusted to their care. They receive them from the parents as a sacred deposit, which they ought to preserve, not only sound and unblemished, [but which it is their strict duty to return one day improved in every virtue, and in every branch of liberal education. The mistresses who preside at the different exercises, are ladies who are themselves adorned with all the accomplishments to which they are to form their pupils, and who discharge their laborious office with that zeal and activity with which we always perform the occupations of our liking and our own choice. They watch over the natural propensities and rising passions of their pupils, with the solicitude of a pious and tender mother; who, by a long experience, has acquired the rare talent of conducting every one of her children according to their particular disposition; and who seeks for no other reward of her troubles and labours, than the temporal and spiritual good of the object of her affection, and the consciousness of having done her duty. Another advantage of education in a convent is, that if a mistress is obliged to interrupt her functions from sickness or any other cause, there is always another ready at hand, and equally qualified, to supply her place. Moreover, the children, seeing in their mistresses, persons their equals and sometimes greatly their superiors in birth, &c. are grateful for the marks of affection and interest which they receive from them; and beholding them always invested with a sacred character, they pay attention to their lessons, open their young hearts to them with freedom and confidence, and listen to their admonitions with docility and a sort of religious respect.

You are sometimes told of a danger of our daughters being seduced by the example of the nuns to embrace a state of perpetual continency, and thus expose us to be deprived of a number of eminent citizens and venerable matrons, who might have been the pride of the country. It is enough to reply, that the number of unmarried women in these realms is almost incredible. It is a fact, attested by the return made to Parliament in the year 1811, that at that epoch the number of females in England, Wales, and Scotland, amounted to 6,262,716, and that only 2,544,215 were married; and, consequently, that there remained unmarried 3,718,501—of all ages, from one year to a hundred years old. Now, if out of that number we take off all children and girls to the age of twenty, and reckon that altogether these form the two-thirds of unmarried women, which is beyond the standard of proportion

established in the bills of mortality, we shall have 1,239,833 unmarried females, from the age of twenty and above. *One million two hundred and thirty-nine thousand women* living in celibacy, either from choice or from necessity; and yet not a word from the pulpit, or in the senate, to stop the progress of a celibacy which might appear to threaten our towns and villages with the danger of being turned into dreary solitudes! Notwithstanding the immense deficiency of men, which must be the necessary consequence of such an extension of celibacy, our armies have never been in want of able commanders—our fleets of gallant admirals—our legislature of profound statesmen—or our courts of justice of upright and wise magistrates; and yet we are told that the whole population of the three kingdoms is in danger of being exhausted; should a few Catholic females (*not one in a hundred thousand of our unmarried women*), from motives of religion, embrace a state of perpetual chastity, and live in retirement!

Let us remark moreover, that in Catholic countries, the esteem or contempt of religious chastity has been always a sure and infallible criterion of the morals of the people. As long as virtue was predominant in a Catholic nation, religious celibacy was highly esteemed, and many were found to embrace it: on the contrary, in proportion as depravity gained ground, religious celibacy fell by degrees into disrepute, and there were few disposed to embrace it; whilst, at the same time, the number of persons unmarried increased, and the sacred obligations of matrimony became every day less and less respected. The cause of this seeming paradox is nevertheless obvious. According to the principles of the Catholic religion, perpetual chastity is looked upon as one of the evangelical counsels, and as a state of perfection. Therefore, as long as the morals of the people are virtuous, and religion is respected, there will be many tending to that state of perfection; and the contrary will happen when morals degenerate and irreligion prevails. To be convinced of the truth of this observation, we have only to read with due attention the history of the reigns of Louis XIII and XIV of France, and compare it with that of their two immediate successors. The licentiousness of manners, and the ignorance and neglect of the duties of religion, occasioned by the civil wars, having been repressed during the happy and energetic government of Henry IV, it is astonishing to see the number of religious houses which were either reformed or founded; and the age of Louis XIV is no less remarkable for the multitude of persons distinguished by their rank, fortune, and talents, who embraced a state of perpetual continency, than for the number of its brave warriors, able statesmen, eloquent orators, great poets, eminent artists, and men of genius in every branch of literature and science. But under the government of the profligate and impious regent, Philip of Orleans, irreligion and immorality having infected almost all ranks of society, religious establishments were visibly decaying, and a vicious and criminal celibacy became fashionable. Religious continency has not been, nor ever can be, the cause of the depopulation of a country.

Again, if we examine the accounts which have been published of late years, concerning the population of the different kingdoms and states of Europe, we shall find, that everything being taken into consideration, viz. climate, fertility of the soil, extent of commerce, and the nature and

form of the government, the Catholic states are as well peopled as the Protestant. The population of Italy, notwithstanding the number of the clergy and the religious, is greater now than it was under the Romans. This is attested by St. Ambrose, who affirmed that it was so in his time, and by a passage from the works of Pliny the naturalist, who declared that if it were not for the kind of prisons, in which the slaves were shut up, a part of Italy would have been a desert. Whilst Sweden was a Catholic country it was more populous than it has been since the Reformation. The Catholic states of Germany contain as many inhabitants as the Protestant, according to the respective extent of territory. The same may be said of the Swiss cantons; nay, that of Soleure (a Catholic canton) is more peopled proportionably than any other. The Catholic Netherlands, before the shutting up of the Scheldt, and the rising of Amsterdam, the rich republics of Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, particularly Venice and Genoa, were not destitute of inhabitants, nor less prosperous than England and Holland. Prussia is not more populous than the three former ecclesiastical electorates; nor Bavaria, Sweden, and Denmark than Lombardy.

Robertson himself says, that at the time of the Reformation, *Germany abounded in inhabitants*. (Hist. of Charles V, vol. iii.) However, in all these countries, religious celibacy was not only tolerated, but even honoured and greatly encouraged, and convents of both sexes were very numerous. No. It is not religious celibacy which can be detrimental to population, nor injurious to the prosperity of the state. It is the celibacy proceeding from luxury, egotism, licentiousness, and excessive love of independency. It is the celibacy of the poor, who from want of assured means of subsistence, to bring up their numerous families, decline contracting legitimate connexions, and abandon themselves to all sorts of profligacy and crimes. In short, it is the forced celibacy, necessarily resulting from our almost uninterrupted destructive wars, which, especially for these twenty-two years past, have swept away the flower of the youth all over Europe, not by hundreds and thousands only, but by hundred thousands and millions.

If chastity be an honourable virtue in itself, does it lose that character only when a young person resolves to preserve her innocence pure and undefiled for ever, in order to have it always in her power to offer to God the homage of a chaste and undivided heart, and to devote herself with more liberty to the service of the sick and of the poor, or to the education of youth?

Marriage is a holy state instituted by God; and in the order of providence and of nature, the general and ordinary state of those who live in the world. Those, therefore, who from motives of religion, and in a Christian and holy manner engage in this state, do well and are to be praised. And the Catholic Church is so far from prohibiting and dishonouring it, as some misinformed Protestant writers affirm, that she ranks matrimony among the sacraments of the new law, requiring the same dispositions of the parties who enter into it, as in those who approach the Lord's table. She judges so awfully and mysteriously of this solemn contract, as absolutely to prohibit persons who have engaged in it from ever

violating it, on any pretext whatever, during the lifetime of their partners ; thus strictly conforming her doctrine to the injunction of our Saviour : " What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder." Matt. (xix. 6.) Nevertheless, those who for the sake of practising a more perfect degree of virtue, and by a divine call, prefer a state of perpetual virginity, embrace that which is more perfect and excellent. Dr. Wells, a learned Protestant, (Paraph. on St. Matt.) confesses that Jesus Christ declares voluntary chastity, *for the kingdom of heaven's sake, to be an excellency, and an excellent state of life.* We do not see among the Jews instances of women making a vow of perpetual virginity ; but the continency of widows after the death of their husbands is mentioned with praise. Judith is honoured for having lived in retirement, fasting and mortification, during her widowhood. The high-priest and the ancients of the people call her " a holy woman, and one fearing God," (viii. 29.) " Thou hast done manfully and thy heart has been strengthened because thou hast loved chastity, and after thy husband thou hast not known any other : therefore, also, the hand of the Lord has strengthened thee, and therefore thou shalt be blessed for ever," (xv. 11.)

It is true that we read in the book of Genesis, these words addressed to our first parents by Almighty God, *Increase and multiply* ; yet they do not imply a strict command, at least to be literally obeyed at all times, through all the succession of ages, and to the end of the world ; but it is a blessing upon the progenitors of mankind, and a promise that their posterity should increase and multiply, and fill up the whole earth. An evident proof of the truth of this observation is, that the sister of Moses always remained a virgin, and certainly this great lawgiver and friend of God would not have suffered it with impunity, if she had been guilty of infringing one of the commandments of the Almighty. Some Protestant commentators have pretended that virginity was a disgrace among the Jews. Several examples show that it was not so. Elias, Elizeus, and Jeremiah, never were married. Among the Essenians, a sect much respected for their strict obedience to the Mosaic law, several men and women lived in perpetual continency ; therefore these interpreters have confounded virginity with sterility. Sterility was looked upon as a disgrace, and as a sort of malediction from God ; because in the promise of the law, (Deut. vii. 14) it was said that neither man, nor woman, nor the beasts of the fields, should be sterile.

But virginity is properly the fruit of the gospel. It is not a precept, it is only a council ; it is, perhaps, that which shone with the greatest splendour in the Church, and produced the most eminent virtues. In his admirable sermon upon the Mount, our Saviour says, " Blessed are the clean of heart, because they shall see God." And his disciples having said to him, when he was teaching them the indissolubility of matrimony, " If the case of a man with his wife be so, it is not good to marry ;" he answered them, " All men do not receive this word, but they to whom it is given. For there are eunuchs who were born so from their mother's womb, and there are eunuchs who were made so by men, and there are eunuchs who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake ; he that can receive it let him receive it." It is also the manifest

doctrine of St. Paul:—"Be ye followers of me, even as I also am of Christ." (1 Cor. xi. 1.) "I say to the unmarried and to the widows; it is good for them if they continue as I. He that giveth his virgin in marriage doeth well, and he that giveth her not doeth better." (1 Cor. vii. 38.) The blessed mother of our Lord always remained a virgin. St. John the Baptist, whom our Saviour declared to be the greatest of those who were born of a woman, was a virgin, St. Joseph was a virgin, St. John the Evangelist was a virgin; and, according to the opinion of the primitive fathers, the predilection of Jesus Christ for him, proceeded from his love of chastity, and because he was a virgin when he became one of his disciples, and remained always a virgin till his death. This great apostle, in his *Apocalypse*, says that spotless virgins are the companions of the Lamb, and enjoy the singular privilege of following him wherever he goes. The tradition of the Catholic Church on this point is unanimous. Among the Romans, Greeks, and barbarians, who had embraced Christianity, many holy virgins preferred torments and death in its most frightful form, to the violation of their integrity, which they had bound themselves by vow to preserve without defilement in mind and body; and since the destruction of the Roman Empire in the west, and the invasion of its provinces by the barbarians of the north, virginity has continued to be held in the greatest esteem and veneration. And wherever Christianity has penetrated, in Germany, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Hungary, Bohemia, Russia, England, Scotland, and Ireland, in the old as well as in the new continent, under the burning sun of Asia and Africa, as in the cold regions of the north, and in the mild climates of France and Italy, virginity has been honoured and practised by thousands during many centuries. Even among the sects separated from the Catholic Church for these 1400 years, Nestorians, Jacobites, &c. &c. virginity has been and is still considered as a state of perfection, and religiously kept by both sexes.

We read in the *Acts of the Apostles*, (xxi.) that Philip the Deacon had four virgin-daughters. "Among us," says St. Justin (*Apol. i. No. 16*) "there is a great number of people of both sexes, sixty and seventy years old, who being from their infancy instructed in the doctrine of Jesus Christ, persevere in chastity; and I engage myself to show several of this description in every condition of life." Moreover, this father assures us, that the faithful were prompted to live in a state of continency, from these words of our Saviour already mentioned: "There are eunuchs, &c. who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake." "If we marry," says he, "it is only to have children; and if we avoid matrimony, we keep a perpetual continency." Now such Christians who, in the days of St. Justin, were sixty and seventy years old, and had been brought up from their infancy in the doctrine of Christianity, must have been taught by the apostles themselves, or their immediate successors. Athanasius, who wrote in the same century, expresses himself in like manner: (*Leg. Pro. Christ.*): "A great number of men and women there are among us who live in celibacy, from a hope of being more intimately united to God. Our custom is to remain such as we were born, or to marry but once." And Hermes, the friend of St. Paul, says, in his little treatise, *The Shepherd* (No. 4): "He who marries again, commits no

sin : but if he does not, he acquires great honour with the Lord. Live in chastity and decency, and you will live for God." St. Epiphanius and St. Ambrose affirm besides, that St. Clement, one of the immediate successors of St. Peter, highly commended virginity at the end of his second epistle. Tertullian cries out, "How many voluntary eunuchs! How many virgins of both sexes!" St. Ambrose mentions virgins consecrated to God, by receiving a veil from the hands of the bishop at mass. Some vowed their virginity without receiving the consecrated veil, but wore black or grey modest garments, as a mark of their state. St. Chrysostom speaks nearly in the same manner. The strictest nuns were those called in Syria *daughters of the covenant*; which name included the deaconesses and other canonical maidens, who not only made vows of virginity, but also in many places were appointed to sing hymns and canticles in the church, as we read in the Syriac life of St. Ephrem. All those classes of holy virgins lived in private houses, before monasteries were founded; but never in the same houses with men, as St. Cyprian testifies. In these first ages of Christianity, some of the virgins consecrated to God, lived with their parents, or two or three together by themselves. They never went out, but to church, where they had a place separated, by boards, from that of the rest of the women. There can be no doubt that they had consecrated themselves to God, by vows of chastity: for St. Cyprian says, that if one of them should fall, she would be *incestuous* and an *adulteress*, not to a husband, but to Christ. Tertullian calls them *sacrilegious* who throw aside a habit consecrated to God. And St. Austin positively affirms, that those who withdraw from the monastery, act contrary to their vow, and contract guilt by not fulfilling it. They employed in manual labour all the time which they did not dedicate to prayer, singing hymns, and spiritual canticles. They also practised fasting and other mortifications. St. Ambrose mentions a society of twenty virgins living together at Bologna: he says that they worked not only to gain a subsistence, but that they might also have wherewithal to bestow in charity. He describes, as follows, the ceremonies of the solemn profession of a virgin. She presented herself, says he, at the foot of the altar, where she made her profession before the people; the bishop preached to her, gave her the veil which distinguished her from the other virgins; invited, by a prayer, Jesus Christ to come on the day of these spiritual nuptials, to receive his handmaid, who consecrated herself to him by a public profession, after having long before dedicated herself to him in spirit and in heart.

In the first three centuries of the Church, the Christians enjoyed but short intervals of peace, and were frequently under the necessity of hiding themselves in caves and subterraneous places, called catacombs, to celebrate, with some degree of safety, their holy mysteries. But when peace was restored to the Church, in the beginning of the fourth century, convents of women were founded all over the extent of the Roman empire, where the Christian faith was established. St. Athanasius relates, in the life of St. Anthony, that this holy man placed his sister in a house of virgins; and that a long time after, he paid her a visit, when she was very old, and superior or mistress of many virgins. St. Pachomius seeing his sister desirous to embrace a religious state, built for her a nunnery on the

other side of the Nile, which was soon filled with holy virgins. There were also pious women, who either lived with their relations or in communities, observed continency, and followed some particular rules and religious customs, without taking any irrevocable engagement, and who, consequently, could return to the world whenever they pleased; as we have seen in our days the daughters of St. Vincent of Paula, and many other societies and congregations of pious women, in France, Flanders, Italy, and other Catholic countries.

After such authorities as these, who shall assert that perpetual chastity is an impracticable virtue; and that it is absurd and immoral to attempt it?

The poverty of which nuns make profession does not consist in actual want of the necessities of life, but in a voluntary privation of its superfluities. They give up their right of disposing of what they bring with them on their entering the convent; but it is to be deposited in the hands of their superior, to be joined to the common stock, and employed for the general use and advantage of the community, there being no distinction of the members who compose it, whether they were rich or poor at the time of their admission: so that the nun who had a large fortune, has not a greater allowance, enjoys no greater comforts, than her companion who had no portion at all; everything is distributed according to the actual wants of the religious, and not according to their former situation in the world. In short, their poverty is an exact imitation of that poverty, or rather community of goods, practised by the first Christians, at Jerusalem; who, though very numerous, as it is related in the *Acts of the Apostles*, "Had but one heart and one soul; neither did any one say that aught of the things which he possessed was his own, but all things were common to all; neither was any one among them that wanted; for as many as were owners of lands or houses, sold them and brought the price of the things which they sold, and laid it down before the feet of the apostles, and distribution was made to every man according as he had need."—(iv. 32, 34, 35.)

These institutes never were a burden to the state which protected them. Possessing but little, they were always content with little. Rich by their sobriety and abstemiousness, joined to their labour, which Divine Providence constantly blessed, they astonished the world by their abundant charities; Almighty God renewing, as it were, the miracle of the multiplied loaves, in order to satisfy their tender solicitude, and eagerness to relieve the poor, the widows and the orphans. The writer of these reflections was an eye-witness of it. He lived for several years in the country, near the habitation of a community of these exiled nuns. They were far from being rich, as was obvious from the state of the house which they occupied, and its scanty furniture. Nevertheless, with their little income and the produce of their garden and four or five cows, they found the means never to refuse any of the numberless poor who came to the convent to beg some assistance. They received them all with unwearied patience, heard with sympathy their long tales of woe, shed tears of compassion on their distress and misery, addressed them with soothing and consolatory words, which revived their drooping spirits, and with a simplicity which greatly enhanced their merit, and shared cheerfully with

them the homely fare of the community. Thus exemplifying, in the whole tenor of their conduct, this advice of the wise man : " Bow down cheerfully thy ear to the poor, and pay what thou owest, and answer him peaceable words with mildness."

Our hospitals and asylums are supported with a liberality and munificence, perhaps not equalled in any country. The buildings are spacious and airy ; the accommodations for the sick wisely ordained, the food wholesome and abundant ; the remedies of the best quality ; the physicians and surgeons of eminent skill ; the directors men of merit, and servants of an unimpeachable character. But tender solicitude, ingenious inventions to give ease and relief to the sick, visible sympathy with their sufferings, unremitting attention to watch over all the accidental changes of their disease, to save them unnecessary pain, and procure them the least momentary comfort, religious zeal to alleviate by all possible means the agonies of death, and by seasonable and affectionate exhortations prepare their souls to appear before the Sovereign Judge: all these little helps, both spiritual and corporal, which religion alone can suggest to the feelings and compassionate heart of a pious woman, and in which religion alone can give her courage to persevere with unwearied patience and alacrity: all this is wanting in our charitable establishments, and the largest subscriptions, the conveniences of the buildings, and the highest salaries given to servants will never be able to supply the deficiency. A Protestant author, speaking of hospitals in Catholic countries, says, " Whatever objection might be made to the Catholic religion, certain it is, that on this head, it has at all times had a great and beneficial influence. The arguments of philanthropists would perhaps have never effected that which religious sentiments have done for suffering humanity."—*Bath Chronicle*, December 13th, 1808.

Let us consider the motives and inducements which have led such numbers into the monastic state. What must be their delights who from a pious inclination embrace it ! No sooner has a young woman, with such a determination, stepped out of the world, than it seems to her that she breathes in a purer atmosphere ; delivered from the yoke under which she groaned, she no longer walks, but runs in the way of the commandments of God : her heart burns with devotion, swells with hope, and triumphs in the consciousness of being for ever united to Him, who has chosen her among a thousand, and whom she loves above all things. Under an habitual sense of the divine presence, she keeps up a perpetual cheerfulness of temper, and enjoys at every moment the satisfaction of thinking herself in company with her dearest and best of friends. The time never lies heavy upon her ; it is impossible for her to be alone ; her thoughts are the most busied and delightfully occupied at such hours, when those of other people are the most inactive. Solitude is the hallowed ground which religion has chosen in every age for her own : there falls the tear of contrition,—there rises towards heaven the sigh of the penitent and grateful heart,—there melts the soul with all the tenderness of piety, and pours itself forth with all its fears, its desires, its apprehensions, and its hopes, before the great supporter of its existence, and the amiable Saviour who has loved it the first, redeemed it, and destined for it an endless

felicity, in the full possession of himself. "Hope," says the author of the *Spectator*, "Hope in the recluse makes his austerities comfortable, while the luxurious man gains nothing but uneasiness from his enjoyments. He who resigns the world has no temptation to envy, hatred, malice, anger, but is in constant possession of a serene mind: he who follows the pleasures of it, which are in their very nature disappointing, is in constant search of care, solicitude, remorse, and confusion."—*Spectator*, vol. iv. p. 128. However, it was not by laying before the eyes of the pious novice the rich fruits of the land of promise, and representing to her its hills and dales flowing with milk and honey, that she was persuaded to enter it without fear. Of all the mortifications, austerities, and self-denials of a conventual life, she was informed without reserve, and she was obliged to practise them all, in order to assure herself and the community, that her desire to be a nun did not proceed from a momentary fit of devotion, but was the result of a solid and tried vocation. In some communities a trial of two years, of eighteen months in others, and in no one of less than one whole year, is required of the persons who present themselves to enter into a religious life; and the rule is so strict in that regard, that a few hours wanting to complete the year of the noviciate are sufficient to render the vows null and invalid. During this trial of a whole year, there is certainly full time for the overflowing of fervour and devotion to abate,—for the first impression of grief to be worn off,—for the heated imagination to cool, and reason to speak the sober language of prudence and discretion. During a whole year, the duties which at a distance might not have been duly considered,—the yoke which might have appeared sweet, and the burden light, are then appreciated and felt, such as they are in reality, and not merely by speculative reflections, but by daily practice. The inclinations and secret propensities of the postulant are rigorously scrutinized, both by her superiors and by her own companions, and her dispositions continually put to the test. All the mortifications, self-denials, austerities, corporal or spiritual, which are either of obligation or counsel, she must practise during a whole year, in order to know whether her health and courage are equal to them; her rule and constitutions are repeatedly read to her; she receives from her ecclesiastical and local superiors the most impressive admonitions of the indispensable necessity of sounding her heart in the silence of the passions, and of considering at the foot of the altar the high importance and irrevocability of her intended sacrifice. Before the six months of her noviciate are elapsed, the postulant is obliged herself to ask the community as a favour, to be admitted to the habit, and before it can be granted her, the superior is bound by the rule, to assemble and consult the chief members of the community. Every one is at full liberty to speak her mind for or against the postulant; nay it is an obligation of conscience in them to do it with impartiality and the most disinterested motives; however, for fear of their opinion being influenced by that of their superior, they give it by secret votes. If the novice be admitted, the whole community is assembled, the petition is laid before them, suitable prayers are addressed to the Holy Ghost, to implore his light and assistance in the decision which is to take place, and her admission or dismissal is decided by the majority

of the *secret* votes of all the nuns who compose the convent. Towards the end of the year the same measures and precautions are resorted to, before her profession. Therefore, is it not evident that her admission has absolutely depended on her perseverance in asking it as a singular favour; and on the judgment of the majority of the nuns that she was deserving and well qualified to become a member of their society? However, this is not all. Before the final engagement is contracted, the bishop of the diocese comes himself, or sends a venerable priest to represent him. The novice is taken out of the enclosure, and introduced to the bishop in the out parlour, to be examined by him *privately*, on the motives of her vocation; and after being admonished to speak freely her mind, and declare her real sentiments, as in the presence of the Almighty, the questions and answers are put down in writing by the bishop's secretary, and signed by both, and by the novice herself.

After an examination performed with such solemnity, and so positive a declaration from the novice, if she perseveres in her resolution to be professed,—even supposing that her first step might have been rather unreflected,—have we not reason to be persuaded, that the last is the result of a free choice and mature deliberation? On the contrary, if, notwithstanding all these precautions, to know, whether any undue influence and human considerations have not been used to determine her resolution, she engages herself against her will and inclination, is it not true that she has been the chief contriver of her own ruin? If she puts on fetters which it will never be in her power to break off, has she not been the first to forge and rivet them? If she be an involuntary victim led to the altar in order to be sacrificed to the avarice or ambition of her unnatural parents, has she not been herself the sacrificing priest? For it is morally impossible that a bishop, and a whole community, violating coolly and with one accord, the most sacred duties of nature and religion, would enter into a foul conspiracy to force the inclinations of an innocent young person, and devote her to be miserable for the remainder of her life, and perhaps throughout all eternity.

It is sometimes said that a young person inclined to embrace a religious state, would do much better to remain in the world, than to hide in a convent virtuous qualities, with which she was adorned by divine Providence in order to edify her neighbour by her good example. It shows but a superficial knowledge of the nature of man, to pretend that every individual of our species is equally fit to fulfil the different duties of society, and that in order to appreciate with justice what sort of good a man could have done, we must not only consider what others may have done in the same circumstances, but of what he is capable himself; therefore, in order to judge without fear of mistake, whether a young lady would have done better to live in the world than in a community, the first thing to examine is, whether she was fit for the world, and could be happy in the world; for general experience teaches, that in order to render ourselves useful members of the commonwealth, we must be placed in a situation conformable to our inclinations, and adapted to our natural or acquired talents. Some are destined to shine in a high station; others to walk unknown in the obscure paths of an humble life. Some are called to

dedicate their whole time and labours to the service and edification of their neighbour; others to hide themselves in retirement, only occupied with the government of their souls, the regulation of their passions, and practices of piety,—every one according to the particular gift which he has received from the supreme Giver of all good gifts. If it be reckoned as selfishness in a young person to leave the world, because she does not find her happiness in it, and because, knowing her own weakness, she is persuaded that her virtue would be exposed to dangers which it would be very hard for her to resist, it must be owned, that it is a selfishness grounded upon the precept of our Divine Saviour himself, when he says, “What is a man advantaged, if he gain the whole world, and lose himself, and cast away himself?” (Luke ix. 25.)

At least, they say, it cannot be denied, that a nun shut up in her convent, becomes thereby quite useless to society. To this objection I shall answer, that it cannot be brought against those religious who dedicate themselves to the education of youth, and to the attendance of the sick; and they are by far the greater number. As for those who, judging themselves unqualified for these active and exterior duties of Christian charity, prefer a life of solitude and prayer, supposing that they are of no utility, or to speak more properly, of the same visible utility to the public, (since it must be confessed that this kind of life which they like is not in the least injurious to mankind) why should they be denied the comforts of it? Have they not, as their other fellow-citizens, the liberty, as it has been already proved, of disposing of themselves, and of choosing the situation the best suited to their mental and bodily abilities, and consequently the best calculated to make them happy?

Moreover, is a life of retirement, penance, and prayer, to be branded with idleness and inutility to mankind? What shall we say then of Moses, who instead of putting himself at the head of his people, who were fighting against their enemies, went up to the top of a mountain to pray for the success of their arms? What shall we say of St. John the Baptist, who led for so many years such an austere life, hidden in a desert near the river Jordan? What shall we say of the apostles, who resigned to the deacons the care of the poor, the widows, and the orphans, in order to have more time to pray? What shall we say of that holy widow, Anna the prophetess, who, after having lived only seven years with her husband, and had attained the advanced age of “Four-score and four years, departed not from the temple; by fastings and prayers, serving day and night.” (Luke, ii. 36, 37.) Shall we have the temerity to accuse these holy souls of having idled away their time? Shall we dare suspect their fervent prayers to have been unacceptable to God, and of no profit to themselves or others? What shall we say of Jesus Christ himself, who remained hidden and unknown, working in a poor carpenter’s shop till he was thirty years of age, although at twelve he confounded the doctors of the law by the wisdom of his questions and answers, and although as St. Paul declares, “In him dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily?” (Col. xi. 9.) What shall we say of his precept, “We ought always to pray and not to faint;” (Luke xviii. 1) and of his long and frequent prayers during the time of his ministry? Shall we have the sacrilegious audacity

to pretend that we understand better than he, what is pleasing to the Almighty, and useful to man? Oh! no, all that we shall say is, "That wisdom of this world is foolishness with God."

Not so thought the primitive Christians. They considered religion as the main point, and made all temporal concerns give place to it; and this is what the monks and nuns do, who have separated themselves from the world, in order to attend with liberty to the *one thing necessary*; and from hence have been called *religious*, as at first all good Christians were. The primitive Christians prayed often, both in common together, and in private by themselves, coming as near as they could to continual prayer. We read in the letters of St. Ignatius, in the works of Tertullian, of St. Clement of Alexandria, St. Cyprian, Origen, in the apostolical constitutions, St. Ambrose, St. Chrysostom, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, St. Augustin, &c. &c. that the first Christians met to pray in common, as often as possible, being persuaded that the greater number of faithful who are joined together in begging the same favours from God, the more efficacious are their prayers towards obtaining the object of their humble and fervent petitions; according to the declaration of our Saviour: "If two of you shall agree upon earth, concerning anything whatsoever they shall ask, it shall be done for them by my Father who is in heaven; for where there are two or three gathered together in my name, there I am in the midst of them." St. Ignatius recommended to St. Polycarp, (both disciples of St. John the Evangelist) frequently to assemble the faithful, and exhorts him to see that all be present. The public prayers at which they most frequently assisted were those of the morning and evening, or what is called *lauds* and *vespers*. They were exhorted thus to consecrate the beginning and close of the day, and not to excuse themselves therefrom, on account of their temporal concerns, which are to be considered as only secondary to those which are spiritual. Such as could not be present, as the sick, the imprisoned, or people on a journey, met in private as many as possibly could; and though they were alone, they failed not to pray at their appointed hours. Besides *lauds* and *vespers*, they prayed also at *terce*, *sext*, and *none*, and in the night. St. Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and St. Cyprian, expressly mention all these prayers. Origen requires that every one should pray at least three times a day: in the morning, at noon, in the evening; and in the night. Generally during the day, which was divided into twelve hours, according to the Roman manner, they prayed every three hours. They even rose to pray at midnight. St. Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and Origen, mention this midnight prayer. St. Cyprian recommends it. And this custom of getting up in the night is much praised by all the fathers, as of great use to mortify the body, and to raise the mind to God, at a time the most quiet and free from disturbance. The faithful were exhorted besides to employ the intervals of sleep in meditating on the Psalms, and the Lord's Prayer, &c. In a word, to renew more frequently their attention to the presence of God, they recited some particular prayers before everything they did, according to the precept of St. Paul: "Whatsoever you do in word and work, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ: giving thanks to God and the Father through him." Thus all their husbandry

labours, such as ploughing, sowing their corn, making the harvest, and gathering the fruits of the earth, began and ended with prayer. They prayed when they began to build a house, or to dwell in it; to make a new piece of cloth, and when they put on their clothes; and even in the most ordinary occurrences. We see instances of these prayers in the benedictions still retained in the rituals. The salutation at the beginning of a letter, and on other occasions, was not only an expression of friendship but also a prayer. In performing the least action, they made use of the sign of the cross, as a still shorter formulary of a benediction; they marked it upon their foreheads, and used it almost on all occasions, that is to say, whenever they came in or went out; when they walked, when they sat down, and when they rose up; when they went to bed, and when they dressed themselves, or put on their shoes; when they ate or drank, &c. &c. Now this holy practice of continual prayer, this singing of the psalms, these pious observances and customs, these short prayers before and after meals, walks, work, &c. and frequent signs of the cross, we find ordained in the constitutions and rules of monasteries of monks and nuns, and nearly in the same manner as we have seen the first Christians practising them. St. Anthony, St. Pachomius, St. Benedict, and the other founders of religious orders who followed their example, did not aim at introducing any novelty, or to go beyond the virtue of their fathers. They wished only to preserve the tradition of the strict practice of the gospel, which they found to grow slack every day. They always proposed to themselves as models those ascetics who had preceded them: such in Egypt (according to what Cassian says) were the disciples of St. Mark the Evangelist, who lived in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, shut up in houses, praying, meditating on the Holy Scriptures, using manual labour, and not taking their food until night. Some, it is true, who tended to the most sublime perfection,—or converted sinners, who wished to purify themselves by repentance, practised all the exercises of penance, in imitation of the prophets and St. John the Baptist; adding to the ordinary frugal and spare diet of the Christians, extraordinary abstinences and fasts, and inuring themselves to the duties of piety, by chastising the body, as St. Paul says of himself, and reducing it to subjection. But the generality of religious of both sexes proposed only to themselves the example of the primitive Church of Jerusalem, and that of the apostles. They sought not to gain admiration by any extraordinary way of life, but to live like true Christians. This is seen in the greater rules of St. Basil, which are no more than an abridgment of the morality of the gospel, which he proposes in general to all. There are only a few things in this rule which regard in particular persons separated from the world. What was peculiar in religious was their renouncing marriage, the possession of temporal goods, and the company of the faithful, even of their relations. In every other respect they were an assembly of good Christians, living by their own labour, observing silence, exercising themselves in combating their vices one after another, to the end that having fought a good fight, as St. Paul says, they might attain that purity of heart which would render them worthy to see God. All their practices were, and still are, grounded upon these principles. Such have been the motives which have

at all times actuated the founders and foundresses of monastic orders, and the good religious who embraced their holy institutes.

As to the food of religious, it is necessary to observe that it was a common thing, not only among the Christians, but even amongst the most rational of the heathens, to live on pulse and fish, and to have reading during their meals. The principle recommended to them was, *not to live for the sake of eating, but to eat for the sake of living*. It is also the principle laid down by St. Clement of Alexandria; who says that a Christian ought to eat no more than is necessary for the support of his health, and for keeping up the degree of strength requisite for his labour. He says, that he ought to renounce all exquisite dishes; the setting out of great entertainments, and whatever requires the art of cookery. The religious, as well as the most perfect Christians, took in a literal sense, and as a general rule, the saying of St. Paul; "It is good not to eat flesh, and not to drink wine. Refraining from wine was chiefly recommended to women and young people; and such as drank it at all, always mixed a great quantity of water with it. If they ate any animal food, they preferred fish or fowl, to the grosser flesh of four-footed beasts, which they esteemed too succulent and nourishing. But they constantly abstained from blood, and strangled meats, according to the decision of the council of the apostles, and which was observed for several ages. Many, therefore, lived only on white meats, fruit and pulse; nay, some there were who thought certain kinds of pulse, such as peas, beans, and lentils, too nourishing for those who wished entirely to subdue their flesh. Hence they reduced the vegetables they made use of, to plain herbs, with bread and water, observing literally this other passage of St. Paul, "He that is weak, let him eat herbs." It is true, this abstemious way of life was not then so extraordinary, as it would appear now; though the luxury of the table had reached to an excessive height, (as may be seen in the Greek and Latin authors of that time, particularly in Atheneus), it was not arrived to that pitch or extravagance it is at present with us. The Egyptians and several other nations still observed their superstitious practices. The abstinence of the Pythagoreans was held in great esteem, as it appears from the instance of Apollonius of Thyana, and from the writings of Porphyry, who lived in the second and third centuries. Horace, as great an epicurean as he was, reckons vegetables and herbs his ordinary food, and promises his friend, whom he invites to supper, nothing more. The Emperor Augustus himself most commonly lived upon brown bread, cheese, figs, dates, raisins, and small fishes. A thousand other similar instances are to be found in ancient history. It was usual to make only one full meal a day, and that in the evening, when they had despatched all their business, and everybody was got home; this was their supper. What they called *prandium*, dinner, was rather a breakfast than a dinner in our language; since it was only a slight refreshment to support them during the day, and several did not even take that. It was reckoned among the excesses of Vitellius, (one of the greatest gluttons of antiquity) that he often took four meals a day, and never less than three. The primitive Christians lived at least like the wisest and best among the heathens, and consequently used a plain diet, and preferred that food which required no dressing at the

fire, to that which did. They made at most only two meals a day; the repast, however simple and plain, was preceded and followed by long prayers, of which we have still a formulary in the prayers of the Catholic Church before and after meals. It was also an usual practice in those times to have reading during meals. Pliny never failed to have it; and Juvenal, inviting one of his friends to sup with him, promises to have Homer and Virgil read. The Christians accordingly had the holy Scriptures read, and grave tunes and spiritual canticles sung, instead of the profane songs and buffooneries, with which the heathens accompanied their entertainments. The first Christians behaved with the same modesty and sobriety in every action of life. They valued only interior greatness and nobility; they esteemed only spiritual riches. They condemned whatever luxury had introduced amidst the prodigious riches of the Roman Empire; such as clothes of too bright a colour, expensive buildings and costly furniture. To give a specimen of their aversion to superfluities, I will here transcribe a description of the furniture which the persecutors found in the room in which St. Domna lived, who was a very rich virgin of Nicomedia, as it is related by contemporary writers: viz. a cross, the *Acts of the Apostles*, two mats on the floor, an earthen lamp, and a small wooden box, in which she kept the blessed Sacrament to communicate herself.

If the primitive Christians took any diversion, it was merely a diversion; that is to say, a relaxation of the mind, a rest from labour, to satisfy the weakness of nature, which would sink, if the body always laboured, and if the mind were perpetually fixed on the same object. But they thought that to seek pleasure merely for pleasure's sake, and for no other end, was certainly acting contrary to the obligation of renouncing ourselves, which is the soul of all Christian virtues. Bodily labour, or moderate exercise, is a relaxation to the mind; mere rest, wholesome food, and comfortable sleep, are sufficient to recruit the body. Sedentary games are never necessary; this we see by the example of the poor and the common people, who continually labour. Let us now observe how many women there are who gain their livelihood by working at their needle; their time is wholly employed in this occupation; they seldom stir out during the week, except on Sundays; these persons however look more cheerful, and enjoy better health than our fine ladies, who seem to be in continual motion, and who are incessantly changing places,—from a visit to the theatre to a ball, from the town to the country, from the country to the sea-coast, &c. &c. It is the rich, and such as have no employment, who seek after diversions to kill time, and diminish the irksomeness of their idle lives. The primitive Christians therefore avoided all public shows; those of the theatre, the amphitheatre, and the circus, because these diversions fomented the passions. Moreover they blamed the great expense and idleness encouraged by them; the meeting of both sexes who were there assembled promiscuously together, and disposed to gaze on one another with too much freedom and curiosity. In short, they would admit of nothing unbecoming in their manner of life; nothing vulgar, or unworthy of persons of character; nothing of that silly, useless talk, and that reciprocal commerce of detraction and vanity so common among worldly women;

but condemned by St. Paul, when he says that our discourse ought always to be seasoned with the salt of grace. It was with a view to trench these disorders that silence was so much recommended.

But however severe this mode of life may appear to us, we must not imagine that it was dismal and melancholy. St. Paul did not require an impossibility, when he exhorts the Christians always to rejoice. If they deprived themselves of those lively and irritating pleasures, which are the general pursuit of mankind, they were at least exempt from the vexations, disappointments, and passions which torment others; since they lived free from all anxiety, disengaged from worldly care, averse to all sordid gain, and to whatever could in the least degree be suspected of injustice; and moreover not subject to the restless desire of amassing riches, and to the ambition of raising themselves above others by power and dignities. As they had neither relish for nor attachment to the vain and transitory pleasures of the world, so they were little affected by the loss or privation of them, and even bore with a constant equanimity of soul and modest courage the calamities inseparable from this life. They enjoyed peace of conscience, and the satisfaction arising from good actions; and, above all, they were constantly supported and animated by the hope of another life, which they looked upon as near at hand, and in which they would be superabundantly recompensed for the short trials they had undergone. "What greater pleasure," says Tertullian, "than to contemn the world, to enjoy true liberty and purity of conscience; to be content with little, and not to fear death? These are the pleasures; these are the shows of the Christians."

St. Benedict, therefore, ordered nothing that was unusual; nor St. Scholastica, by adapting his rule to persons of her sex, anything that appeared strange or impracticable, concerning fasting, abstinence, manual labour, silence, reading, prayers before and after meals, distribution of time, recreation, &c. &c. The religious were only distinguished from other Christians by a few things, peculiar to persons living quite sequestered from the world. With regard to the diet, St. Benedict, and the other founders of religious orders, have used, on the contrary, great discretion, by adapting their rule to the climate, the country, and to the different constitutions of those for whom it was intended; some exacting a greater austerity, others allowing greater indulgence. We see that St. Benedict permitted his religious two sorts of dressed meat, with a little wine. The hours of meals and sleep which the religious observe, are the same that everybody observed till within the last two centuries. They dined at nine or ten o'clock in the morning, or even sooner, as the labouring people did a few years ago, and they supped at six in the evening. The regulations of the police, with regard to the *curfew* and the time which the people were allowed to work, show that they reckoned the night from eight o'clock in the evening till four in the morning, which is the best rule for taking the exact middle of the night, and to lose as little as possible of the day.

It is a great error to imagine that a nun in her convent leads an inactive life, and that she is always either upon her knees in the chapel, or absorbed in deep contemplation in her cell. This is certainly not the

case; and nuns have been heard to say, that they had more time to pray when they lived in the world than since they had quitted it. The reason is, that in a convent no one is allowed to follow her private devotion and propensity: a nun does not live for herself alone, but for the mutual advantage and comfort of her sisters. Among the members of the same community there is a continual interchange of duties and services, with which every one is obliged to comply: the rule must be equally obeyed by all, whether it calls them to recreate themselves, or commands them to retire to their cells, or to their work. All the hours of the day are distributed with such prudence, that they are never permitted to be taken up too long with the same occupation, which might fatigue the head, or weaken the body: there is a time appointed for reciting the divine office, for mental prayer, reading, manual labour, either in common or in private; for walking or recreation; in short, for everything, according to the different office in the community which each nun has to discharge; so that the religious have not a moment left to uncertainty or idleness; and under the appearance of a dull and tiresome uniformity, there is a constant and pleasing variety, the nuns passing continually from one occupation to another; and thus, though they rise early in the morning, they complain that the day is too short, that the night calls them too soon to take their rest; and they enjoy on their straw bed, or hard mattress, a sweeter and more refreshing sleep than others do on beds of down. By these wise regulations every excess in prayer, work, &c. &c. is avoided; sufficient time for bodily exercise and for repose is not only granted, but even strictly enjoined; the health is preserved; and with health, evenness of temper, liberty of mind, serenity of conscience, and a constant cheerfulness.

We now come to the question of the vows taken by the inmates of our convents. Their authority is not contemptible. We read in holy writ that Jacob made a vow to offer unto God the tithe of all the things which were to be given to him, and that God was pleased with the offering. (Gen. xxviii. 22; xxxi. 13.) In the books of Numbers (vi.) and Leviticus (xxvii.) there are several laws concerning the different vows which might be made, and the manner of accomplishing them. David, that great prophet, according to God's own heart, made a vow to build a temple to the Lord; and the Lord promised him that his son should accomplish it. (1 Kings vii. 13.) The chiefs among the Israelites bound themselves by a vow, to contribute to the expenses of the building, and they accomplished their *vow*. (1 Chron. xxix. 6.) Samuel, Sampson, and John the Baptist, were consecrated to God by vow; and the obligation of keeping the vows made to God is clearly established, Deut. xxiii. 21, Job xxii. 27, Psalms lxxv. 13, Eccles. v. 3, &c. &c. Many even of our Protestant commentators, in their notes on Leviticus and Numbers, acknowledge the sanctity of the vows mentioned in these two books, and the obligation of keeping them. Now, as the God of the Old Testament is no other than the God of the New, and since he vouchsafed to accept the vows of men under the law of nature, and under the Mosaic dispensation, have not Catholics a solid reason to believe that he will equally be pleased with them under the law of grace?

Accordingly, after the apostles in the council of Jerusalem had decided the ceremonies of the Mosaic law to be no longer obligatory, St. Paul made a vow and accomplished it. (Acts of the Apostles, xv., xviii. 18, xxi. 16.) The same apostle, in his first epistle to Timothy, speaking of the young widows, who "having grown wanton in Christ, will marry," says, "that they have damnation, because they have made void their first faith." (1 Tim. v. 11, 12.) And this appears to have been the unanimous opinion of all the holy personages who have distinguished themselves, both by their learning and their virtue, from the time of the apostles down to the Reformation of Luther. We can name St. Ignatius, disciple of St. John the Evangelist (Ep. ad Smyrn. xiii), Tertullian (De Veland. Virg.), St. Cyprian (Epistle iv.); then the Basils, Ambroses, Hilaries, Gregories, Cyrils, Chrysostoms, Jeromes, Austins, Paulinuses, &c. Even Protestant divines own them to have been warm advocates of religious vows. However, without taking advantage of the authority of the Holy Scriptures, and the practice of the whole Christian world, during fifteen centuries, let us examine the thing with the light of reason alone, and see if an irrevocable engagement be truly destructive of our liberty, and if those who are willing to contract it are to be accused of inexorable temerity and blindness. Melancholy experience teaches us, that man is born with more propensity to vice than to virtue; therefore to leave him at full liberty to follow, without the least control, the bent of his natural inclinations, would make him most miserable, and render him at the same time the scourge of his fellow-creatures. An evident proof of this truth is, that from the beginning of the world, men have agreed, with one accord, to acknowledge an authority, to submit to laws, to have restraints laid upon their will and actions; in short, to sacrifice a part of their natural independence and liberty, in order to enjoy the security and comforts to be found only in civil society. Nay, even in the present state of things, look around you: who are those who truly taste the sweets of life? Is it the rich man, who finds in his treasures the means to indulge at all times the inconstancy of his desires? Is it the infidel, who having obliterated from his heart the principles of religion and virtue, knows no other morality than the gratification of his unruly passions? Ah! their impatience of contradiction, restlessness of temper, fondness of change, incessant craving after new enjoyments, evidently betray that they are consuming themselves in fruitless attempts, and ineffectual seekings after happiness, which constantly flies away from them at the very moment they flatter themselves they have attained it. If happiness is to be found in this world, the man who enjoys it in its full extent, is certainly the man whose delicacy of conscience does not allow him to transgress in the least the salutary restraints which religion and the laws of his country impose upon him. It is the man, who, by the regular and uniform plan of life which he has voluntarily adopted, has precluded himself, as it were, from the possibility of a change, and thus shut up all the avenues of his heart against the fickleness of vain desires, and the fantastic projects of a heated imagination. In fine, it is the *man, who*, according to the Scripture phrase, *has borne the yoke from his youth*.

Under our free government, are we not ourselves living in perpetual

restraint? Is not our liberty curtailed and limited by many prohibitions and laws? Are not our soldiers bound by an irrevocable engagement as soon as they are enlisted; by which single act,—almost always done from want, or in a frolic, or in a state of intoxication,—are they not subject to a discipline a thousand times more severe than that of the most rigid religious orders? Are they not, in truth, merely passive instruments in the hands of their commanding officers? Are not their diet, their sleep, their dress, even their motions, under continual restrictions? Willing, or unwilling, are they not doomed to go wherever they are sent, even to the extremities of the world, and to the most unwholesome climates, to fight the battles of their country, with scarcely a distant hope of seeing their friends again in their native land? Is not marriage among us subject to restrictive laws? When contracted as the law directs, is it not indissoluble? And is not the unfortunate young person who has been sacrificed to the avarice and ambition of her unnatural parents, or who has been the melancholy victim of her own blindness, condemned to pass her days beneath the yoke which she can never more shake off? To bring the question nearer home,—by the sole fact of our being born in England, are we not deprived of what appears to be an essential part of liberty; the liberty of disposing ourselves as we think best, and of choosing the climate, and the form of government, which we judge to be the most conducive to our happiness? From this single fact, in which we never concurred in the beginning, nor which we ever subsequently approved of, have we not contracted with our native country an engagement so irrevocable, that it can never be dissolved by any act of our own?

Let us now apply these observations to communities of women. It is true that on the day of her profession, a religious takes an irrevocable engagement; but, had she married, it would have been perfectly the same; the only difference is, that she never makes her vows, but after having acquired a complete knowledge of the whole extent of her future obligations, and of the difficulties she will have to meet with, and after having tried for a considerable time if her health and inclinations are well calculated for a religious life: whilst by marrying, her prospects of happiness rest more upon desires and hopes, than upon experience; as it is impossible for her to be fully acquainted with all the duties and consequences of matrimony, but when it is too late to alter her situation; consequently, whatever may be objected against perpetual vows, can be retorted with stronger force against the indissolubility of marriage. But, as all moral writers agree that the peace of families, the good morals of the people, and the prosperity of the state, depend in great part on the indissolubility and sacredness of matrimonial engagements, have we not a right to conclude, that perpetual vows are also a great ingredient of happiness in a religious life, and perhaps its best security? Supposing that a nun had the liberty to leave her convent, and to come back to it at pleasure, what benefit would she reap from such a liberty? After an abode of a few years in solitude, were she to return to the world, all she knew and loved in it has already disappeared, or is entirely altered for her; for the world is a scene continually changing. If you lose sight of it for ever so short a time, you are sure to see new decorations and new

actors,—she becomes a stranger to its manners and fashions,—destitute of the qualifications requisite to please others, and hard herself to be pleased, obliged to submit to a second education, and to form new habits, in order to gain the affections of new acquaintances and friends, the inconstant religious would be soon disgusted with her new situation, and long after the tranquillity and comforts of her former habitation. Would she obtain the object of her actual desires? It is in vain; her convent is no longer the same as she left it: having once tasted in some degree the noisy and intoxicating pleasures and diversions of a worldly life, she would not have the same relish for the uniform occupations and tranquil enjoyments of a religious life. Having lost the taste of simplicity and candour, she would find the conversation and society of her pious companions dull and insipid; religious observances trifling and tedious, and her own way of life laborious and irksome. Too virtuous to take a part in the criminal diversions of the world, and too worldly still to relish the pure delights of innocence and piety,—half a fashionable lady in her convent, as she was a formal old maid in the world,—an object of compassion and trouble to her religious sisters, and of contempt and raillery to her worldly friends, she would pass, and end, her melancholy days in bemoaning the dismal consequences of her inconstancy, or in forming new schemes of changing her present situation for another, which as soon as obtained, would prove equally uncomfortable and burthensome. It appears then certain, that by renouncing the power of disposing of herself, the religious renounces only a power which she could not exercise, but to her detriment and ruin; and which she would not have actually used had she retained it in its full extent. This is not a mere conjecture; it is a truth confirmed by the example of the religious who make their profession in communities in which perpetual vows are not required; it depends upon them to return to the world whenever they please: however, they scarcely ever do it, and they die happy in the house in which they had consecrated to God the first years of their youth. The founders of monastic orders, by imposing on their disciples, rules and practices of perfection, never thought that they could release them from their primary and indispensable duties towards God and their neighbour: those holy and truly wise men were penetrated with the truth of these maxims: “If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments. Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s: and to God the things that are God’s. As you would that men should do to you; do you also to them in like manner.” They knew perfectly well, that monastic as well as political obedience derive their strength and support from the same principle, “from Him who reaches from end to end, mightily, and ordereth all things sweetly.” *Wisd.* vii. 1. Monastic and political obedience are two sisters, united together by a perfect agreement of sentiments; and not two rivals always at variance. They both command their respective subjects, “Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be, are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God.” *Rom.* xiii. 1, 2. Superiors never imagined that by requiring from their religious a vow of obedience, they had power to command them to renounce the lights of their reason, or the dictates of their conscience.

However, such would be the case, if they could ever suppose, that the rule which enjoins obedience to the Superior, is above the natural and divine law which strictly commands allegiance to the lawful sovereign. The vow of obedience does not render the religious a blind instrument in the hands of his Superior, nor deprive him of his natural faculties. No, he ought to make use of them, as other men do, to distinguish between good and evil, right and wrong. He renounces his will, and submits it to that of his Superior, only in this sense, that in the things which, before his profession, he could indifferently either have done or omitted (*salva conscientia*) after it, he engages himself to follow the judgment and discretion of his Superior; acknowledging in him a right to command, and in himself an obligation of obeying; but always with this restriction, within the limits of his rule, and only as far as the natural and divine laws permit; which laws can never be dispensed with on any pretence whatever. Hence, before a religious revolts from his allegiance to his sovereign, he must have already revolted from his faith, and from the rules of his order. The vow of obedience has only for its end the glory of God, the temporal and spiritual advantage of the religious, and the maintenance of peace and good order in the community. The perfection of the vow of obedience consists, not in complying with every order of his Superior, whatever it may be, but in the disposition of the religious (whenever submission is not incompatible with charity,—whenever there is no appearance of sin, or the voice of God condemns the voice of man) to consider in the Superior, who commands, Jesus Christ who is to be obeyed; to obey, not only in things of strict obligation and great importance, but also in matters of indifference; and at the first sign, without reply or reluctance, and even with pleasure and alacrity: such is the doctrine of all Catholic moralists, concerning the vow of obedience.

How then can religious obedience be called a slavery? Slavery is an involuntary yoke. The obedience of the religious is not forced upon him against his will, but the effect of a free choice. Obedience is a burden and yoke only to the Superior. Slavery is the melancholy consequence of birth or of conquest: the obedience of the religious is the result of mature deliberation, and real independence. Slavery is a violent invasion of liberty: the obedience of the religious is a voluntary cession, a gift, a free homage; consequently the noblest act of his liberty. Slavery puts the slave under the dominion, and leaves him at the disposal of a master whom he could not reject: the obedience of a religious subjects him to a Superior of his own choice, and who cannot dispose of him, but according to fixed laws and regulations, which he has himself approved of, and which he respects and loves. Slavery is entirely for the advantage of the master: obedience is entirely for the benefit of the religious: obedience is the delight, comfort, and felicity of the religious: by a generous and unreserved sacrifice of self-will, he is delivered from one of the greatest obstacles to salvation, and exempt from the trouble of choosing for himself. Obedience enhances the value of his good works, and even gives him the merit of all those which he is not allowed to perform. It is the light which guides his steps; the authority which solves his doubts; the help which supports his weakness; the spur which animates him in his undertakings; the motive which en-

courages him in his difficulties ; in fine it is his security during his whole life. Slavery is the torment of the slave, and all his desires tend to break off his chains, and to be set at liberty : obedience is the delight of the religious ; for he fears nothing more than to see his sacred engagements dissolved, and be rendered again master of his destiny.

We must not imagine, that the constitutions of monastic orders give to Superiors a despotic authority over their religious. No, they cannot govern them according to their caprice, but according to the rules of their community. Superiors themselves are bound by laws which they cannot infringe ; they are not surrounded with slaves nor even with subjects, but only with friends and children. The sceptre which they hold, is the sceptre of mildness and benevolence ; it is forbidden to the Superiors to rule with harshness, and to the inferiors to obey through servile fear : the names of father or mother which they bear is not only a title of honour ; it is a mark of the nature and character of their administration. In short, their empire is an empire which love and confidence have erected, and which is exercised only by confidence and love.

Now, if you shut to Catholic women the entrance of the cloister, you evidently preclude several of them from the avenues to happiness, which consists in a seclusion from the agitations of the world, and which they could not find elsewhere. In order to make us sensible of this truth, we need but take a slight survey of our communities of religious women. Let us suppose each of them to have been composed of thirty members ; and that out of this number ten who were without near relations, and as it were strangers in their native country, esteemed themselves happy to have had it in their power to enter, by adoption, into a family, the gentle and pure manners of which were suitable to their own inclinations : ten others, destitute of those natural graces and captivating charms so highly valued in the world, had brought a grateful heart into a society of pious and enlightened souls, among whom the want of these external accomplishments is accounted as nothing, when compensated by virtue ; the ten remaining, condemned by the shipwreck of their fortune to a life of penury and indigence, with transport blessed the religious foresight of our ancestors, who had prepared for them an hospitable land, where, from slender means of subsistence, united together, there arose a comfortable sufficiency for all. Now, if you disperse these thirty nuns, and keep them separated from one another in the wide world, you offer violence to their inclinations, destroy their happiness, and devote their existence to the greatest calamities. Are not the calamities which oppress individuals, to be looked upon as the calamities of the political body of which these individuals are members ? And is it not the duty of a wise and paternal government to prevent them ? “ The happiness of a people,” says Dr. Paley, “ is made up of the happiness of single persons ; and the quantity of happiness can only be augmented by increasing the number of the percipients or the pleasure of their perceptions.” Vol. ii. p. 346.

It has been also said (for what has not been said against religious orders ?) that notwithstanding all the regulations which the most consummate wisdom could establish, to prevent an abuse of power in the Superior, nevertheless, it might be still *possible*, that he should abuse his

authority over a timid and uninformed religious, to make him subservient to the designs of his ambition, or his enmity against the government of his country. That such a thing is *possible* we grant. That it is probable, we boldly deny. But with this objection of *possibility*, there is nothing so sacred, so useful, so necessary upon earth which will be free from suspicion. If the mere *possibility* of an abuse be once admitted as a sufficient cause to reject and abrogate a convention, or destroy an establishment, there is no longer any sort of authority safe, nor any sort of obedience without danger. The defence of the country must not be entrusted to the genius of the most experienced general, because it is *possible* that he will abuse his influence over his soldiers to raise the standard of revolt. Magistrates should not be appointed, to watch over the execution of the laws, and maintain good order; because it is *possible*, that a judge will use the sword of justice, which is put into his hands for the punishment of the guilty, to sacrifice the innocent. Parents must be deprived of the authority which every law, divine and human, gives them over their children, because it is *possible* that they will form and habituate to commission of crimes, the young hearts which they were bound to bring up in the practice of every virtue. Sciences and liberal arts, ought no longer to be tolerated, because they may *possibly* tend to increase the number of corrupted citizens. Nay, religion itself, and all religious worship, must be reprobated, because in the hands of hypocritical and profligate ministers, it is *possible* they may become an instrument of delusion, superstition, and fanaticism.

Let it be acknowledged that, through that infirmity inherent in all human establishments, which tend, after a certain lapse of time, to relaxation and decay, the most fervent convents have now and then wanted reformation. But the irregularities so loudly complained of by the zealous advocates of religious sanctity, and so maliciously exaggerated by partiality or prejudice, though they no longer subsist, were, for the greatest part, mere irregularities,—deviations from the strictness of the rule, too frequent an intercourse with seculars, introduction of a worldly spirit, or adoption of conveniences contrary to a life of mortification and poverty. But these irregularities were never general; they existed only in some few houses, whilst all the others exhibited the most edifying example of all Christian and religious virtues. I will not even deny that sometimes, though very seldom, vices might have crept into convents, and polluted these sacred abodes of innocence and perfection. Indeed, since among the twelve apostles, chosen by Jesus Christ himself, and formed by his example and instructions, there has been a traitor, can we reasonably expect that our convents, which have contained many thousand religious, during the space of fifteen hundred years, should have enjoyed the singular privilege, never to have the inconstancy of a *foolish virgin* to bewail? However, let that be as it may, these defects, nay, even these vices, were only the defects and vices of some few individuals; they had never any influence on the prosperity of the state, or the morals of the people; they were not the *cause*, but the melancholy *consequence* of the general corruption of manners: as in a country infected with the plague, the most healthy and robust constitutions cannot always escape the general contagion.

As for enclosure, such as was sanctioned by the civil laws in Catholic countries, before the French revolution, is it true that it made a convent a place of slavery and woe? A most afflicting scandal has served at least to display a most edifying truth. Out of a feigned compassion for religious women, pretended philosophers had long since published throughout all France, that the day when an option should be offered to these cloistered victims, between their chains and their return to the world, they would *that very day* quit, with eagerness, their deserted solitudes. However, a solemn law loudly proclaimed such an option; and the result of this philosophical experiment, became, to the eternal ignominy of those who had solicited it, a splendid triumph of the fidelity, and an evident proof of the happiness of our virgins. And we may say, if such a comparison be allowed, that the crucible scarcely threw out an imperceptible dross. Those religious virgins, whom their false friends had flattered themselves to stir up, and draw into inconstancy,—those to whom they had endeavoured to palliate the crime of injury and apostasy, in order to smooth the way for their return to the world;—all of them recoiled back with horror, at the prospect which opened before them, and hid themselves with more eagerness than ever in the obscurity of their beloved solitudes, from which, at a later period, it became necessary to tear them away by violence. And after twenty-two years of abode in the world, immediately upon the restoration of the Bourbon kings to France, these pretended victims of religious despotism, sent forth from all quarters of that extensive kingdom the most urgent petitions to the king, to obtain leave to resume the public exercise of their sacred engagements, and shut themselves up again within the walls of a convent. Nay, some, without waiting for that permission, at once put on their religious habits, erected grates to their parlours, and excluded the world from their houses.*

But if the objections against a religious life be destitute of solid grounds, as it must appear to every impartial reader; in the *form* in which they are dispersed among the public, we shall discover still more of disingenuousness and intrigue. Eumity to a religious life is served up in every shape that is likely to allure, surprise, or beguile the imagination:—in a fable, a tale, a novel, a poem, and “awful disclosures;†” remote and oblique surmises, in books of travels; of philosophy; of natural history; in a word, in any form rather than the right one, that of professed and regular disquisition: and because the coarse buffoonery and broad laugh of the old and rude enemies of the Catholic faith, would offend the taste, perhaps, rather than the virtue of this cultivated age,—a graver irony, and more skilful and delicate banter is substituted in their place. The adversaries of a religious life have gone still farther; they have pursued it with poisoned arrows: obscenity itself has been resorted to by a Gathercole and a Gregg. The innocent customs,—if we are not permitted to call them the holy rules of the religious,—together with all the adjuncts and appendages of their external profession and worship, have been impudently profaned by an unnatural conjunction with impure and lascivious

* This is a fact of which the writer of these pages was an eye-witness. Among the religious communities which put up grates, he may name the English *Austrian* nuns in Paris.

† Maria Monk's, to wit.

images. The fondness for ridicule is almost universal; and ridicule to many minds is never so irresistible, as when seasoned with obscenity, and employed upon monks and nuns. But in proportion as these noxious principles take hold of the imagination, they infatuate the judgment; for trains of ludicrous and unchaste associations adhering to every mention of a religious life, render the mind indisposed to receive either conviction from evidences, or impressions from its benefits to society; and this effect being exerted upon the sensitive part of our frame, is altogether independent of argument, proof, or reason; is as formidable to a true religion as to a false one; to a well-grounded faith as to a chimerical mythology or fabulous tradition. Every mind which wishes the advancement of truth and knowledge, in all researches which have reference to the happiness and reputation of his fellow-creatures, must abhor this licentiousness, as violating no less the laws of reasoning, than the rights of decency.

Monasteries in England are nearly no more; yet justice is due to an order of men, which was formerly an illustrious part of this nation, and abounded in persons eminent for birth, learning, and piety. The veil which death throws over the ashes of good and great men is sacred; and to cast dirt upon their shrine, is shocking to the most savage barbarian; yet some have made it a point of merit. Bishop Burnet says (and many after him repeat) "that the monks were become lewd and dissolute, when the order was suppressed among us." But the Protestant Henry Wharton,* in his *Specimen of Errors in Burnet's History of the Reformation*, answers this slander in the following manner, p. 142: "God forbid that any professors of Christianity, much less the greatest pretenders to it, should be guilty of such monstrous wickedness, or that any others should believe it of them, without evident proof. Surely if the monks had been guilty of such things, it could not have escaped the knowledge of their visitors, who searched and divulged all their faults with the utmost industry. Nor would it have been unknown to Bale, brought up among them, or omitted by him in his *English Votaries*, wherein he has set himself to defame the monastic order, and the unmarried clergy, with insatiable malice." It were to be wished, that they who claim greater indulgences, would seriously reflect, that the glaring irregularities of two or three members, bring an undistinguishing censure upon a whole body; make a noise, and alarm the world, as if all flesh had corrupted its way: whereas the sober, modest, and humble worth of a much greater number, who there in private follow the duties of the wise and good, must in the nature of the thing, escape the notice of the world. Notorious disorders, how few soever are concerned, strike the senses of some, and affect the passions of many more; and by their senses and passions the gross of mankind generally judge of things; but it requires a greater degree of reflection, than the bulk of mankind will give themselves the trouble to make, to consider, that great numbers must have spent their time profitably, formed habits of a just way of thinking, and laid in that stock of knowledge and virtue, which they have produced into view in a more public sphere: that those vices, which they complain of, may not be the native growth of the place,

* Under the name of Anthony Harmer.

but imported from irregular and undisciplined families; from schools,—and from the worst of schools,—the world at large. The same learned divine and historian, in an answer to another charge of Bishop Burnet, importing that the monks, about the end of the eighth century, had possessed themselves of the greatest part of the riches of the nation, shows (page 40) that the monks had not then probably gained the hundredth part, though, afterwards, in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, they increased exceedingly in number and possessions. “But after all,” says he, “they will never be found to have possessed above the fifth part of the riches of the nation, and considering they were wont to lease out their lands for easy fines, and small rents, they did not in reality possess the tenth part of the riches of the nation. Then, for that other charge, that the best part of the soil being in such ill hands, it was the interest of the nation to have it put to better uses, it is altogether erroneous. From the beginning to the end, none improved their lands and possessions to better advantages than the monks, by building, cultivating, and all other methods, while they kept them in their hands. Of this Croyland is to this day a manifest instance. And when they leased them out to others, it was the interest of the nation to have such easy tenures continued to a great number of persons. To this it may be added, that they contributed to the public charges of the nation, equally with the other clergy; and the clergy always contributed in proportion with the laity; so that we cannot find to what better uses these possessions have been since put.”

Bishop Tanner, and several other Protestant writers, also observe, that the Church lands, after the Conquest, contributed to all public burdens equally with the laity. Another celebrated Protestant historian, Mr. Mallet, in his *History of the Helvetians*, vol. i. p. 10, expresses his opinion of the services rendered by the religious to society, in the following terms:—“The monks softened, by their instructions, the ferocious manners of the people, and opposed their credit to the despotism of the nobility, who knew no other occupation than war, and grievously oppressed their subjects and inferiors. On this account the government of the monks was preferred to their’s. The people sought them for judges; and it was an usual saying, that it was better to be governed by a bishop’s crosier, than by a monarch’s sceptre. The monks were engaged in useful employments; they cleared and cultivated desert and savage lands; and we find that in many places where those missionaries established themselves, agriculture, next to preaching, was their principal occupation. Was it possible that such men should not be venerated during their lives, and after their deaths?”

After the barbarians had overrun the whole of the Roman Empire of the West, all the learning and piety in Europe which had escaped their ravages, were chiefly confined to the monasteries they had spared, or after their conversion re-established. These had schools to which both laymen and persons intended for the Church resorted. In those schools were brought up the apostles of England, Belgium, Gaul, Germany, and the other countries of Europe towards the north,—St. Austin, Willibrod, Anscarius, Boniface, &c. &c. These holy prelates founded religious communities, which exhibited the eminent virtue and fervour of the primitive

solitaries. Venerable Bede, St. Odo, St. Bernard, St. Thomas of Aquin, St. Bonaventure, St. Anselm, &c. were men who would have done honour to the most enlightened ages. It was in monasteries that the treasures of all sort of antiquities were found; it was in them that several precious works of ancient writers were discovered, which must have perished in the general confusion of barbarous ages, without these asylums where religion still threw out some light. It was there the holy Scriptures were preserved and copied with the greatest care, as were likewise the writings of the fathers, the canons of the Church, the public records, the titles of families, and all other precious manuscripts of sacred and profane literature, which have been so conducive to the revival of letters, and the liberal arts among us. In a word, the purest practice of the gospel was preserved in monasteries, whilst it was more or less corrupted in the world. It was a very important service rendered to religion and learning, carefully to have collected whatever concerned the belief and the manners of the Christians, the revolutions of empires, and the succession of kings, during the space of several centuries: to have transmitted to us the laws and discipline of the Church; the names of the great men who have distinguished themselves either by their talents or their sanctity; to have copied their works and preserved those of ancient authors. And to whom are we indebted for all these precious advantages, but to religious? An Alexander, a Cæsar, a Homer, a Virgil, a Cicero, a Plato, a Demosthenes, a Tacitus, &c. would have remained entirely unknown to us, had it not been for the labours of poor religious, who neither wished for nor claimed the honour of adding their own names to those which they saved from eternal oblivion. It is by the continued researches of these pious solitaries that those precious collections of books were formed and first known in Europe. According to the rule of St. Benedict, each monastery was to be furnished with a library; and the religious houses which were destitute of one, were considered as a camp, destitute of the most necessary means of defence. *Clastrum sine armario, quasi castrum sine armamentario.* "A cloister without a library is like unto a castle without an armoury." And it is indeed from the libraries of monasteries, that those precious manuscripts have been taken, which, since the invention of the art of printing, have enriched us with so many excellent works in every branch of sacred and profane literature. When the art of printing was unknown, the generality of the people and the nobles themselves could neither read nor write; the monks recorded the transactions of their times. In several monasteries, it was a constant practice to choose from among the members of the community the most learned of the religious, who wrote with exactness the most memorable events of each reign. At the death of this religious, the fruit of his researches and observations was laid before the general chapter, and after mature examination they were redacted into a sort of chronicle, which was kept for the instruction of posterity. "Had it not been for the labours of the monks," said Sir John Markham, "the English would be still but children in the history of their own country." What would Usher, Cave, Tillemont, Montfaucon, Mabillon, Fleury, Bingham, Gale, Spelman, and other historians, have done, if from Hugh, a regular canon of St. Victor in the twelfth century, up to Paladius, a monk in the fifth,

monasteries had not supplied them with an uninterrupted succession of witnesses attesting the events of their age. In our own country, Bede, Ingulf, Turgot, William of Malmesbury, Matthew Paris, and Matthew of Westminster, have rendered this service; and many celebrated men in other countries, whom it would be too long to insert, have done the same. The Bulgarians owe their conversion to two monks,—Theodore Cepharias, who had been prisoner in Bulgaria for many years, and Methodius.*—This great work was accomplished by the following means. Bogoris, King of the Bulgarians, was inclined to the Christian faith by the assiduous and long persuasions of his sister, who had zealously embraced it at Constantinople, having been taken captive very young, and detained a long time in the court of the pious Empress Theodora. This prince had also several conversations with the monk Theodore; but the fear of exciting a revolt among his subjects, who were still strongly attached to their superstitions, prevented him from yielding to the voice of his conscience, till God was pleased to awaken him by a more powerful call. As he was passionately fond of hunting, he desired the Emperor of Constantinople to procure him a picture, which should be a curious hunting-piece. Methodius, according to the custom of many devout monks in that age (845) employed himself in drawing pious pictures, and excelled in that art; he was sent, therefore, to the court of the king, who, having built a palace, was desirous of adorning it with paintings. He gave the good monk an order to draw him some piece, the very sight of which would strike terror into those who beheld it. Methodius thinking nothing more terrifying than the general judgment, represented, in the most lively colours and with exquisite art, that awful scene, with kings, princes, and people, standing promiscuously before the throne of the great Judge, who appeared armed with all the terror of infinite majesty and justice, and attended with angels ready to execute his sentence. Some were placed on the right hand and some on the left. This moving sight, and the punishment of the reprobate, which was represented also in the picture, and still much more the explication of every part of this dreadful scene by Methodius, made the deepest impression on the king's mind, and from that moment he began to fear God more than his subjects, and resolved to be baptised; but though the ceremony had been secretly performed during the night, the news of the king's conversion was soon noised abroad; the Bulgarians, enraged, took up arms and marched in open rebellion towards the palace. Bogoris, animated with a lively faith and undaunted courage, placed himself immediately at the head of his guards, forty-eight only in number, and taking a little cross which he carried on his breast sallied forth from his palace, attacked the rebels, and defeated them in an instant. This victory restored order and submission among the Bulgarians; and a short time after his people imitated his example, and embraced the faith. Methodius was not only a skilful painter; he was also a zealous apostle and an eminent scholar. Assisted by his brother Cyril, he brought about the conversion of the Bulgarians, Moravians, &c. Studowski,

* Of Thessalonica.

in his *Sacra Moraviæ Historia*, styles Cyril and Methodius the apostles of Moravia, Upper Bohemia, Silesia, Lusatia, Croatia, Circassia, &c., and almost all the Slavonian nations. The two brothers invented the Slavonian alphabet, translated the Bible from the Greek into the Slavonic tongue, and likewise the Liturgy, and instituted mass to be said in the same, which was approved of by Pope John VIII, to whom Methodius had repaired to give him an account of his mission among the barbarians; and the version is to this day used in all the Churches which adhere to the Slavonian rites. This is another instance of the *ignorance* of monks, and of the *prohibition* of the holy Scriptures to Catholics.

In the ages, called with scorn and derision the ages of ignorance and monkery, our illiterate ancestors did not confine their benevolence to those transient acts of generosity, so common and so much extolled in our days, and which, notwithstanding their boasted extent, have always left the poor to be supported by taxes levied upon the public at large. These good and virtuous men, in their enlarged views, provided for the present and future generations: they thought that they should draw down upon themselves and upon their offspring, the blessings of heaven, and merit the gratitude of their country and of posterity, in founding establishments, in which the praises of the Almighty should be sung, and his most holy law preached to the end of time. They imagined that by erecting on their estates, convents of both sexes, which was without the least expense to the state, they should afford (as they actually did, for many centuries) sure and permanent resources to the poor, harbours always open to the distressed, useful and ever-subsisting censors of public licentiousness, and sanctuaries where the humble and pure virtues of the gospel could be cultivated with security and peace. Whether our forefathers, or our contemporaries, have merited most of religion and humanity, let the reader decide! Since the beginning of the last century, London, Bath, Bristol, Liverpool, &c. have been increasing every day in riches, extent, and population. The streets, squares, gardens, and theatres, are beautiful and commodious. As for the places of religious worship, either of the Established Church, or other persuasions, it must strike the eyes of an observer how mean they are. Most of them low and narrow brick buildings, which would not be judged fit for concert-rooms; they are only distinguished from private houses by their despicable construction; erected more from a sordid speculation than from disinterested and noble motives of religion. The only thing thought of is, how many pews are wanted to afford a handsome benefit to the architect, and a sufficient salary to the clergyman who is to attend the divine service on Sundays: but whether their solidity, size, and architecture answer the religious purposes to which they are destined, is not in the least regarded. And, indeed, if the actual inhabitants of London were now as punctual as they were in former times, in coming to church to hear the word of God, all the churches, chapels, and meeting-houses now subsisting, would not be sufficient to contain the tenth part of its population.

Our simple and plain ancestors, in *monkish times*, directed by *narrow-minded* and *bigoted monks*, thought that no expense should be spared to

erect the most majestic temples to the honour of the Almighty. They inhabited uncomfortable houses; but their genius, grandeur, and elevation of thought were displayed in the places of religious worship, with a taste and magnificence which have never been surpassed, and very seldom equalled, in modern times. Westminster Abbey, the Cathedrals of Lincoln, Salisbury, Wells, and York, are still subsisting monuments of this truth, and excite the admiration of lovers of the fine arts. What shall we conclude from this melancholy contrast? That egotism is always sordid, and *truly narrow-minded* in all its undertakings, and that religion being no longer considered by our politicians as the only solid basis of public prosperity, all that concerns religion, its influence, or preservation, is either entirely laid aside, or treated with the utmost indifference.

But it is objected against the monks, that they had lost the spirit of their institute; that men who had made vows of poverty, inhabited palaces. It must be acknowledged that their houses were stately buildings, their churches magnificently adorned, that all which served for divine worship was sumptuous and of the most exquisite workmanship. That the halls, chapter-rooms, and apartments destined for the abbot and guests, were nobly though simply furnished; the libraries abounding with works of the best ancient and modern writers in every language; the courts, cloisters, refectories, spacious and well-adapted to their respective uses; the gardens and orchards, producing all the riches with which a beneficent Providence always repays the labours of industry and perseverance: but those who have assisted at the meals of the lords of these great estates, have found that they were satisfied with a homely fare, most of them living throughout the year on fish and vegetables;* they drank but the most common wines, in the countries where it is the beverage of the poor, as well as of the rich, and elsewhere, table-beer, or small cider. Our servants would bitterly complain if they had for their breakfast, what was judged sufficient for the dinner, supper, &c. of a monk. Those who have visited the rooms occupied by the inhabitants of these *palaces*, can testify that they were only little cells about ten feet square, without a fire-place, and without any furniture, but a plain bedstead, with a straw bed or mattress, a table, a praying desk, a crucifix, two or three chairs, a few plain engravings, and a book-shelf. The Petaus, Mabillons, Montfaucons, Kirchers, Malbranches, Houbigants, Calmets, Bourdaloues, and, in our days, the Guerangers,—who corresponded with all the learned societies of Europe, who reckoned among their friends and admirers the greatest men of their age, and whose immortal works will be transmitted to the latest posterity, were not better accommodated.

Monasteries in France, the Netherlands, and other countries which fell under the yoke of the French tyrants, have shared the destiny of monasteries in England. These noble and pious establishments, which had been for so many years the asylum of virtue, around which deserts had been changed into rich meadows, fruitful fields, populous hamlets, villages, and towns, are nearly levelled to the ground, their peaceful inhabitants have been driven into the wide world, to drag on a miserable

* The richest abbeys of Benedictines in France,—St. Denis, St. Germain, St. Ouen, Remigius Fécamp, Caen, Bet., &c.—are instances:

existence in wretchedness and grief: their possessions, which, in great part, were the property of the poor, have passed into other hands, without enriching their unjust purchasers. Nothing remains but here and there some stately ruins, which loudly proclaim the taste, munificence, and piety of their founders, and the rapacious cruelty and vandalism of the present age. This destruction of monasteries was celebrated with complacency by Protestant writers, as the triumph of reason over superstition, and as the forerunner of the downfall of popery; whilst in reality it was only the beginning of that deluge of calamities which laid waste the greater part of Europe. The same principle which justified this destruction, led to the plunder of the property of the secular clergy, nobility, gentry, and all the rich, and paved the way to that military government in France, which, during a space of twenty-two years, occasioned the death of ten millions of men at least. With the riches of the religious, it was said by their enemies, that all the debts of the nation would be paid, and scarcely any taxes in future would be necessary; but a general bankruptcy ensued, and taxes ten times heavier than they were in the most distressed times of the monarchy were imposed. If to this we add what happened under the reigns of Henry VIII, Elizabeth, and James I, we shall have an evident proof that the dissolution of monasteries never was of any service to the states which resorted to that impolitic and unjustifiable measure of intolerance and arbitrary power. It has been maintained by several Protestant authors of reputation, that the legal provision made for the poor by the last parliament of Queen Elizabeth, was rendered necessary by the dissolution of monasteries in the reign of her father. Before this event took place, the wants of the indigent were relieved by the charity of the monks; and Dugdale remarks, that while the convents stood, there was no act for the relief of the poor, so amply were they provided for by those houses; whereas in the next age, there were no less than eleven bills brought into the House of Commons for that purpose. That monasteries afforded relief to the poor, is a position maintained by Smith and Blackstone, the latter of whom attributes to the dissolution of these monasteries, the numerous statutes made in the reign of Henry VIII and his children, for providing for the poor and impotent. From the twenty-second of Henry VIII to the thirty-third of Elizabeth, hardly a parliament met, in which some laws that regarded the poor were not enacted. But if we reckon up (to use the words of a Protestant writer) *the superabundance of men and women who devoted themselves to the welfare of their neighbours*, we shall be forced to acknowledge, that the suppression of convents was of no service to society, but even an irreparable loss.

We will not speak here of the number of celebrated men whom religious orders have produced: scholars, poets, historians, critics, mathematicians, divines, metaphysicians, astronomers, politicians, commentators, moralists, orators, &c., who, by their profound meditations and researches, knowledge of antiquity and learned languages, discoveries and genius, have promoted the progress of literature and the polite arts, established the evidences of Christianity with the greatest perspicuity and strength, | preached the morality of the gospel with an eloquence equal to that

of the most famous orators of Athens and Rome. Neither will we mention the number of colleges governed by religious, as nothing very positive can be ascertained from the testimony of historians; all we know is, that in Spain, the religious of St. Basil had four colleges in each province; that all the different congregations of St. Benedict dedicated themselves to the education of youth, and that the Jesuits had establishments all over Europe, &c. &c. As for women, it is known that they were all brought up by nuns. We will content ourselves with giving an idea of the indefatigable labours of religious of both sexes, in relieving the wants and necessities of suffering humanity; for even this imperfect sketch will be sufficient to remove the prejudices of those who are willing to be undeceived.

Distinguished by different rules and denominations, but all tending to the same end,—the exercise of benevolence and charity,—an immense number of religious of both sexes had divided among themselves the various distresses and sufferings which form the long and melancholy catalogue of woes that afflict the poor, in order to give to each of them a more speedy and effectual assistance. Some took for their department the care of the sick under the most contagious disorders. There are reckoned in Christian Europe about four thousand three hundred cities and towns;* of these, three thousand two hundred and ninety-four are of sufficient extent and population, to be supposed to have had each an hospital; (a calculation rated much too low, for in Catholic countries there was scarcely a village of any note, without a religious establishment for the sick and the poor) therefore you will have three thousand two hundred and ninety-four hospitals, more than the two-thirds of which were served by religious. Now taking upon an average that each of these hospitals contained a hundred beds, it will be found that about *three hundred and twenty-nine thousand and four hundred* of our fellow-creatures were every day for more than a thousand years attended and relieved in their various diseases, by religious of both sexes. If to this we add the numberless poor who were not in hospitals, and were nevertheless attended, relieved, and assisted with food, raiment, and medicines, by religious associations, during a period of fifteen centuries, the aggregate amount of charities of every description, bestowed upon the distressed and destitute, will be beyond the power of calculation. Other religious dedicated their whole time to the bringing up orphans and foundlings. In every capital and large town, there were asylums and houses of refuge for those unfortunate women, whom want or libertinism had led astray from the paths of innocence. There you would have admired women of unblemished chastity, under the sweet name of “the daughters of the good Shepherd,” devoting themselves to reclaim from vice, and bring back to sentiments of virtue, these melancholy victims, whom the world abandons to infamy and distress, after having first corrupted them by its pernicious maxims and examples. In order to secure their perseverance in their good resolutions, they were taught to work, and a small sum of money was given them to settle in the world. They were not even interdicted the hope of

* Chiefly according to Guthrie's account.

embracing a religious life. They were informed that, if after imitating Magdalen in her disorders, they took her for a model in their penance, many sins would be forgiven them, and even that they might aspire to the same favours which this great saint received from Him "who came not to call the just, but sinners to repentance." *Luke v. 32.*

On the highest Alps ; on the summits of Mounts St. Gothard and St. Bernard ; in those dreary regions covered all the year round with perpetual ice and snow, which do not contain a single shed, nor produce a single tree,—where nothing is heard but the roaring of the winds, nothing to be seen but numberless pieces of rock, which are all precipitated from the surrounding peaks, and where you cannot move a step without almost insurmountable difficulties and fathomless precipices,—there the charitable disciples of St. Bernard of Menthon and of St. Francis have established themselves, in order to give assistance to the benighted traveller. Bernard of Menthon was born in the Genevois in 903, and descended from one of the most illustrious houses of Savoy. Having embraced the ecclesiastical state, he employed himself in missions among the unconverted Pagans, who inhabited the mountains, and converted them to Christianity. Having witnessed the hardships and dangers encountered by the French and German pilgrims, in their passage to Rome over the Alps, this benevolent monk founded two monasteries or *hospitia* for their relief on Mount Joux, called from him Great and Little St. Bernard. These were peopled by canons-regular of St. Austin, and Bernard himself became their first provost. He obtained several important privileges from successive popes, and his convent acquired great popularity and large possessions. Bernard died at Novara, at the age of eighty-five, and was canonized. His institution has undergone a variety of vicissitudes, and lost great part of its riches, but it still subsists, and is eminently useful. There are ordinarily between twenty and thirty monks belonging to the convent ; eight of whom are usually dispersed among the Alpine parish churches, under their patronage ; ten or twelve, whose age and health are able to bear the keen atmosphere of the mountain, constantly reside at the convent : the few others, who can no longer bear it, are permitted to reside with the aged provost of the whole, in a house belonging to the convent, and situated at Martigny below. The monks of the mountain are industriously employed in the prosecution of their private studies, in the instruction of their novices, in the education of some scholars who are sent to board and lodge with them, and in managing the temporal economy of the whole. They have a prior, the deputy of the provost, and governor of the convent in his absence ; a sacristan, who takes care of their chapels ; a cellarer, serving as purveyor, comptroller of the kitchen, and managing all the exterior concerns of the monastery ; a clavender, who keeps the keys, and dispenses the requisite articles to the monks and to the travellers ; and an infirmarian, who takes care of the sick, in the apartment appropriated for them. The cellarer keeps twenty horses constantly employed during the summer, in fetching the magazines of flour, bread, cheese, liquors, and dried fruits, for themselves and for their guests, and forage for their milch cows during winter. Their fire-wood, of which they use a great quantity, is brought to them on the backs of mules, from

the distance of twelve miles, and by a steep path, that is passable for six months only during the whole year. Before the winter sets in, they send down their horses for the season to a farm which they have on the northern side of the Rhone. With equal attention they relieve both their own countrymen and foreigners. They make no distinction of state, sex, or religion, and ask no questions concerning the *country or creed of the wretched sufferer*. In winter and spring their solicitude has a larger range of attention and activity. From the first of November, through the winter, to the first of May, a trusty Alpine servant, who, as an Alpine, is denominated a *Maronnier*, and one or two dogs of an extraordinary size accompanying him, are constantly engaged in going to meet travellers a considerable distance down the Vallais. These dogs possess an instinct, and are trained in a manner to render them peculiarly useful in their employment. They point out the road to the guide and to travellers, through fogs, tempests, and snow; they have also the sagacity to discover travellers who, having lost their way, have fallen amidst the drifts of snow, and who are lying there, wearied and exhausted. The monks themselves accompany the guide, and aid him in administering necessary relief. Apprised of the benumbing and stupifying effect of extreme cold, they rouse the sleeping travellers, and exert themselves in a variety of ways to preserve and recover them from approaching and apparent death: and in doing this they expose themselves to great danger. In order to avoid the numbness occasioned by the cold, they carry with them short thick staves, armed at the end with iron, and with these they continually strike their hands and feet. About three miles below the convent, on the road of Hannibal's ascent, they have built a small vaulted room, called the Hospital, which is intended for the casual refreshment of travellers benumbed, and to enable them to reach the convent. The trusty maronnier visits it frequently, in order to meet the traveller; but principally at the approach of night, and on his return leaves bread, cheese, and wine. On extraordinary occasions, when a storm subsides, he sallies forth to this building, with his stock of meat and wine, and assists all whom he finds distressed. The monks themselves are often seen on the tops of their rocks, watching opportunities for the exercise of their humanity. When the snow is deep on the ground they employ themselves in making roads through it, and thus, by timely vigilance, prevent many fatal accidents; but notwithstanding all their charitable efforts, scarcely a winter passes in which some traveller is not brought to the convent with his limbs benumbed and frozen. The traveller is sometimes quite overwhelmed, and sunk into the mass of descending snow. When he is not very deep, the dogs discover him by the scent, and when they fail, the monks engage in the laborious office. They range themselves upon the snow, and sound it with long poles; and thus they have rescued many from imminent danger of being lost. In order to avoid repetition, we shall only add, that the Capuchins who live in the *Hospitium* on Mount St. Gothard perform the same offices of charity, encounter the same difficulties, and are exposed to the same dangers.

From the summit of the Alps, let us pass to the new world; and the miracles of heroic charity which we have admired on Mounts St. Bernard and St. Gothard, we shall behold displayed with equal zeal and danger in

the mines of Mexico and Peru. Peter of Betancourt, a friar of the order of St. Francis, residing at Guatemala, a town and province of South America, was moved with compassion at the distressed situation of the negro slaves, who in their maladies were left destitute of every assistance. By begging alms, having made the acquisition of a small and mean house where he kept formerly a school for the children of the poor whom he educated, he built himself near it a kind of infirmary, which he covered with rushes, in order to give a shelter to and attend the slaves who might be abandoned by their merciless masters. He soon met with a poor negro woman of that description. As she was so infirm as not to be able to walk, he took her on his own shoulders, and, proud of his burden, he carried her with joy to this miserable hovel which he called his hospital; and by the alms which he obtained, he provided for all her wants. She did not survive long, but died blessing the indefatigable care and charity of her benefactor. The rich inhabitants of Guatemala could not resist the example of this humble and charitable friar: they opened their treasures, and, under the management of Peter of Betancourt, the mean house of the poor negro woman was changed into a magnificent hospital. He died young; the love of humanity had consumed his feeling heart. As soon as the report of his death was spread, all the poor and slaves ran to the hospital to see once more their tender benefactor. They kissed his feet, cut pieces from his clothes,—nay, they would have torn his body to pieces to have had some portion of his relics, if they had not been prevented by the military whom the governor was obliged to station round his coffin. One might have imagined that it was a tyrant who was thus protected against the hatred of his people. No; it was only the corpse of a poor friar, which it was necessary to save from the effects of the gratitude and love of the poor and the distressed! Soon after the death of Peter of Betancourt, his order greatly increased, and the whole continent of America was covered with hospitals, served by his disciples, who took the name of Bethlehemites. These religious have hospitals at the bottom of the silver and gold mines, and thus they bury themselves alive in the bowels of the earth, in order to afford spiritual and corporal help to the unfortunate Indians doomed to be deprived of the light of the sun, in order to procure for us those metals which are the occasion of so many crimes. The form of their vow was: “I, brother N—, make a vow of poverty, chastity, and hospitality, and oblige myself to attend the sick who are poor, though they may be *Infidels, and attacked with contagious disorders.*”

It was in South America that a Spanish monk, Bartholomew, of Olmedo, first taught that religion ought not to be preached sword in hand, but by instructions which would enlighten the mind, and by good examples which would gain the heart. A Spanish monk we must therefore reckon among the first defenders of religious liberty, and one of the first and most zealous adversaries of persecution. It is related in the *History of America*, that Fernando Cortes, animated with intemperate zeal, had commanded his soldiers to overturn the altars, and to destroy the idols, in the chief temple Zempoalla. After his victory over the inhabitants of this town, he went to Tlascala, and the people of the country yielded

themselves as vassals to the crown of Castile, and engaged to assist him in all his future operations. Cortes endeavoured to persuade them to embrace the Christian faith; but finding them not ready to yield to his arguments, he had recourse to menaces, and was actually proceeding to violence, when he was restrained by the interposition of Father Bartholomew of Olmedo, chaplain to the expedition. Accordingly he left the Tlascalans in the undisturbed exercise of their own rights, requiring only that they should desist from their horrid practice of offering human victims in sacrifice.—*Robertson's History of America.*

The religious of the orders of the Blessed Trinity, and of our Lady of Mercy, for the redemption of captives, founded by St. John of Matha and St. Peter Nolasco, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to the three solemn vows common to all religious, added a fourth, namely to give up their substance, and even their liberty, if necessary, for the ransoming of slaves. These charitable religious led a very austere life: among the Trinitarians a third part of the revenue was always set apart for the object of their institution. As soon as they had collected a sufficient sum of money, they set off for Tunis and Algiers. Neither the fatigues of so long a journey, nor the unwholesomeness of the country (almost always infected, more or less, with the plague), nor the ill-treatment they frequently met with from barbarians, who bear an inveterate hatred to the Christian name, nor even the danger of death under its most horrid shape, could deter them from accomplishing with zeal the laborious task imposed upon them by their Superiors; nay, they courted it as a singular favour, and esteemed themselves happy to suffer ignominies and torments, and even to lay down their lives for the deliverance of their fellow-creatures. Truly animated with the spirit of the Gospel, they sought for no other witness of the heroic acts of patience and charity, which they daily performed, but Him who sees in secret, and expected no other reward but from Him alone, and from the consolation of having rescued from the most cruel slavery men with whom they were entirely unacquainted, and whom they were never to see again. For although, during a space of six hundred years, hundreds and hundreds of thousands of slaves have recovered their liberty, and been restored to their friends and native land, through the unabated zeal and courage of the Trinitarians, and the fathers of our Lady of Mercy, the particular name of each of these benefactors of mankind has not been transmitted to posterity. After having accomplished the object of their hard mission, they retired silently to their convents; they hid in the obscurity of their solitude the long train of their charitable deeds, and prepared themselves, by prayer and mortification, to undertake again new journeys for the same purpose with equal fatigue and danger. There were in Catholic Europe before the revolution two hundred and fifty houses of Trinitarians, and several of the fathers of our Lady of Mercy. These two orders subsisted during six centuries, and were constantly engaged in redeeming slaves: accordingly, what an immense number of our fellow-creatures have they not restored to liberty and to the comforts of life!

It was among the Grey Friars that the celebrated Cardinal Ximenes was brought up. He was prime-minister to Ferdinand the Catholic and Isabella. Near three hundred years before the Burkes, the Grenvilles,

the Foxes, and the Wilberforces, employed the power of their eloquence to put a stop to the slave-trade, this great man,—of whom the learned Leibnitz said, that, *if great men could be bought, Spain would not have paid too dear for Ximenes, if she had bought him with the gift of one of her kingdoms*,—this great man had rejected with horror the proposal which had been made to him, to permit and encourage this infamous commerce of human flesh; thinking, as Dr. Robertson observes, that it was the height of injustice to reduce a race of men to slavery, in order to preserve the liberty of another. During the whole time he held the reins of government, he was the constant protector of innocence and merit; he never conceived or promoted any project but for the benefit of humanity. The whole of his immense revenue he spent in relieving the wants of the state, and the distresses of the people. The doors of his palace were always open to the poor: he received them with affability, read their petitions with kindness, and assisted them with generosity. He frequently visited the hospitals and colleges of his diocese: he repaired and adorned them, and delivered the country from usurers and houses of ill-fame. He formed at Toledo, under his own eyes, an establishment for young ladies of the poor nobility, where they were brought up according to their rank, and provided for them a sufficient sum of money to settle them in the world at the end of their education; an establishment which was afterwards imitated by Madame de Maintenon in France, in the royal house of St. Cyr. He founded also the University of Alcala, where he published the Polyglot Bible, so much valued by the learned, and to which he applied himself with great diligence, and had it printed at his own expense.

The different orders of religious spread here and there all over the East, have also an indisputable right to our esteem and gratitude. Animated with that charity which is the soul of all religious institutes, they dedicate themselves to the service of their fellow-creatures, as far as their circumstances permit. In the solitudes of Mount Libanus, and the forests of Abyssinia, as well as at the cataracts of the Nile, on the banks of the Tigris, the shores of the Red Sea, and in the sandy deserts of Egypt, we meet with continual instances of their humanity. The Maronite monk calls every night from the top of his cedars, to his solitary cave, the trembling stranger walking in the dusk of the evening on the brink of the fathomless precipices of Mount Libanus. The Abyssinian monk waits for you at the entrance of his impenetrable forests, to show you the way to his lonely habitation, and save you from the ferocity of the lions and tigers prowling about in search of prey. The Coptic monk watches from the summit of his tower, to discover the traveller wandering in pathless deserts, in order to save him from inevitable death, either from thirst, or from the sword of the Arabian robber. All religious of every order, live a very extraordinary life. To judge of them by their eagerness to shun the society of men, it might appear that they are desirous only of their own happiness, and nevertheless they sacrifice it every day from motives of humanity; for it is proved, that in hospitals where there is a great number of sick, the religious who take care of them, have almost continually a slow fever, which consumes them, and which proceeds from the

infectious atmosphere in which they breathe. On the summits of Mounts St. Bernard and St. Gothard, the air is so keen, that it is reckoned impossible to live there more than ten years. The monks, who have established hospitals in endless darkness in the gold and silver mines of the new continent, shorten also their existence by breathing an air impregnated with metallic vapours. The children of St. Francis, the Jesuits, and Dominicans, who shut themselves up in the galleys of Tunis and Algiers, and in the pestiferous bagnios of Constantinople, to afford the slaves the consolations of religion, devote themselves also to the most speedy martyrdom.

At the foot of the Andes or Cordilleras, between the Oronoko and the Rio de la Plata, there is a vast tract of land inhabited by savages, where the Spaniards had not carried that devastation which generally attended their conquests. It was there that the Jesuits attempted to found a Christian republic, and to procure at least to a few Indians that happiness which the Catholic clergy had, in vain, endeavoured to secure to all the inhabitants of the new continent. In order to succeed in their enterprise, they solicited of the court of Spain the liberty of all the Indians whom they could civilize, and after having met with the greatest opposition from the first planters, they obtained it. Having thus, through their industry and perseverance, triumphed over avarice and wickedness, and meditating one of the noblest designs which ever entered the heart of man, they sailed up the Rio de la Plata in frail canoes. The Paraguay falls into this large river, and gives its name to the country of which we are now speaking. It is a mixture of thick forests; vast plains overflowed during six months in the year; impassable marshes, and mountains upon mountains, infested with tigers, wolves, and snakes of an enormous size. The Indians who were found wandering here and there in these inhospitable deserts, were a stupid, indolent, and ferocious race of men, without the least tincture of civilization or morality, and like the birds of their land, fixed their habitation chiefly in the branches of trees.

The first accounts represent to us the Missionaries making their way through thick forests, travelling through marshy grounds in which sometimes they sunk to the waist, climbing steep rocks, exploring caves and precipices, in imminent risk of meeting with wild beasts and serpents instead of human beings, and carrying with them no other weapons but their breviary under their left arm, and a large cross in their right hand, and without any other provision but an unshaken confidence in God. Several Missionaries died with hunger and excessive fatigue. Some were murdered and devoured by the savages. Father Lezardi was found by one of his companions upon a rock, his body had been pierced with arrows, and was half devoured by birds of prey; his breviary was upon the ground by his side, and open at the office of the dead. When a Missionary found thus the remains of one of his fellow-labourers in this uncultivated vineyard, he hastened to render him the last duties of religion and friendship, and, penetrated with joy at his happy departure, he sung a *Te Deum* on the solitary grave which he had raised to the honour of a martyr. Such moving scenes, renewed, as it were, at every step, struck the savages with amazement. Sometimes they surrounded the

unknown priest who spoke of God, and then looked up to the heavens which he pointed out to them; at other times they ran away from him as from a magician, and were seized with fright and terror; but the religious followed them, stretching forth his arms towards them in the name of Jesus Christ, and inviting them by his silent but pathetic eloquence to come back to him. If he did not succeed in dispelling their fears, he planted a large cross in an open place, and hid himself in the woods: the savages perceiving no man by, came nearer to examine this standard of reconciliation and peace; it seemed as if an irresistible power attached them to the sign of their future salvation. Whilst they were thus motionless, and beholding the cross, the Missionary sallied forth from his ambuscade, and availing himself of their surprise, conjured them to abandon their wretched life, and to enjoy the sweets of society. Whether Almighty God rewarding the faith and confidence of these holy religious, bestowed upon them the gift of tongues, or whether the ardent charity which was burning in their hearts, was so visible in their whole countenance as to make their language to be understood without the help of words, we cannot say; all we know is, that by an heroic perseverance they converted these poor Indians. As soon as the Missionaries had succeeded in dispelling the fear and shyness of some of the savages, and prevailed upon them to abandon their wandering manner of life, and adopt a social one, the conversion and civilization of whole tribes rapidly followed. For, as charity makes itself all to all, the Jesuits had recourse to every means which they thought best calculated to gain the confidence of the Indians. Having observed that they were very fond of music, these charitable religious were continually sailing up and down the Paraguay, singing holy canticles, which the Catechumens repeated with an astonishing exactness, as tame birds (if we may be allowed to use the comparison), sing, to draw into the nets of the fowler the wild inhabitants of the air. The Indians suffered themselves to be drawn into the inviting snare laid for them in order to seduce them from their misery and wretchedness. They were seen coming down from their mountains, running to the banks of the rivers, and even sometimes casting themselves into the waters and swimming after the enchanted vessel from which they heard such melodious accents. They gradually approached the fathers with more confidence, and consented to remain a short time with them, and then returned again to their wilderness.

But the first sensations of humanity,—the sweet and tender feelings which they had experienced, and the peace and joy which shone on the countenance of their former companions, who pressed them to partake of their happiness, did not allow the savages to remain long absent from the missionaries, who on their side were watching every opportunity of renewing an intercourse with them. The single hearing of a canticle was sufficient to bring back the Indians, to listen again to what had occasioned in them such unknown and pleasant emotions. They were accompanied by their wives and children; and considering no longer the Jesuits as enemies, but rather as supernatural beings, they entreated them to repeat to them their melodious tunes. Become now acquainted with their rude language, these holy religious joined instructions to the singing

of canticles, and spoke with such energy and pathetic eloquence of the sweets of social life, and of the awful truths and unspeakable comforts of the Christian religion, that not one of these fortuitous meetings ended without a great many savages desiring to be placed under the guidance of the Missionary.

It would be exceeding the limits of these pages to give a circumstantial account of the conversion and civilization of the savage inhabitants of these vast countries. It will be sufficient for the information of the reader to remark, that in a few years, thirty little republics of Indians were formed. We call them republics on account of their form of government; though, in reality, they were only numerous families, under a chief, who ruled with the authority and tenderness of an affectionate father, and whom the members obeyed with the docility and love of dutiful children. The villages were regular, the streets wide and straight; the houses, one story high, were built with stone, commodious, but without the least superfluity. In the centre of the village stood the church, the building appropriated to the mission, the hospital, the school, and the public granary. The lands were divided among the inhabitants, proportionably to the number of the members of each family, and the wisest precautions were adopted to provide against the possibility of a scarcity.

As soon as the children had attained the age of seven years, they were sent to the village school. The Jesuit who presided, examined with a paternal attention the disposition of each of his pupils; every one was formed according to the particular trade for which he appeared to be naturally qualified. Some became silversmiths, others clockmakers, weavers, blacksmiths, carpenters, tanners, &c. They were also taught music and dancing, and to make all sorts of musical instruments, organs, guitars, harps, violins, &c. &c. Those children who displayed greater talents, were instructed in sciences, painting, architecture, and all the liberal arts, each one according to his particular taste. It is worthy of remark, that the Jesuits themselves had learned all sorts of trades, &c. to become useful in inculcating the first principles to their pupils. The boys who seemed to prefer agriculture, were placed in the class of husbandmen; and those who still appeared to have retained some relish for the wandering life of their parents, were appointed to take care of their immense flocks. Every morning, at the first dawn, the inhabitants of each village were called to the church, to offer their first thoughts to the Supreme Giver of all good gifts, and to implore his blessing upon the labours of the day. In the dusk of the evening, they again assembled in the church, where the night prayers were sung in two parts, and with music.

As the Indians are naturally indolent, and without foresight, a kind of surveyor was appointed, to examine the ploughshares, and other implements of husbandry in each family, and oblige the chief to sow his corn, &c. &c. The slothful and negligent were condemned to till a larger portion of the *common* field, and thus, through a wise administration, the very faults of those harmless men turned to the prosperity of the public. They were married young, in order to avoid the danger of libertinism; and the greatest concord, and union of hearts, subsisted between the married couple. In case of any delinquency, the first fault was punished by a secret admoni-

tion and reprimand from the Missionary; the second by a public penance at the entrance of the church, as was customary among the primitive Christians; and the third by flogging. But during a space of one hundred and fifty years, there is scarcely an instance of an Indian having deserved this last punishment. "*Their faults,*" says their candid historian, "*are children's faults. Indeed they remain so in many respects during their whole life; but they also possess their good qualities.* Although they were inspired with the greatest horror of bloodshed, the frequent incursions of the Portuguese into their territory in order to make slaves, had forced the Jesuits to train these inoffensive Indians to the use of arms. Every man come to a proper age was therefore instructed in the art of war, and they fought with such uncommon bravery, and with so much order, that they forced their enemies to leave them unmolested in their labours, and in the tranquil possession of their independence.

The spirit of ferocity and revenge, the propensity to the most shameful vices, and the love of independence and impatience of control, which characterise the Indian tribes, were henceforth changed into gentleness, patience, chastity, and subordination. We can form an idea of their truly evangelical virtues, by these words of the Bishop of Buenos Ayres to Philip V: "*Sire,*" said he to this prince, "*in these numerous tribes of Indians, naturally prone to every kind of vice, there reigns such an innocence, that I do not think that among them a mortal sin is ever committed.*" With the help of these industrious and docile natives, the Jesuits succeeded in rendering these unwholesome wilds a most delicious country. The forests cleared away, were turned into orchards, groves, and gardens, where the most useful trees and vegetables of the two Continents grew up with the greatest luxuriance and profusion. Deep morasses formerly inundated with stagnant waters, became rich meadows; and barren deserts fruitful fields, covered with abundant harvests. Instead of the hissing of serpents, howling of wolves and other beasts of prey, and the frantic yells of savages torturing the unfortunate victims which they were going to sacrifice to their implacable revenge, and to devour, nothing was heard but the bellowing of milch cows, neighing of horses, bleating of sheep and lambs, and the voice of husbandmen and shepherds making the mountains and valleys resound with canticles of praise and thanksgivings to the true God, or singing in the most melodious tones the charms of a country life, and the sweets of society. Among those Christian savages there were neither quarrels nor lawsuits; nay, the words *mine* and *thine* were unknown, because, as it is remarked with great propriety by their historian, the man who is always ready to dispose of the little which he possesses in favour of those who are in need, has really nothing of his own. Abundantly provided with all the necessaries of life, governed by the same men who had reclaimed them from barbarism and wretchedness, and whom they loved and respected as their fathers; enjoying in the bosom of their families the most delicious sentiments of nature; knowing the great advantages of civil life, without having left the security of their deserts; tasting the charms of society, without having lost the sweets of solitude; these Indians might flatter themselves that they possessed a happiness of which there had never before been an example. Hospitality, friendship, justice, and all the

virtues which honour man, were continually flowing from their pious and loving hearts. Muratori has given, as with one single word, the best notion of this Christian republic, by calling it, *Il Cristianismo Felice*; or, "*Christendom the Blest*."

In reading this history, it seems almost impossible not to feel an ardent desire to pass the seas, in order to find, far from the revolutions and vices of our corrupted societies, an humble retreat among the cottages of these amiable and inoffensive savages, and a peaceful grave under the palm-trees of their burying-grounds. But, alas! nothing is permanent in this vale of tears. *All this is no more!* The missions of Paraguay are destroyed; the unfortunate savages, civilized with so much fatigue, are left to themselves, and are wandering again in their forests, or perhaps buried alive in the bowels of the earth. The annihilation of the most perfect and happy government which the genius of man ever produced, has been applauded. It was a creation of the Catholic religion; it had been established by religious, and watered with their blood. This was enough to excite the hatred and contempt of our pretended sages! They triumphed in beholding the Indians reduced to a most horrid slavery, and they were at the same time fatiguing Europe with the noise of their philanthropy and love of liberty! But let us turn off our thoughts from this unaccountable infatuation and disgraceful instance of the corruption of man. While we bewail here the unhappy destiny of the virtuous inhabitants of Paraguay, formed by the enlightened piety of their former masters, they are undoubtedly adoring, under their present tyranny, the Almighty hand which has struck them; and by sufferings, borne with Christian resignation and patience, they are meriting a most distinguished place in that republic of Saints, which the persecutions of man cannot reach, nor his calumnies disturb.

Your universities and societies of the learned, have produced a number of men of rare merit and extensive genius,—the Newtons, the Lockes, the Addisons, the Clarkes, the Sherlocks, the Louths, the Lardners, the Kennicots, the Paleys, the Broughams, &c. &c. But, is it not worthy of remark, that these Protestant schools of learning never produced a John of Matha,—a Peter Nolasco,—a Bernard of Menthon,—a Peter of Betancourt,—a Vincent of Paula, and legislators like those of Paraguay? You abound with commentaries, explanations, and dissertations upon the gospels; you have learned and elegant treatises of ethics; your works upon legislation and politics are innumerable: however, is it not surprising it is only in the schools of *ignorance* and *superstition*, as monasteries are called, that these maxims of the gospel ("as you would that men should do to you, do you also to them in like manner," *Luke* vi. 13; "Greater love than this no man hath,—that a man lay down his life for his friends," *John* xv. 13; "In this we have known the charity of God, because he has laid down his life for us: and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren," *1 John* iii. 16); have been put literally into practice, in their utmost extent and highest perfection, and not only by a few individuals now and then, but by hundreds and thousands, for several centuries, without interruption? In the flourishing times of Pagan

Rome, a crown was conferred on the man who had saved the life of his fellow-citizen : to what rewards, therefore, are not these generous men entitled ? What honours and crowns do they not deserve, who exposed their lives to save that of their fellow-creatures, without distinction of friend or enemy, religion or country ; not only once, by a sudden impulse of humanity, and momentary effort of courage, but daily, with coolness and deliberation ? Protestants as you are, can you refuse to admire the foresight and wisdom of these benefactors of mankind, who had formed disciples, animated with their spirit, who have perpetuated their charity during such a long period of years, and whose establishments, for the relief of suffering humanity, would have subsisted till the end of time, had they not been destroyed, and the provision made for the poor and distressed, plundered by the rapacious impiety of the vilest of mankind ; supported and encouraged in that regard by the prejudices of pretended philosophers and politicians, and by the blindness and ill-understood compassion of philanthropists ? But, alas ! the names of fabulous legislators are in the remembrance and on the lips of all of you who have had a liberal education ; and yet the names of these real benefactors of mankind are to you entirely unknown ! Nay, more, the institutes which formed them to such heroic actions, are branded with the most hateful calumnies, and the heroes themselves represented as fanatics and bad citizens !

THE END.

*Publications issued by the Catholic Institute
up to May 1840.*

1. Declaration of the Catholic Bishops of Great Britain.
2. Bishop Baines' Sermon on Faith, Hope, and Charity.
3. The Widow Woolfrey versus the Vicar of Carisbrooke; or, Prayer for the Dead.
4. Bishop Milner's Letters on the Rule of Faith, No. 1.
5. Ditto Ditto No. 2.
6. Ditto Ditto No. 3.
7. Bishop Milner's Catholic Scriptural Catechism.
8. Bishop Challoner's Touchstone of the New Religion, and the True Principles of a Catholic annexed.
9. The True Principles separately.
10. Sixty Reasons in favour of the Old Religion; or, the Cogitations of a Convert to the Catholic Faith.
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THE CATHOLIC SCRIPTURIST

OR, THE

Plea of the Roman Catholics.

SHEWING

THE SCRIPTURES TO HOLD THE ROMAN FAITH IN ABOVE FORTY
OF THE CHIEF CONTROVERSIES NOW UNDER DEBATE.

BY JOSEPH MUMFORD, PRIEST,

OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

No. 3.

SIXTH POINT.—*That the Roman Church is this Infallible Church, and
our Judge in all Points of Controversy.*

SEVENTH POINT.—*That the Chief Pastor of this Church is the Suc-
cessor of St. Peter.*

EIGHTH POINT.—*That this our Chief Pastor, or Pope, is not Antichrist*



[Stereotyped for the Catholic Institute of Great Britain.]

LONDON:

Sold by all Catholic Booksellers, price One Penny, or Five Shillings
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PRINTED BY C. RICHARDS ST MARTIN'S LANE, CHANCERY CROSS.

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POINT VI.

THAT THE ROMAN CHURCH IS THIS INFALLIBLE CHURCH,
AND OUR JUDGE IN ALL POINTS OF CONTROVERSY.

1. **THOUGH** this question seems to import as much as the certain decision of all our controversies, yet having been so long in the former point, we are able to give in a word full satisfaction in this. For no man will deny the Church, which is proved to be infallible, to be the most commodious decider of all controversies. For what can a man wish more to the right decision of his controversy, than a clear sentence delivered therein by an infallible authority?

2. All that can be imagined against what hath been said, is this, that we have not as yet proved the Roman Church to be infallible. We have indeed proved the true Church to be so, but there seems a vast labour to remain to prove the Roman Church to be this infallible true Church, and consequently the decider of all controversies. I most earnestly therefore beg of my reader to note well this one short demonstration, and he will see how evidently convincing it is to prove home our full intent, even in a word.

3. My demonstration is this, no Church can be the true infallible Church, and decider of all controversies, which teacheth herself to be fallible. For if any Church be infallible in all that she teacheth, she is infallible also in teaching herself to be fallible. And hence it followeth that infallibly such a Church is fallible: but every Church in the world but the Roman teacheth herself to be fallible; whereof, by evident demonstration, no other Church upon earth can be infallible. But the true Church is infallible, as has been proved by no fewer than *thirty texts*; therefore, by evident consequence, the Roman Church, by all those texts, is proved the only true Church, and our judge in all our controversies.

POINT VII.

THAT THE CHIEF PASTOR OF THIS CHURCH IS THE
SUCCESSOR OF ST. PETER.

1. **THE** Old Testament helps us thus far in this point that it teacheth; first, that amongst the priests of the old law one was chosen successively to be the highest and chief priest (Numb. iii. 82): "The prince of princes of the Levites, Eleazar, the son

c 2

of Aaron, the priest." And (Numb. xxvii. 21): "If anything be to be done, for Joshua their governor, Eleazar the priest shall consult our Lord. At his words shall he (Joshua) go out, and go in, and all the rest of the children of Israel with him." By *going in*, and *going out*, all the principal actions are usually understood in Scripture. In those actions, therefore, God would have Joshua and all the people to depend on the high-priest. When then we read (Joshua iii. 8), that Joshua did command the priests, and that (chap. v.) he appointed circumcision to be ministered, and that (chap. xxiv.) he renewed God's covenant, &c. he is to be supposed therein, as in all his principal actions, to have proceeded according to the above-cited text, only executing that, which God, by Eleazar the priest, had ordained him to do. For example: To command the priests to go with the ark into Jordan, to administer circumcision, to renew the covenant with God, &c. Again, when princes are also prophets (as Joshua, David, Solomon, and some others were) they might have some extraordinary commission to do, and order several things; which belong not to the orderly jurisdiction of temporal princes. So (Kings ii. 27) "Solomon cast out Abiathar, that he should not be the priest of our Lord: yet this was done, that the word of our Lord might be fulfilled which he spake concerning the house of Helie." Solomon, also as a prophet, by extraordinary commission, (ver. xxxv.) placed Sadoc the priest for Abiathar.

2. Secondly: we have clearly in the Old Testament the distinction of the chief ecclesiastical and chief secular power (2 Chr. xix. 11): "And behold Amariah, the chief-priest, is over you in all matters of the Lord," that is, "ecclesiastical affairs." "Then for temporal, or secular affairs, Zebediah, the ruler of the house of Judah, for all the king's matters; whence it is clear that the former causes are not *matters which appertain to the kings*.

3. Thirdly: we have the old law, (Deut. xvii. 8), commanding all such causes, as are ecclesiastical causes, to be brought to the tribunal of the high priest, and his sentence to be obeyed even under pain of death. I call them ecclesiastical causes, because the former text saith, they be *matters of the Lord*, and distinct from *matters of the king*.

4. Fourthly: we have out of the New Testament this unanswerable text concerning the high-priests even of the old law. (Matt. xxiii. 2): "Upon the chair of Moses have sitten the Scribes and Pharisees; all therefore whatsoever they shall say unto you, observe and do it." No wickedness of the high-priest's person shall excuse your obedience, if he sit upon the chair of Moses. Moses was not only a secular prince, but also the first high-priest amongst the Jews, "Moses and Aaron amongst his priests," (Psalm xcix. 6.) Now those who succeeded Moses, as he was

high-priest, are said to *sit upon the chair of Moses*; for as he was the secular prince of the people, Joshua in that dignity did succeed him. But he had but *part of his glory*, so (Num. xxvii. 18): "Take Joshua the son of Nun, a man in whom is the spirit, and put thy hand upon him, who shall stand before Eleazar the priest, and thou, O Moses! shalt put some of thine honour upon him." Now the one part of Moses' honour was to be a secular prince, and commander-in-chief. In this dignity Joshua did succeed him. But in Levit. viii. God commanded Moses to invest Aaron with the other part of his dignity, which was to be high-priest. But when Aaron now came to die, God said to Moses, (Num. xx. 26): "Take Aaron, and his son with him, and when thou hast invested the father of his vesture, thou shalt revest therewith Eleazar his son: Moses did as our Lord commanded him." And thus successively God provided his Church of high-priests. Neither, for the wickedness of any of them, did he cease to govern his Church by them, even by heavenly and supernatural assistance. As bad as Caiaphas was, yet, because he was the high-priest, he did prophecy (John xi. 51): "He said not this of himself, but being the high-priest of that year, he prophesied that Jesus should die for the nation."

5. The old law being now transferred to the new, it was necessary that the priesthood also should be transferred, these two going together (Heb. vii. 12): whereof the new law being the lady, the old the handmaid, as St. Paul speaks; the new law also, according to him, being *established upon better promises* (Heb. viii. 6): we may, with all ground in Scripture, expect to see Christ's Church ever provided of such high-priests, as shall by his bounty have many advantages above the high-priests of the old law. Christ then intending to build this new Church, he called to him, even among the first of his apostles, Simon, and presently changed his name into Cephas, which is interpreted Peter, a rock (John i. 42.) To this Simon (Matt. xvi. 18), he saith, "Thou art Peter," which in that language which Christ spoke, is as much as to say, "Thou art a rock, and upon this rock I will build my Church." The wisest of men designs a sure rock for the everlasting building of his Church in the midst of all winds and waves: and if any one say that Christ himself is a rock, so as not to communicate this rock-like firmity of his also to St. Peter, he flatly contradicts Christ's saying, "Thou art a rock, and upon this rock I will build my Church." If any man should take a fair stone in his hand, and say, "Thou art a fair goodly solid stone, and upon this stone I intend to raise a chapel;" who would conceive this man in the last part of his speech to point at any other stone than that which he had in his hand? True it is, that Christ is the foundation; yet without any dishonour

to him, (nay, to the increase of his honour) he communicateth that very title of foundation to others. So (Eph. ii. 20), we are said: "Built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets: Jesus Christ being the chief corner-stone." Christ then is the chief rock of an everlasting perpetuity, and this by his own virtue. St. Peter is a rock standing firm everlastingly, not by his virtue, but by the virtue of Christ, and made thus not for his own sake, but for Christ's Church's sake, Christ intending that this his Church should stand for ever, as I proved Point III. Whence Christ adds, "Upon this rock, I will build my Church." We willingly grant that the Church was to be built, not upon the shoulders of St. Peter, but upon his faith; yet his faith must not be taken as separated from his person, but it must be taken as the thing chiefly regarded in his person; for which to him personally this dignity was given; yet given chiefly for the perpetual good of the Church to be built upon him. Wherefore, lest the building should be shattered at his death, this firm perpetuity of a rock, that is, this "faith of his, which Christ prayed should never fail," (Luke xxii. 32), was to be derived to his lawful successors; as the chair of Moses ever had the successors of Moses sitting in it; for no well-ordered commonwealth is destitute of sufficient means, still to provide her of her lawful heads and governors appointed her successively. And as it is not enough to say, *Christ is King of kings and Lord of lords*, therefore the civil commonwealth needs no other king or lord. So it seems far greater nonsense to say, that because Christ is the chief head and priest of the Church, therefore we, upon earth, need no other head to govern such a commonwealth as the Church is, containing so many several people, of so many nations, natures, customs and dispositions, as be found from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, though this so far-spread commonwealth were intended, from the beginning, to last as long as the sun and moon. It was then for this, his Church's sake, that some one was ever to be first and chief in it.

6. "Now," saith St. Matthew, numbering the apostles (princes of the Church), "the names of the twelve apostles be these: the first, Simon, who is called Peter" (Matt. x. 2). And so in all places where the apostles are counted, as Judas is always the last, so St. Peter is counted first: and as it was said of Eleazar, "That he was the prince of princes of the Levites" (Numb. iii. 32), so amongst the spiritual princes of Christ's Church, St. Matthew doth not only count him first, but plainly says he was *the first*: "The first, Simon, who is called Peter." He was neither *the first* in order of calling to the apostleship, nor in age; for his brother Andrew was before him in both these. (John i.) Again, to signify that he was the head and chief in ordinary, Christ said

to him (Matt. xvi. 19): "And to thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven." For though the power of loosing and binding was afterwards given to the other apostles (John xx. 23), yet the *keys of the kingdom of heaven* are never in Scripture said to be given to any but to St. Peter. The giving of the keys is well known to signify naturally the supreme rule in a city or family. Hence the keys of a city are offered to the chief governors at their entrance. So also *the key of the house of David* is given to Christ *being to reign in the house of David for ever*. Here Christ giveth the keys to St. Peter as to his successor in the "house of God, which is the Church of the living God." (1 Tim. iii. 15.) By these keys is signified the plenitude of highest power.

7. Again (John xxi. 15), "Simon of John, lovest thou me more than these? Feed my lambs." And yet again (v. 17), "Feed my sheep." Note that he would not have required *greater love* in Peter, rather than in any of the rest, nor have said, "lovest thou me more than these?" if he had not here intended to give him higher dignity in pastorship than to the rest. If every one of the other apostles be sheep of Christ, St. Peter is here made pastor to every one of them, for he is commanded to *feed them*. Note again, and principally, that the whole flock of Christ, *his lambs, his sheep*, his subjects and their rulers, did not consist of those only men who then lived, but much more of all such faithful men as were to be of the flock and Church of Christ, even from his days to the end of the world. Wherefore this high pastorship being, as we said, chiefly instituted by Christ, out of his love and care to his flock, and not merely out of the desire of honouring St. Peter, was by ordinary course of succession to be devolved to all posterity.

8. And that no man should say that this succession shall ever fail, thus saith our Lord (Jer. xxxiii. 17): "David shall never want a man to sit upon the throne of the house of Israel, and of the priests and Levites there shall not fail a man," &c. And he adds, "That his covenant should sooner be made void with the day and the night, than his covenant should be made void with David his servant. That there be not of him a son to reign in his throne, and Levites and priests his ministers." And the prophet Isaiah in his last chapter tells us, that in the new law these Levites shall not be born Levites of the tribe of Levi, or any particular tribe or nation, but by election; they shall be chosen to be Levites out of several nations, particularly of Italians, Grecians, Africans, and the islands afar off; though the English Bible doth not translate these names; "I will take (saith he) of them to be priests and Levites." But shall there not still be one chief pastor of these never-decaying races of priests and Levites? Yes, there shall. "And they shall have one shepherd, or pastor, over them all," (Ezech. xxxvii. 24.)

POINT VII.

THAT THIS OUR CHIEF PASTOR, OR POPE, IS NOT ANTICHRIST.

1. BECAUSE there is never a pulpit in England in which the Pope hath not been preached, by all our ministers, to be not only Antichrist, but also *the Antichrist*, who is so much spoken of and detested in Scripture; I thought fit to make my dear countrymen see with their own eyes, how unconscionably these their ministers so universally deal with them in this point, in which they cannot but see (if indeed they read and will understand) how flatly and point-blank this doctrine is against most manifest Scripture.

2. First: the Scripture teacheth clearly, that Antichrist is one particular determinate man, and not any rank of several distinct men successively living one after the other, as Popes do. Hence (2 Thess. ii. 3) Antichrist is called "that man of sin, the son of perdition; the adversary." And (Apoc. xiii. 14) an image shall be made of this particular person, whereas no such image can represent those hundreds of popes who have sat in St. Peter's chair. Again, there it followeth, that this particular man shall have a special name, and such a peculiar number shall express this name: "For it is the number of a man." A man, I say, and not many men succeeding one another, as popes are; whence it followeth, "The number of him is six hundred sixty-six." Of that *him* whom Christ also insinuated to be one particular *man*, when he said (John v. 41): "If another shall come in his name, him you will receive." Whereas no one of the popes was yet received by the Jews. Wherefore of the Pope it is false to say, the *Jews have received him*. And this is the second reason why the Pope, according to Scripture, is not Antichrist.

3. Thirdly: this one particular man shall not come until we be close bordering upon the very last end of the world (Mark xiii. 25): "But in those days, after that tribulation [of Antichrist], the sun shall be darkened." Popes have been ever since St. Peter's days; and that which you all call Popery, hath been (as you confess), above these thousand years, and yet the sun shines upon the world as clearly as ever.

4. Fourthly: this one special man shall reign but a short time; whereas these Popes (upholders of confessed Popery), have reigned these many ages. Antichrist shall reign but three years and a half, "a time, and times, and half a time," (Dan. vii. 25; and Apos. xii. 14). Hence (Dan. xii. 11), this time is further

expounded to be "a thousand two hundred and ninety days." And the Church, a little after this persecution begins, shall fly into the wilderness "for a thousand two hundred and sixty days." And for this time of "one thousand two hundred and sixty days, the two witnesses shall prophesy," (Apoc. xi. 3). For the persecution of Antichrist shall last but two-and-forty months, as is there expressly said. And (Apoc. xiii. 5), "Power was given (to the beast) to continue two-and-forty months." The time, therefore, of Antichrist's reign shall be short. "For the elect, the days shall be shortened" (Matt. xxiv. 22). So (Apoc. xx. 3), it is said, that the devil shall be let loose for the short time of Antichrist's reign: "After these things he must be loosed a little time." That is, after Christ hath bound up the devil, during the long time of the New Testament, (described there by the complete and perfect number of a thousand years), he shall be let loose for the short time of the reign of Antichrist.

5. Fifthly; all the ministers in England, or out of England, can never be able to show that the Pope did ever kill two such witnesses as Antichrist is clearly said to kill (Apoc. xi. 6). That is, "two witnesses who shall prophecy one thousand two hundred and sixty days clothed in sackcloth; who shall have power to shut the heavens that it may not rain in the days of their prophecy; and power of the waters to turn them into blood; and to strike the earth with all plagues as often as they will." If your ministers will prove the Pope to be Antichrist, they must not only prove that he did kill two such witnesses as they are (for the true Antichrist must do this), but also that they must prove that the Pope did kill two such witnesses in Jerusalem, leaving their bodies lying in the streets thereof. For this also the true Antichrist must do; because it followeth, (verse 7) "the beast shall kill them; and their bodies shall lie in the streets where the Lord was crucified," that is, in Jerusalem.

6. Sixthly: hence appears that the chief seat of Antichrist shall be at Jerusalem, where he shall most shew his power and glory, whence it was also said before that the Jews should receive him; and the holy fathers commonly say, he shall be born a Jew of the tribe of Dan, which is the cause why that tribe was not numbered with the rest (Apoc. 7); neither could the Jews receive him if he were not born a Jew. None of these things agree to the Pope, and yet they all agree to Antichrist.

7. Seventhly: the beast which shall set up the power of Antichrist, "shall make fire come down from heaven to earth in the sight of men" (Apoc. xiii. 13). Tell me what setter up of the Pope's power did ever do this?

8. Eighthly: there also (verse 17), it is said, that he also shall effect, "that no man shall buy or sell, but he that hath the

character or name of the beast, or number of his name." In what Pope's days was this verified?

2. Ninthly, and lastly: (2 Thess. ii. 4) "That one special man (who is called *that man of sin*), is extolled above all that is called God, or (all) that is worshipped." Now, whosoever is extolled above "all that is God," is not only extolled above judges and kings, sometimes called gods, as all just men are, but "to be extolled above all that is called God," he must be extolled above God himself, who, (in the very first place), is called God. So he that is extolled above (all) that is worshipped, must be extolled not only above princes and kings, but above saints and angels, and God himself. Now, neither doth the Pope extol himself, nor is extolled by any of his adherents above the apostles or angels, and much less above God himself, shewing himself that he is God, as their said Antichrist shall do.

CATHOLIC INSTITUTE

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

(UNDER THE SANCTION OF ALL THE RIGHT REVEREND THE VICARS
APOSTOLIC OF GREAT BRITAIN.)

PRESIDENT.—THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

As numerous inquiries have been made on the part of many persons friendly to the INSTITUTE, but who are not sufficiently acquainted with its objects, for information on these points, the Committee deem it advisable to issue the following Statement :—

GENERAL OBJECTS OF THE CATHOLIC INSTITUTE

These are comprehended in the 5th Resolution ;—viz, “The exposure of “the falsehood of the calumnious charges made against the Catholic Religion ; “the defence of the real tenets of Catholicity ; the circulation of all useful “knowledge upon the above-mentioned subjects ; and the protection of the “poorer classes of Catholics in the enjoyment of their religious principles “and practices.”

PARTICULAR OBJECTS OF THE CATHOLIC INSTITUTE.

THESE MAY BE THUS STATED :

1. To meet the calumnious charges against the Catholic Religion, whenever refutation may be deemed necessary, by the publication of accredited Tracts or Pamphlets, or otherwise.
2. To defend the doctrines of the Catholic Religion by distributing Tracts and Works duly approved of by a Clergyman authorized by the Bishop of the London district, for the purpose of explaining its principles and practices.

N. B.—*In most cases such Tracts and Treatises, as far as the funds of the Institute may permit, will be distributed gratuitously, either through the medium of the resident Clergymen in their respective localities, or through Members of the General and Local Committees. And every MEMBER of the Institute shall be entitled to receive a certain quantity of Tracts, to be lent out to his Protestant friends and neighbours. Whenever it shall be deemed advisable by the resident Clergymen, or by the General or Local Committees, to circulate Tracts at any Public Meeting held for the purpose of attacking the Catholic Religion, these will be furnished by the general Secretary on being applied for.*

3. Another object of the INSTITUTE is to put the poorer classes of Catholics in possession of Books of Piety and Devotion at the lowest possible

price ; and in cases where persons are too poor to purchase, to supply them gratuitously.

4. To remove every obstacle which may occur to prevent Catholic Soldiers, Sailors, Inmates of Workhouses, Hospitals and Prisons from enjoying the full and unfettered freedom of their worship and the comforts of religious instruction by the Clergy.
5. To vindicate the rights of all classes of Catholics, and particularly those of the poor, to the full enjoyment of every right and privilege to which they are legally entitled, and to apply for the redress of every grievance to which Catholics, *as such*, may be subjected.

N. B.—As the *complete* redress of every well-founded complaint and the removal of every impediment to the religious education of Catholics are the main objects of the INSTITUTE, it is not intended to regulate the assistance by the sums of money subscribed from any particular place.

The above desirable objects are intended to be accomplished by organizing the entire Catholic Body of Great Britain in one Society, so as, by the collection of small sums from every individual, to place at the disposal of the INSTITUTE funds sufficient to meet every case. The want of such co-operation among Catholics has been too generally felt to be any longer a question ; and it becomes now the imperative duty of every one to support an Institution which will afford Catholics, for the first time in this country, an opportunity of coming fairly before their fellow-countrymen. The good results of such a combination are indeed incalculable ; and the Committee are happy to state that, accordingly, this Institution has the sanction of all the Right Reverend the Vicars Apostolic of Great Britain, and of a numerous body of the Clergy, Nobility and Gentry.

The subscriptions have been fixed at a small sum, and may be paid either monthly or yearly, in order to afford every one an opportunity of assisting in this great work of Charity.

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Every person is a Member who pays any sum not less than *Six Shillings* by the year, or *Sixpence* by the month.

By order of the Committee,

JAMES SMITH, SECRETARY.

December 6, 1858.

Printed by P. & M. Andrews, 3, Duke-street, Little Britain, London,
For the Catholic Institute

TRACT 28.

[PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE CATHOLIC
INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN.]

REMARKS
ON THE
ERRONEOUS OPINIONS
ENTERTAINED RESPECTING
THE CATHOLIC RELIGION.

FIRST PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1825.

BY HENRY HOWARD, Esq.



[Stereotyped for the Catholic Institute of Great Britain.]

LONDON:

Sold by all Catholic Booksellers; price one penny, or five shillings
per hundred for gratuitous distribution.

J. L. COX AND SONS, PRINTERS, 75, GREAT QUEEN STREET, LINCOLN'S-INN FIELDS.

ON THE
ERRONEOUS OPINIONS
ENTERTAINED RESPECTING
THE CATHOLIC RELIGION.

No. I.—CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

THE Catholic religion does not in its tenets meddle with forms of Government, and it is unjust to charge it with being inimical to civil liberty. Sir Robert Filmer, in his *Patriarcha*, written in praise of absolute monarchy, directs all his arguments against Catholic writers, and charges them with being favourable to republican principles: it is therefore hard to be found fault with in both ways. The argument from facts will appear in favour of the Catholic. Let any one extract from our constitution what is of Catholic origin; our common law, including the Trial by Jury, and the law of treason, the internal government of our counties, (where the Sheriffs and the Justices of the Peace were elected till the time of Edward the Second), and our representative system,—and he will see how little remains to the Protestant's share beyond some statutes to enforce the execution of pre-existing laws; and let him consider whether, if we had not been in possession of those rights and privileges before the Reformation, we should have had much chance of obtaining them since. Let him say what was done in favour of liberty when the Protestant religion was in the glow of its zeal, in the reign of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Queen Elizabeth, and James I. If we look to other countries, we find that Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, which were limited monarchies in Catholic times, are now absolute; and that nothing has been done in favour of their subjects by any Sovereign in Germany who embraced the Reformation. All the Italian Republics were Catholic; the most democratic Cantons in Switzerland, which have in our days been the most strenuous defenders of their liberties, are so. St. Marino is so, and Genoa and Ragusa would still be free, if we had not aided in preventing it. Protestants in the great Catholic States have been completely restored to all civil rights; and if it be true that the influence of the Catholic clergy is so great, we must infer that they have been liberal on those occasions, nor have we heard that they offered any opposition to these concessions; it would undoubtedly be very desirable for the Catholic here to experience the same liberality or forbearance.

But, notwithstanding this argument from facts, in which the balance appears to be in favour of the Catholic, it would be both unjust and absurd to attribute a predilection to despotic sway to any description of Christians—all take different parts according to circumstances and events, independently of their religious tenets. We believe that the love of liberty is planted in every cultivated mind and every honest breast; for who likes oppression when it is brought home? If the Catholic, in the time of the Stuarts, was more favourable to monarchy, it was because he was so

oppressed by the laws enacted by the popular party, that absolute monarchy would to him have been comparative freedom. Every description of Christians, if they follow the precepts they are taught, will be good themselves, and just and charitable to others. Our Saviour has expressly distinguished the civil power from the duties of religion, by declaring that his kingdom is not of this world, and by giving this distinction the force of precept, ordering us to give to Cæsar what is his due, and to God what appertains to him; and it is very clear that the Christian religion itself is based, in fact, on the principle of religious liberty; for if religious liberty is not a civil right, then were all the persecutions of the first Christians morally justifiable, and the Christians were bad subjects. Every class of Christians may therefore consistently and without scruple maintain, that the right of every individual to religious liberty should be unshackled by worldly power;—and every government should consider that it has not the power to alter the mind of an individual, and make him believe or disbelieve any tenet, as he himself has not that control over it, and that to require that which is impossible must be an unjustifiable act of tyranny.

NO. II.—DISTINCTION BETWEEN ARTICLES OF FAITH, DISCIPLINE, THE LITURGY, OPINIONS OF THEOLOGIANs, &c.

MANY of these erroneous opinions arise from not attending to the essential difference between articles of faith and theological opinions; between general discipline and local usages; between definitions of general councils and decretals either forged or not received; between approved practices and national manners; between church government and private regulations; between sanctioned liturgies and personal devotions: between the use and abuse of legitimate authority; between the policy of States and the decrees of the Church; and, finally, between the lives of men and the religion they teach—thus confounding vices, passions, and ignorance with the religion that condemns them.

Articles of Faith are the doctrines of Christ, and truth and immutability must be their character. The Catholic believes that the *unwritten word* was the primitive rule of Christianity, and that this *word*, preserved in traditions, did not lose its authority, when afterwards the sacred writings added their testimony to it. In other words, that Christ established his church and his ministry, ordered *them* to preach, teach and expound his doctrine, and *us* to hear it, with the promise to maintain it in truth, and be with it to the end of time.* And having thus antecedently made his church the depository of his faith, the subsequent writing of the gospel did not alter the nature of that church, or divest it of its authority or legation, but became a record in support of the doctrine which was preached, and which, by divine decree, was never to be forgotten. According to this, and by the power and authority which he gave when any doubts have arisen, the whole church has frequently assembled in General Council, and has given, in the manner of a verdict, their declaration of the

* See Matthew, chap. xxviii. 18, 19, 20, and other texts, all proving the permanent nature, and the continuance of the divine legation. Two out of the four Evangelists not having been personal followers of Christ, must have known his doctrines from others, that is, from tradition only; it may also be argued, that had there not been a divine authority delegated to expound and maintain perpetually the truth and purity of the doctrines contained in the Gospels, it would appear inconsistent with divine wisdom, that the original writings, which in such case could alone be the true standard to refer to, should have been lost.

fact, of what has at all times been the faith and belief of the church in the matter in agitation ; and the Catholic believes in this decision, through the promises of Christ, it has not and cannot be guilty of error. These articles of faith are all perfectly known to every one, and to be found in every catechism ; and as the church has, in different councils, decided on all apparent doubts and difficulties, it is not probable that any new subject of discussion will arise. It is through the authority and traditions of his church, that the Catholic acknowledges and receives the gospels themselves as written by divine inspiration, and believes in them ; and it may be remarked, that they do not contain any order from Christ for their being written, or any injunction to read them, whilst the orders to preach, teach, and hear, are enforced in numerous texts of those holy writings. From the church he receives the authentication of the books composing the New Testament, and of those of the Old Law, and the distinction of what remains precept in that old law from what is set aside. From its authority he likewise receives the Apostle's Creed ; the abolition of the Sabbath, and substitution of the Sunday ; the Baptism of Infants ; with other articles found in the decisions of the church, and admitted by most Christians, though not in the Scriptures themselves. The Catholic knows that for ages there was no other church or religion but his own ; that it did not recede from any other church, or join any other, and therefore believes that the continuance of the truth of *the Faith*, as promised, must have been preserved through it. Every Catholic thus believing his church to be established on the secured basis of divine authority, and with a ministry ordained and competent to the exercise of its charge : and admitting it to be the preserver of the truth of Christ's doctrines, and the depository and authorized interpreter of the Scriptures, it is not very wonderful that their clergy should be disinclined to circulate any unauthorized copies of the Scriptures, not containing the decisions of their church on points that have been in dispute ; and that believing themselves appointed to teach those doctrines with their true meaning, they should see a snake in the grass, and look with jealousy and distrust on strangers, adverse in their religious belief, who appear desirous to interfere with the instruction of their flocks.

It becomes still more peculiarly necessary to distinguish between articles of faith, and school disputes, and the private opinions of theologians. On whatever the church has pronounced no decision, full scope is given for disputation, and that the field is wide enough, days passed in disputation, and hundreds of folios, mouldering, untouched on the shelves of every public library, will evince. But to this full liberty given, we also owe much even of the writings of the Fathers of the church, and the most learned commentaries and disquisitions on scriptural subjects ; nor should we by this boundary have lost the learned and edifying inquiries and dissertations of West, Bryant, Paley, Horsley, and other divines of the Church of England, whose works are translated into most languages. The very subject which has been lately agitated between the Bible Societies and some priests in Ireland, relating to the indiscriminate circulation of Bibles, comes within this scope allowed to opinion. Authenticated and approved translations of the Scriptures are to be bought in every Catholic country, and no prohibition is made either to their being sold or read :* but it is to be recollected that it is a vital principle among Catholics, that the church is the

* The Greek Testament is one of the rudimental school books in most Catholic Colleges.

depository and interpreter of the Scriptures, and that its ministry is alone intrusted with religious instruction; accordingly, every Sunday and festival, the Epistles and Gospels of the day are read and expounded in the language of the country; * but no priest can, in duty, advise the reading of the Scriptures except in the spirit of piety and undoubting faith, devotion, and submission, nor can he duly recommend their distribution for the purpose of creating cavils, doubts, difficulties and disbelief. What parent, anxious for the innocence and purity of mind of his daughter, so strenuously enjoined by our Saviour, would not wish her to pass over some stories and passages in the Bible? Who would, without comment, recommend the study of the books of Joshua and the Judges to a ferocious fanatic, inclined to deem himself the avenger of God's cause?† Who would, without distinguishing between precept and a narrative of facts, and without remarking that the end does not justify the means, put the history of Jacob and Esau into the hands of discordant brothers? Religious toleration is also comprised within this scope of opinion and discussion, and we must all rejoice that it has, at this day, an increasing number of advocates among men of the greatest learning and piety of all persuasions; nor can we otherwise lament deeply enough, that, though the principles of charity and forbearance are so strongly inculcated in the Christian doctrines, and so ably enforced by St. Augustin, and many writers since his time, there should have been so many Christians, both Catholic and Protestant, who have held that they might, consistently with the principles of their belief and religion, persecute others for being of a different opinion; establish themselves as God's avengers, and by scenes of dreadful cruelty and persecution, disgrace the religion they affected to promote. The Catholic has on this subject a black book, to which the Protestant has added a considerable supplement, and both have given the unbeliever plausible arguments against themselves and against the Christian religion itself. The question as to exclusive salvation may also be classed here. The Catholic believes that there is but one faith and one fold, into which we are admitted by baptism, and that this church is the true and authorized depository of that faith, and that those who follow it and the law of Christ are saved. But he is also taught that where there is no guilt there will be no punishment, and it is generally held that such as use their best endeavours to know and embrace the truth, but who, from the necessity of circumstances, are in involuntary error and ignorance respecting it, remain within the pale of the Church of Christ.‡ But there are, among Catholics as well as in other persuasions, those who entertain more severe opinions. Perhaps you may find Protestants and Catholics, who, devoting each other to perdition for the errors of which they mutually think one another guilty in faith, may so work up their minds to hatred and the most

* His Holiness Pope Pius VII., in a Rescript, addressed in 1820 to the Vicars Apostolic in England, exhorts them "to take care that the faithful abstain from reading the wicked books in which, in these calamitous times, our religion is unworthily attacked from all sides; and that they should be strengthened in faith and good works, by the reading of pious books, and particularly of the Holy Scriptures, in editions approved by the church, you preceding them by word and example."

† The Leaguers, and other fanatics of every description of Christians, thought themselves authorized to take the book of Joshua, &c. for their guide and example.

‡ The definition of heresy is, an obstinate (not an involuntary) error in matters of faith. St. Cyprian, a Father of the church, and St. Columban, entertained during their lives opinions that have since been decided by the church to be erroneous; but these questions not being then decided, they had a right to exercise their judgment, and their ignorance was their excuse, and has not made them less the objects of veneration.

base and vindictive passions, as to endanger their own salvation by the want of common charity required from all. But ought they not, at all events, in charity and in hope, to leave this decision with our most merciful God? And surely those who think their neighbours cannot be happy in the next world have an additional motive and reason for not disturbing their happiness in this.

The discipline and regulations for church government, which may vary, are to be distinguished from articles of faith, which cannot. This is regulated by the Canon Law, which does not admit of arbitrary proceedings, though discretionary power of relaxation is given, in some instances, to the Pope, as Primate and successor to St. Peter, in others to the bishops, and in some to the parochial clergy. Some rules of discipline are general, having been settled in General Councils of the whole church, and accepted by all the national churches;* others relate to the Latin or Western church only; others have been adopted in the Synods of different national churches: in all cases they are to be obeyed and observed, unless altered by the respective authorities which have enacted them. Thus the celibacy of the clergy is an article of discipline in the Latin or Western church; but it was not so in the Greek or Eastern church before its separation in the 9th century; nor is it so now with various bodies of Christians in the East, Slavonians, Greeks, Copts, Syrians, Maronites, Armenians, &c. who still remain united with the See of Rome. The communion of the laity under one kind is also an article of discipline adopted by the Latin church, to prevent accidents which were daily occurring; but the Pope, as Primate, is authorised by a General Council to restore the communion in both kinds when he shall deem it useful so to do. In the same manner the performance of the service in Latin is a regulation of uniformity confined to the Western church only; and the Liturgy and the rites and ceremonies of worship, with the exception of what relates to the sacraments, vary in different national churches, and frequently in different dioceses. In Rome you may, at this day, see the mass celebrated with various ceremonies and forms of prayer (excepting the offering and consecration of the elements), and in different sacerdotal habits, by priests of the Western church in Latin; and in Greek, Armenian, Syriac, Coptic and Ethiopic, &c. by those of the Eastern church; whilst there is no difference whatever in the articles of their belief.

In the conduct of Nations, Popes, Sovereigns, and Governments, as in that of individuals, there may in religious matters be much to praise, and sometimes much to blame. This should never be attempted to be excused or palliated, but honestly given up. No doubt abuses in the practice of religion have been protected, worldly ambition has held its dire sway, and under pretence of supporting God's cause the most notorious barbarities have been countenanced. But these acts of abuse are of man, and cannot in justice be blended with any faith or any principle; they have been lamented and condemned, given up and disclaimed, and fortunately are no longer practicable to any extent.† Heaven be praised, whatever may be the inclina-

* New articles of discipline cannot be imposed on nations without their subsequent consent. Thus the decrees of the Council of Trent (an acknowledged General Council) have, in points of faith, been received and admitted by the whole Catholic church; but its decrees, as to discipline, have not been admitted by several countries.

† The Popes Pius VII. and Leo XII. refused their sanction to the re-establishment of the Inquisition in Spain.

Mem—The writer wishes it to be understood, that in endeavouring to explain some

tion of a few to proscriber, harass, and torment others, on account of religious differences, the voice of a more enlightened world loudly proclaims—RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IS A CIVIL RIGHT.

NO. III.—JUSTIFICATION.

THIS awful subject, so often misrepresented, can scarce, with propriety, be introduced into discussion here. Suffice it to say, that the Catholic believes that sin is remitted by God out of his pure mercy, and through our Saviour Jesus Christ; and that nothing preceding this justification can, on our part, be it faith or be it good works, merit this justifying grace. But relying on the promises of our Saviour, we may, by faith, prayer, charity, and good works, and by the observance of the duties of religion which he has enjoined, humbly hope, but with fear and trembling, to obtain of God, through him, that grace which is necessary to enable us to work out our salvation, and which through our own merits is not attainable.

NO. IV.—AS TO MIRACLES.

PROTESTANTS say that miracles have ceased, Catholics that they have not. Neither will contend that the power has ceased in God; their difference is therefore a question as to facts and consequent conviction of mind; nor is any Catholic bound by his religion to believe in any one miracle which his opponent is not equally held to give credit to; and both agree in the efficacy of prayer to obtain from God favours and blessings for ourselves or others, out of the common course of nature; which certainly is a belief in a miraculous interference.

NO. V.—ON THE CHARGE OF WORSHIPPING THE BLESSED VIRGIN AND THE SAINTS.

NELSON, in his Festivals, on the subject of the communion of Saints, writes, 'That the faithful on earth mutually participate in each other's prayers, and are called *fellow citizens with the saints, and of the household of God, of the same family with those in heaven*. We bless God for them, rejoice at their bliss, give thanks for their labours of love, and pray that with them we may be partakers of the heavenly kingdom. They pray for us for our consummation and bliss, rejoice with us at our conversion, &c. &c. So far Catholics and Protestants agree, and it is here admitted that the prayer of the saints in heaven for us, and our prayers for each other on earth, do not prejudice or interfere with the mediation of our Saviour: it also follows, that as there is *joy in heaven* at the repentance of a sinner, that such repentance must be made known to the blessed, in some manner, by the permission of God. The Catholic honours the blessed Virgin and the Saints, but believes that neither can be worshipped without idolatry. Divine worship is due to God alone. He believes that they have

points in which the Catholic religion has often been misunderstood, it is not his intention to enter into controversy. If any reader be desirous to examine the subject more deeply, he may consult Bossuet's *Exposition of Faith*, which was approved by two briefs of Pope Innocent the XIth, and by other authorities of the Court of Rome, and by the General Assembly of the Clergy of France, or his works at large; or the *Faith of Catholics*, by Berrington; or Veron's *Rule of Faith*, (*Rule of Catholic Faith* by Veron, translated by the Rev. James Waterworth); or Dr. Milner's *End of Controversy*; a treatise called *Charity and Truth*; Gother's Works; and many other books on this subject, which may be had at Dolman's, 61, New Bond-street; and Andrew's, 3, Duke-Street, Little Britain, and elsewhere.

not, of themselves, any power to grant *or do any thing for us*; nor can they have any knowledge of human affairs, but that which proceeds from God; nor any means of assisting us, even with their prayers and intercessions, but by his grace, and through Jesus Christ. He also holds that it has ever been the Christian faith, that by the permission of God (in some way as unknown to us as that by which the Prophets, in their corporeal state, were inspired by him with the knowledge of futurity), the Saints have a knowledge of the petitions which we are permitted to address to them to intercede for us, and join in supplication with us, and for us; in the same manner as we pray for each other, in the name of our common Lord and Mediator.*

NO. VI.—IMAGES AND RELICS OF SAINTS.

THE Catholic is accused of worshipping them; but his church particularly prohibits “the belief of any thing divine, or of any intrinsic efficacy, in images or relics, for which they should be revered, or that we should ask any thing from them;” and directs expressly, “that any honour paid to them should be referred to what they represent.”† In the Common Catechism for Children, to the question, “Do Catholics pray to images?” the answer is, “No, by no means; we pray *before* them, indeed, to keep us from distractions, but not *to* them, for we know that they can neither see, hear, nor help us.” The intention of this reverence is well expressed in an old English Treatise on the Ten Commandments, printed in Westminster Abbey before the Reformation, in 1496, by Winken de Word:—“Worship not the image, nor the stock, stone, or tree, but worship him that died on the tree, for thy sin and thy sake, so that thou kneel, if thou wilt, *before* the image, but not *to* the image, for it seeth thee not, it heareth thee not, it understandeth thee not; for if thou do it *for* the image, or *to* the image, thou doest idolatry.” This is the Catholic doctrine; “images, pictures, and relics are placed in our churches to fix the attention to holy subjects, excite piety, devotion, and faith, and urge us to imitation.” But *worship is to God alone*, and if the sense of that old English word, *worship*, which here means to *revere*, is to be perverted against the Catholic into an act of adoration, a foreigner might as well accuse us of adoring the worshipful Lord Mayor. If any abuse has, or does take place on this subject, every Catholic knows, from his Catechism, as well as any Protestant, that it is grossly sinful; and every clergyman in authority is bound in duty, not only to explain the true sense, but to remove, if necessary, the object of the abuse. Some Protestants have, with a blameable omission of examination into the common sources of information, charged the Catholics with the suppression of the *second* Commandment, to support what they call *image worship*; but if any one will ask any Catholic child to recite the Ten Commandments, his answer will be the whole of Exodus on that subject; and he will find, in every Catholic Catechism,‡ that the only difference from the Common Prayer Book is, that the Decalogue is

* Luther. Ep. ad Spolitan: Trait de Purgatione, preparat ad mortem, says, “I with the Catholic church hold, that the saints are to be honoured and invoked by us:” let no man omit to call on the blessed Virgin, the angels, and the saints, to intercede for us at the hour of death. Leibnitz, Dr. Johnson and Dr. Heber held the same belief.

† Catechism of the Council of Trent, and Bossuet’s Exposition of Christian Doctrine. See Roma Subterranea; Montfaucon, Iter Italicum, &c. &c. &c.

‡ Luther, in his Catechism, (see Appendix, No. 1), divides the Decalogue in the same manner as in ours, and abridges the first Commandment more. See his Cate-

differently divided; the first article also includes the second, and the tenth is divided into two parts; and as the Catholic neither adores nor serves the images, cross, or pictures, this commandment does not affect him.

The cross, as used at our baptism, is the emblem of our redemption: you find it in the Catacombs,* on the grave-stone of every primitive Christian, sometimes accompanied by other symbols, such as the lamb and cross, the good shepherd, the palm of martyrdom, &c., distinguishing the place where he rests from that of the heathen near him, inscribed *Dis Manibus*, *Jovi optimo maximo*, or with other similar invocations; the earliest Christian writers glory in its frequent use; it waved on the banners of Constantine, and of his successors. In the Greek churches the cross is never omitted, and its sign is used much oftener than with the Latins; † whilst their observances are far more severe. In the ruins of the churches in Nubia, destroyed by Mahomet in the sixth century, it is still seen with the pictures of Saints, and even of purgatory; and at this moment it remains the sign of recognition and brotherhood among the oppressed Christians in the East. Nor does this custom of decorating churches with the cross and other pious subjects appear to have been objected to by other Protestants than those of the school of Geneva. You may see in the *Vitruvius Danicus*,‡ that the modern churches in Denmark have crucifixes over the altars, and are ornamented with paintings and sculptures of the crucifixion, and other sacred subjects, and also of the Virgin and other Saints. On the tombs and coffins of their kings and queens, since the Reformation to the time of Christian V. inclusive, Christ crucified is represented in high relief. The writer is informed that in Sweden, and in parts of Germany, there are Protestant churches decorated in the same way. There is a large crucifix in the primitive church of Luther, at Spire, with pictures of the Virgin Mary; and in many other Lutheran churches.—Luther, in the principal edition of his works, Jena 1556, is represented kneeling at the foot of the cross, and the Landgrave of Hesse on the other side of it. There is also at the Protestant church at Griesbach, near Baden, a very large crucifix.

chism in German, Swedish, Danish, Icelandic, and Finlandish, in the Bibliothèque du Roi, at Paris. D. 427. Also, see Luther's *Instructio pro Confessione peccatorum observanda Secundum Decalogum*. Also, *Decem Præcepta Wittenbergensi Populo prædicata*. Editio Jenæ, 1556 D. 2. Luther might, therefore, with equal justice, be charged with suppressing the second Commandment on all occasions.

* See *Roma Subterranea*, and Montfaucon's *Iter Italicum*.

† The secession of the Greek from the Latin church arose from a question whether the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and Son, or from the Father only. Scripture is not explicit on either point; and the decision depended on the traditional belief of the church. This difference may, to many, appear to be of minor consideration, but as it related to the *Article of Faith*, it could not be compromised; and this secession, and the disclaimer of the Pope's primacy, were the weighty consequences. Very different was the case of the Manicheans, Monothelites, Arians, Novatians, Donatists, and a tribe of sects now vanished, which sprung up soon after, and even in the time of the Apostles, claimed to be arbiters of the faith, on their own interpretation of the Scriptures. Their doctrines were successively condemned by different Councils. Had such a principle been then admitted, there would now be neither Catholics nor Protestants, and there might possibly in its ultimate consequences have been as many sects as Christians; nor would there have been any necessity for priests, or establishments, as the possession of a Bible would be the only requisite. Protestants, by admitting the Nicene Creed, have in this dispute sided with the Latin Church; and there still remain large districts and communities of Christians in the East in union with the Roman See.

‡ See the *Vitruvius Danicus*, by Sorgenfrey. 2 vols. folio. Copenhagen, 1746.

NO. VII.—ON WHAT IS AND WHAT IS NOT ESSENTIAL.

BEFORE this humble attempt to rescue the Catholic religion from some vulgar and illiterate prejudices is closed, it may be desirable to point out some distinctions between things as they are, and which appearing praiseworthy ought to remain so, though they may not be essentially necessary to the Catholic religion, and others which are absolutely requisite as component parts of it. At a period long preceding the organization of any nation or government now existing, when every class of Christians joined in the belief in the supremacy of the See of Rome, to whose apostolic labours most of the countries in Europe were indebted for their conversion to Christianity, Charlemagne thought it becoming his piety and religious feelings, his prudence and his policy, to endow the Holy See with the patrimony it possesses. But however right and politic it may have been, and now is, that the head of the Catholic church should be independent of every Sovereign, however decorous that he should be maintained in this situation of dignity and honour, this is not essential to the religion itself, and the Pope reduced to an humble mansion, or a cell in the Catacombs, would, as BISHOP OF ROME, possess the same spiritual superiority and ecclesiastical authority as he now enjoys. As to any temporal authority of the Pope, out of his own dominions, the Catholics of this realm have disclaimed it upon oath. The whole body of the French nation, with their clergy at their head, issued a formal declaration against it in 1682, and many foreign universities, consulted by Mr. Pitt, confirmed the disclaimer; and if you were to tell a Frenchman, German, or other foreigner, that his allegiance to his king and country was dubious and incomplete, because he believed in the supremacy of the Pope, he would laugh at the idea, and at you for entertaining it.* The Cardinals consist of the four suffragan Bishops of the diocese of Rome, and other priests and deacons of the parishes of that city. It is in this capacity that they elect the Pope; this is their place in the ministry, and in the hierarchy—the rank and honours that are conceded to them are worldly honours, and not essential.

That the metropolitans, prelates, and ministers of religion should live by the altar *is precept*, and that they should be maintained by it in respectability and honour must be the feeling and wish of every one who venerates his faith; but it is no part of the Catholic religion that they should possess in the state any situation of power or temporal authority. Whatever has been done in that way arises from political expediency, of which nations judge and decide for themselves.

The same may be said of the establishment of monasteries and religious orders. Christ has pointed out the road to Christian perfection, and who will say that believers are not to take it? But religious orders, however great their merits and their services, do not *as such* form any part either of the hierarchy or ministry, and are not, therefore, essential parts of Catholicity. They were not established in communities before

* The infallibility of the Pope is not an article of the Catholic faith. And Bossuet in his *Defensio Cleri gallicani*, most clearly proves that neither the deposing power nor the temporal authority of the Pope (out of his own dominions) and still less the right to absolve subjects from their allegiance or from any lawful oath, were ever admitted by any Catholic nation; these pretensions have been made by Popes at the instance, and in alliance with, princes and factions for worldly ends, but have been rejected with indignation, particularly by France and by England, before the separation from the Church of Rome.

the 4th century; in England they were abolished by Henry VIII., and not re-established by Mary; they were likewise set aside in the Low Countries by Joseph II., and since in France, and in most parts of Germany and Italy, and their numbers are but small even in the Roman territory,—their existence is not therefore essential, and the countries remain Catholic as they were before.

Objections are made against the discipline of the Western church, which orders its public service to be performed in Latin. The expediency of this being continued or altered, is also a subject of discussion among Catholics; but the advantages derived from uniformity obtain many advocates. It must be observed that every Catholic is, from his infancy, instructed in every thing relating to the service, and all present know perfectly what is saying and what is doing. In every parochial establishment, it is ordered that the Epistle and Gospel of the day shall be said, and if necessary, explained in the vulgar tongue; and that catechisms and sermons shall be frequent. Whoever will look into the Catholic Prayer Books in general use, will find the Latin of the service in one column, and its translation adjoining, into English, French, German, Italian, &c. &c. The writer, considering his own home, would much approve of its being performed in English, but whoever leaves it experiences the great use of uniformity. Many could manage to join in prayer where the service was said in French, or Italian, some in German, but they would probably be much puzzled in their devotions, if, in their absence from this country, either for commerce, business, or pleasure, they had to hear it read to them in Bohemian, Hungarian, Peruvian, Hindostanee, or the other languages belonging to the different nations which constitute the world.* At present, wherever the Catholic goes the service is familiar to him.

NO. VIII.

You are not reasonable in your faith, is an objection often made to Catholics. But they do not give credit to any thing but that which they are convinced Christ has taught. That he has done so, is the whole and the sufficient reason for their belief. The truth of the doctrine and the mysteries of religion are not to be tried by the human understanding; so shallow, that it may, on any subject, be put to a non-plus in two questions. In like manner, and on the clearest texts, supported the evidence of antiquity, a Catholic believes that Christ founded a Church, and that he promised to support it unceasingly in truth till the end of time. If he gives credit to the ministers of his church, it is because he knows that they teach no other doctrines than those it sanctions; and that were any priest to advance any thing new or contrary to its tenets, he would soon be detected, condemned, and deserted; as has ever been the case with innovators.† He also thinks that it is neither true in fact, nor consistent with divine wisdom, that the faith, doctrines, and law established by Christ,

* Similar difficulties would be experienced by nations even within their own precincts. In France, the Bas-breton, the Languedocian, the Provençal, and the Basque, are quite distinct languages from the French; and in many countries the patois and dialects of different provinces are so unlike, that they can scarce understand one another; in Great Britain we soon change from English to Erse or Welsh—in Germany, the Saxon scarce understands the Swabian, and the Swiss is like another language to him.

† In the year 1331-2, Pope John the XXII., from the pulpit in Avignon preached a doctrine that was novel in the church. An English Dominican Monk, of the name of Wales, without delay ascended the pulpit, in the same city, and denounced this doc-

should have been left without authorised support, but scattered to the winds; thus throwing the Gospel into the wide world, like a riddle without a key, to become the signal, and the certain and interminable source of contention and discord; putting down all unison in Christian faith and doctrine, and allowing every one to cull from it such fruits as he thinks savoury, and to reject those he dislikes. With the solid rock of the church thus split into shivers, and the faith into units; with the access to heaven, not by any known, marked, or distinguishable road, but by as many devious bye-paths as there may be floundering human beings, there would scarce remain, in essence, more than a hair-breadth partition between Revelation and Deism. Let any one calmly consider whether a fixed creed does not appear to be the most conducive to the happiness of the human race as intended by the goodness of God? Whether an individual,* who believes that his faith is founded on the authority of Christ, and its continuance in the truth secured by the promises; who knows his duties to God and man, and entertains the confident hope that he may, by conforming to them, be made worthy of the promises of his Redeemer; whether he is not in a happier and more tranquil state, and better qualified to pursue those and other duties than he whose faith is left afloat and unsettled, to be made out, in anxiety and never ending doubt by himself, and constantly subject to variation, even in his own mind, exclusive of his difficulties arising from the opinions of others.†

No. IX.

ANOTHER charge is, that *the Catholic Religion is unfavourable to letters and to education*. Let the reader consider with what justice it is made. Where—in the incursions of the Goths, Vandals, Huns, and other most ferocious and cruel hordes, which overwhelmed the Roman empire with ignorance, barbarity, and blood—where was any remnant of the classics and of literature preserved,—was it not in the Latin and Greek monasteries? Who softened down those savages by converting them? Where did literature begin to be restored? And, looking to our own home, with what face can this be urged? Had not the Universities themselves, and nearly all the colleges belonging to them, Catholic founders? In the same manner all the great public free schools, and by far the greater number of free schools spread over the country (of which many have since been suffered to fall into decay) are also of Catholic times. And now the anomaly exists, that a Catholic cannot send his children for education to the very schools and colleges which were founded by his ancestors. Indeed, having till lately been excluded by law from all, and now from many of the honourable objects of ambition which give the emulation, spirit, and

trine. He was imprisoned, but immediately after was supported by a crowd of divines, and the Pope did not long hesitate to explain and retract what he had advanced.—See Fleury's Ecclesiastical History, vol. 19; Bossuet and others *passim*.

* That faith (or the belief in tenets and doctrines, which in their essence must be divine truths) should become mutual and convertible, and adapt itself, like a pitch plaster, to the shape of every man's mind and opinions, and still remain *true faith*, is to my understanding a more incomprehensible mystery and miracle than any that have hitherto been controverted by any unbeliever. If this be right, there can be no such thing as *Heresy*, and what do the apostles mean by that word, or by false teachers in 1 Cor. ii; 2 Peter ii; Tim. iii, 10; Matt. xxiv; Mark vii., &c.

† Supposing the mass of the common people in Ireland were let loose from the moral and religious precepts enforced by their pastors, and from their influence and control, is it not clear that if they adopted any other religion, it would not be that of the tithe proctor?

desire, which lead to distinction in science, there was to a Catholic scarce any thing worth educating for.*

NO. X.—AS TO THE EFFECT OF THE PENAL LAWS.

PERSECUTIONS in their various degrees, by infliction, proscription, exclusion, or privation from civil rights, are all founded on the same tyrannical principal, an usurped assumption of the right and power of control over the minds of others, which does not really exist in human nature, except by peaceable and convincing reasoning; an interference between God and man in a manner which no divine legation can be shown, and which, where the right of private interpretation of the Scriptures is claimed, is inconsistent even to absurdity, for if a man may adopt any interpretation, why may he not choose that of the Catholic? To all descriptions of penal laws the English Catholic has been subjected, but from the more serious inflictions the liberality of Government has, in later times, relieved him; and what is passed would soon be forgotten if it were not continued. There is no Catholic of an advanced age, in any class of life, who has not severely felt the effects of those dire laws; his family, if not gradually decaying, left stationary, without weight or importance in his country, passed by every other, marked, neglected, scarcely spoken to as Englishmen, the cup ever dashed from the lip in endless disappointment; all fair objects of ambition denied, bound down to an inactive and inefficient irksome life; no means of honourable employment for his brothers or children, who are often compelled to seek service in foreign countries, to live and die far distant, and lost to their own country and friends, or condemned to be idle hangers-on at home.† The middle class are also without their usual influence and deprived of all means of raising themselves, and the lower classes are equally depressed. What have been the heart-rendings of such a condition, those who know how to feel for others will readily comprehend. There are still some few men of arbitrary minds, on whom the afflictions of others produce no qualms; some indeed never tire of tormenting, and some have sufficient fortitude to bear with the sufferings of others without interference: other instances may be found of those who have nothing of religion but that sectarian hatred and persecuting spirit which sometimes disgrace it: history is full of persecutors without either moral or religious conduct or principle: some say the time is not yet come for concession, as if the time to do justice was not always present; ‡ others, because Irish Catholics have shown some impatience under disappointment, tell those of

* Of the 24 Colleges and Halls in Oxford, 16 were founded before the Reformation; and in Cambridge 13 out of 17—Henry VIII. and Edward VI. destroyed 90 Colleges and 110 well endowed hospitals established in different parts of the Kingdom—see Dugdale and Speed. During the reign of Edward I. there were 15,000 students in Oxford only, and in the year 1340 (Edward III.,) there were 30,000—see Robertson, Charles V., vol. i., page 324. Does this look like a desire of the clergy to keep the people in ignorance?

† Catholics, by a late act, carried no doubt with the approbation of the late Commander-in-chief, are admitted without restriction into the army and navy; and though, unfortunately for them, his Royal Highness was adverse to their general claims, they have to acknowledge his impartial liberality in their admission into, and promotion in, the army. Every Catholic remains still excluded by law from all other offices of trust or profit in England.

‡ The assertion, contrary to history and evidence, that *the constitution of England is essentially Protestant*, must stand on an inference derived from the Church of England being the religion of the state. But it should be recollected, that since the acces-

England that this has prevented their relief; as if *bearing oppression well* was an English virtue, instead of its being a just cause of scorn to its genuine feelings. But the Catholic owes a debt of the highest gratitude to some of the greatest men of this country, whose loss he laments, and to others of equal celebrity, now alive, who have gradually enlightened this nation, and whose high example has been followed by the liberal part of the upper ranks, both in and out of parliament. Those honoured men, blessed with the feelings of active justice, charity, indulgent judgment and compassion to others, have most powerfully enforced their statesman-like views, and convinced the great mass of the country of the true policy and expediency of granting religious freedom to all. To the true liberality of several of the dignitaries of the church, and of a very great number of the clergy who, at their own peril, and to their manifest personal disadvantage, have advocated their cause, even greater obligation is entirely due.* The Catholics have sworn, in terms stronger than any other class of subjects, to the support of the constitution and government, and have offered to give any further security that can consistently be demanded. The writer is further convinced that there is no desire, on their part, to disturb the Church of England in its privileges and possessions, and still less do they, or the Roman Catholic clergy, entertain the most distant thought or wish to be placed in its stead. What the Catholic owes to the yeomanry, and middle rank of the people of England, can scarcely be sufficiently acknowledged. 'Tis they who give the tone to, and who have the entire influence over, the lower classes. Their opinions also decide on the conduct and votes of numbers in the House of Commons—being themselves free from the desire of mastery and itch for new doings and new legislating, they are, when rightly informed, the fairest and most straightforward class of men existing: always paying willing deference to the upper ranks, when positive cause is not given to oppose them. On them the burden of our internal government chiefly falls. In the yeoman's hands, as jurymen, we have wisely placed the decision, when either our lives or our property are at stake; and whoever has attended our Courts of Justice, knows how to appreciate the steadiness, in merciful anxiety, which governs the discharge of this trust, in the one, and the strict impartiality which regulates their minds in the other.—To them truly belongs the motto *Libertas et natale solum*, the love of freedom with order, the readiness to make sacrifices to the honour of their country; the ready obedience to the laws, and the cool resistance of oppression: whilst their homely desires are confined to the enjoyment of their own, in peace, without the interference of others.—It is quite evident, that in the case of their Roman Catholic fellow subjects, a very great majority of this valued class of Englishmen have overcome all early prejudices, and though probably still under some feelings of dislike, have seen and felt the justice of *not interfering with the consciences of others*; and of their own accord, in spite of all attempts to the con-

sion of Henry VIII., the religion of the state has varied six or seven times, and according to that principal, the *essentiality* of the constitution must as often have changed with it.

* What Catholic can think or speak of the late Dr. Bathurst, the venerated Bishop of Norwich, without enthusiasm? The Rev. Sydney Smith used early his powerful pen in the cause; the rector of Cromer, Mr. Archdeacon Glover, has written the best defence of the political principles of the Catholics of England that exists; nor can the support given to them by the Rev. William Vernon, at a meeting of the clergy in Yorkshire, be forgotten by any Catholic.

trary, have, on many occasions, acted up to this great principle; and by keeping aloof at other times, have proved that they cannot be excited to oppose it, whilst the Catholic acknowledges the same principle, and conducts himself with equal liberality.

This subject cannot be more appropriately closed than with the high-minded words of our gracious Sovereign, in which he has shown the genuine sentiments of his heart, when unbiassed and unshackled by other counsels. They are recorded in the proclamation of his Majesty to the kingdom of Hanover, as follows:

"THE SEVERAL PROFESSORS OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH ENJOY A PERFECT EQUALITY OF CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS, AND THE NOTION OF A PREDOMINANT, AND OF A MERELY TOLERATED CHURCH, IS ENTIRELY ABOLISHED."*

NO. XI—FORGIVENESS OF SINS

THIS article of the symbol of the Apostles, and the power given by Christ to his minister to absolve the penitent sinner,* are also admitted in the creed and liturgy of the church† of England in the same forms; though, as well as in the observance of Lent, the practice seems to be left to the Catholic. With us, however, it is absolutely required of every one, from the Pope downwards, that confession of sin shall be made, and that it shall be accompanied by a contrite heart and sincere sorrow for its commission, together with a firm purpose of amendment, a continued repentance, and a determination to atone, make restitution, and all practicable amends for the injury done to another, either in his property or his reputation. These are the conditions, indispensable on the part of the penitent, without which

* Oh that we were Hanoverians! is the cry of the humiliated and wounded feelings of the Irish. On the Continent, we have further proofs of the liberality of Catholics, in the conduct of the present King of Bavaria, who has united most cordially with his son in giving a free constitution to that country; while Protestant Prussia, which in a great measure owes the restoration of its power to the *levy en masse* of its Catholic subjects in Silesia, has not yet fulfilled the pledge which has been generally understood to have been given to them. Again we see in Saxony a succession of Catholic princes administering the government of a country, entirely Protestant, in a manner most peculiarly paternal. An argument is attempted here to justify the system of exclusion, by a distinction between civil rights and civil power; but whoever has given the least thought to our constitution, must see with what care, and how intimately it blends in every class of its subjects, the possession of any property, advantage or privilege, and of every civil right whatever, with civil duties and the obligations of sharing in offices of power, by which the country is governed—and to which system it chiefly owes its excellence and superiority. The peer, the sheriff, the jurors, the corporations, the electors, the elected, and every parochial officer, are proofs of the inseparable connection of civil rights, power, duties, and obligations, often made compulsory. Surely such arguers must consider power in no other light than the means of getting money from the state. In fact, however, every law of exclusion not only trenches on the rights of the individuals, but limits the prerogative of the crown, and the right the country has to the services of all, and to a share being taken of the burdensome offices which our constitution annexes to and imposes on the possession of property, and other advantages. Whoever argues for *exclusion without crime proven*, must also be prepared to approve and justify the conduct of the Turks to the Greeks—of the Spanish government to its colonies—and of most of the partial oppressions in ancient and modern history.

* Matt. xvi. 19. Do. xxviii. 18. John xx. 21, 22, 23.

† Luther expresses himself thus on confession. "However, as to private confession before communion, I feel as I have hitherto taught, that it is neither necessary nor to be required, but is, however, useful and not to be condemned:" and he has given an examination of conscience on the Ten Commandments preparatory to it. See note to page 8, of Luther's works, Jena edition, Vol. I., 1556. I am also informed in the civil list, that we pay a salary to the king's confessor.

the absolution, be it pronounced by a Pope, a bishop, or a priest, is utterly void and of no avail. On the contrary, the individual becomes involved in greater guilt, and is probably led to the profanation and unworthy receiving of the sacrament of the altar.*

No. XII.—ON THE SACRED CHARACTER OF AN OATH, AND KEEPING FAITH WITH EVERY ONE.

I APPROACH this subject with great reluctance, and I may say, shuddering, at our being called upon to repel imputations equally repugnant to religion, honour, and common honesty. It is by some urged that Catholics are not bound to keep faith with those of a different persuasion, and that they may be absolved from their oaths. Our situation of privation and exclusion *on account of oaths* contradicts the vile calumny, and ought to shelter us from such malicious injustice. The obligation of an oath, and of keeping faith, either with governments or with individuals, rests with the Catholic, the Protestant, and every virtuous man, on the same eternal basis of moral rectitude: where the pledge is given for a lawful and not immoral object, no one existing can dispense with it. History is full of the proofs of the adherence of Catholics to their allegiance and pledges, in despite of oppression itself, and of every personal peril and inconvenience. The Barons, with Archbishop Langton and the English clergy, withstood in arms the united efforts of King John and the Pope. In the same manner the whole French nation supported Philip Augustus and his son Lewis. The subjects of the Emperor Charles V. fought and subdued Rome and the Pope without being less Catholic. Elizabeth's Catholic subjects took up arms against the league of the Pope and Philip II., and in my 10th paragraph I have quoted the declarations of the French clergy, and the chief foreign universities against any right of interference of the Pope in any temporal matters; and the evidence of the Catholic prelates lately given in the two Houses of Parliament on the same subject cannot, to any fair and well meaning mind, leave a doubt on this subject.†

* In confession it is enjoined to the penitent that he shall not name or designate any third person; and to the priest, entire secrecy in every thing relating to what is imparted to him is, without any exception, required. Such inviolable secrecy must be the necessary consequence of the institution, for who would confess his fault if there was any authority left, in any case whatever, to reveal it? Those who object to this doctrine and practice, have endeavoured to support some imaginary cases of plots, or of crimes in contemplation, against this ordinance of secrecy; but if those fantastic causes are fairly considered, they will be found to amount nearly to impossibilities. What criminal would lay before his confessor an intended crime, when he knows that this avowal would, to a certainty, deprive him of the absolution, which must be his object, and of all the benefits he seeks by the confession he is making! After all, if this religious institution were considered as a mere question of human policy, is not he who thinks it his duty to lay what he has done, or is doing, before the minister of his religion, more likely to be deterred from his evil ways than one who never thinks it necessary to make such submission to any one? The conclusion must be in favour of the institution, as affording to the rest of the world a better chance, not only of atonement, but for the prevention of crime; nor are we in our civil institutions without similar instances of secrecy, required both in honour and good policy. Can the solicitor or advocate reveal the case of the culprit, which he confides to them? Can the physician make known the secret complaint of his patient? And even in private life no one can divulge the confidential communication made to him without loss of character; he may not even relate in one society what is said or passes in another, if it can involve any one in any difficulty, and if imprudently he should do so, he is not, by the rules of society authorized to give us his authority, but must take the peril and consequences on himself.

† I have seen in some churches in the Neapolitan territory a list of cases reserved for absolution to the Bishop, on account of the enormity of the crimes and the reparation which those crimes made necessary. Among these stands prominent, the *swearing of a false oath, or perjury in evidence before a court of justice.*

TRACT 29.

**[PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE CATHOLIC
INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN.]**

TRACTS FROM THE FATHERS
OF THE
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No. II.

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AND THE
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THE first of the three pieces here laid before the reader, is from a work printed for the first time at Dijon, in 1656, under the title *Albini Confessio Fidei*. The publication gave rise to an interesting controversy, of which we shall briefly state the history and the result.

In 1669, an eminent Catholic writer discussed the question of its authorship, and raised doubts on the correctness of its being attributed to Alcuin; and in 1673, Daillé, a learned Calvinist, undertook to show that it was the production of a writer posterior to St. Anselm, and by consequence was written, not in the ninth, but in the twelfth century.

Dom. Mabillon, a Benedictine monk, published an ample answer to Daillé in 1675 (*Vetera Analecta*, p. 490, *Frobenius' Alcuin*, ii. 370-380), to which Basnage, in his Church History (published in 1698), offered several exceptions; they may be seen at length, with answers to each, in *Frobenius* ii. 381 et seq.

There are two distinct questions in this inquiry:—first, in what century was the work written?—secondly, is Alcuin its author? As to the first, it seems demonstrated that it must have been written early in the ninth century. The MS. whence the first edition was printed, was brought to Paris from the library of the President Boyer, at Dijon, and offered to the inspection of the curious. Nine eminent literary men—several among them, as Cointe, Baluze, and Du Cange, distinguished antiquarians—declared it to be, in their judgment, “not posterior to the ninth century, and to have the character of MSS. about the time of Charlemagne.” But, independently of this, there is much both in the subject matter and in the phrase, which bears evidence to its having been written about the time to which we have ascribed it. Of this Mabillon gives several instances, with illustrations from the Church history of the period.

The second question, whether Alcuin was the author of the work under consideration, cannot be so exactly determined. In favour of Alcuin's authorship there is internal evidence, which, though not absolutely conclusive, affords the highest probability. The reader who may be disposed to examine the subject more fully, is referred to Frobenius' edition, or to *Ceillier's Bibliothèque*, tom. xviii.

The “Confession of Faith” treats of the Unity and Trinity of God, the Incarnation, Original Sin, the Church, &c. It is divided into four parts. The following extract is from the fourth, “On the body and blood of our Lord.”

I.

[*From the CONFESSION OF FAITH, Part IV.*
Ed. Frob. Tom. ii. 412.]

1. THE other points I have stated above, according to the right rule of Church doctrine; and now, finally, I wish to profess what I hold concerning this one, and close therewith this treatise of my confession of faith. But who or what am I to speak of the depths of so wonderful and ineffable a mystery? It is enough for me if I can in some sort express in words that faith which I hold in my heart, that so the confession may avail my soul unto salvation.* The mystery is rather to be venerated and regarded with awe, than discussed. No man can comprehend it, no one speak of it in a manner answerable to its dignity. It is to be embraced with faith; it is neither to be searched nor found by reason. Howbeit, blessed Gregory, a competent expounder of so great a mystery, speaks somewhere almost ineffably regarding it, as of an ineffable subject. "Who amongst the faithful," saith he (Lib. iv., Dial. c. 58), "can entertain a doubt that at the hour of sacrifice the heavens are opened at the voice of the priest, that choirs of angels are present at that mystery of Jesus Christ, that the highest and the lowest meet, earth and heaven join, and the visible and invisible unite?" This sacrament, therefore, though offered by men, is a divine thing; and if it is so, or rather because it is so, let nothing therein be considered otherwise than divinely and spiritually. So then, although with my bodily eyes I see the priest at the Lord's altar, offering bread and wine, nevertheless, with the eye of faith, and by the pure light of the heart, I discern the great high priest, and the true pontiff, our Lord Jesus Christ, offering Himself; whose flesh we eat, whose blood we drink, and being cleansed, and fed, and sanctified, are made partakers of the one supreme Godhead.†

2. For it is He who is the priest, it is He who is the sacrifice; and therefore this saving victim is never at any time, or in any place, either diminished or increased, altered or changed, whether it be a righteous or a wicked priest that externally approaches the altar; but always, and in all places, does this sacrament remain one and the self-same. For by Christ's power and words was this bread and cup originally consecrated,—by Christ's power and words it ever is consecrated, and will be consecrated.

* Rom. x. 10.

† 2 Peter i. 4.

Himself speaks daily in his priests; His word it is that hallows the heavenly sacraments. The priests discharge an office, but Christ works by the majesty of divine power. For He is the true Melchisedec, who by the offering of His body and of His blood fulfils, and ever has fulfilled, from the very first time when He instituted them, the holy sacrifices which the former (Melchisedec) mysteriously foreshewed.* He, by the power of the Holy Ghost the Comforter, and by a heavenly benediction, makes them become His body and blood. Now, in this most holy offering of the Lord's body and blood, a common service is presented unto God, as well by the priest as by the whole family of the house of God. And this is a service that is to be paid to none other; neither to the holy angels, nor to the holy spirits, but only to the true and living God. The indwellers in the abodes of heaven would not have us sacrifice to them,† but to God alone, whose work both we and they are. For conjointly with them, we are one city of God, whereof one portion—namely, we—are pilgrims: another portion—namely, they—yieldeth succour. I doubt not that this latter portion—namely, the citizens above—assist at this mystery; that by angels' ministry and supplications, as from an altar on high, it may be presented to the sight of the Divine Majesty. For as there is in that house a sacrifice of everlasting praise, and an everlasting priest, there is in heaven an everlasting priest, an everlasting altar, not corporal, but reasonable and spiritual,‡ whereunto this offering is brought. So then we are to believe that, at the time of sacrifice, Christ is present with his company of celestial servants, to consecrate the gifts.§ Whereupon Father Ambrose says: "Doubt not that an angel is present when Christ is present, (when) Christ is immolated."|| For this is the true offering, wherein the Son is offered, the Father is reconciled. This is the true and everlasting victim, for true and everlasting virtue is in it, true and everlasting salvation is by it accomplished. This is the saving victim, full of understanding,¶ full of mystery; which is celebrated with spiritual understanding, presented with purity of faith: it being meet, in order to render the hearts of the faithful heavenly, that they should be cleansed by a reasonable oblation.

* Gen. xiv. 18.

† "To none of the martyrs, but to the God of the martyrs, . . . do we erect altars. For, what priest ever said, when standing at the altar in places where their holy bodies lie, we offer to thee, O Peter, or Paul, or Cyprian? What is offered, is offered to God, who hath crowned the martyrs."—St. Augustine; and so the Council of Trent, Sess. xxii. cap. 3.

‡ Rationale et intelligibile.

|| On St. Luke, c. i. §. ii.

§ Proposita.

¶ Plena rationis.

3. For, partaking with Christ by means of this mystery, we are all one in him; there is neither male nor female, neither bond-man nor free.* We attain to this unity in partaking of this sacrament especially; because we, being many, are one bread, one body, and all partake of one bread.† For such is the unity of the Church in Christ, that as there is one faith, one baptism, and one altar, so there is everywhere one bread of the body of Christ, and one cup of His blood. Every day is renewed‡ for us, in this sacrament of the body and blood of the Son of God, that whereof we read: "Christ by the Holy Ghost offered Himself unspotted unto God;"§ and "Christ loved us, and delivered Himself for us, an oblation and a sacrifice to God (the Father) for an odour of sweetness."|| This body and this blood is not gathered from the wheat-ear or the vine-stock; it becomes to us a mystic body by means of a certain consecration;¶ it is not born; the creature of bread and wine being, by an ineffable sanctifying of the spirit, changed** into the sacrament of His body and blood. The whole, then, of what takes place in this offering is a mystery, which is to be embraced with pure and single-minded faith, which cannot be comprehended by the subtlety of reason. One thing is seen, another discerned. What is seen has a bodily appearance: what is discerned has a spiritual, that is to say, a divine fruit. Christ occupies the altar, and prepares Himself for (our) food. He is sacrificed, not slain; He is eaten, not diminished; He refreshes, yet is not consumed;†† when eaten He still liveth, because He hath risen from the dead. O, astonishing and unspeakable thing! O, mystery of faith! All eat of Him, yet each one eateth Him entire. He is divided in parts, yet whole in every part. Although eaten by all the people, He remaineth whole and entire.‡‡ Whole in heaven, whole in the hearts of the faithful. Life is eaten; it expiates sin; death giveth life; it strengthens the feeble, preserves the sound.

4. For, in an especial manner does this victim save the soul from eternal ruin; a victim which mysteriously renews in our behalf the death of the only begotten Son of God, who, although, having risen from the dead, He liveth in himself immortally and incorruptibly, is for us again immolated in this mystery of the holy oblation. Seeing that therein His body is received, His flesh

* Gal. iii. 28.

§ Heb. ix. 14.

† 1 Cor. x. 17.

|| Ephes. v. 2.

‡ Instauratur.

¶ "Certa consecratione mysticus fit nobis." The words are St. Augustine's. Book xx., against Faustus the Manichee, c. xi.

** Transfertur.

†† Reficit non deficit.

‡‡ So in St. Gregory's Sacramentary, in the solemn invocation (or Preface) of the fifth Sunday after Epiphany.

divided for the people's salvation, His blood drunk by the faithful. But how this is done who can comprehend, or who can lay open the deep mysteries of this sacrifice, which is a continual representation of the passion of God's only begotten Son for our ransom? For, as the mystery of the Holy Trinity, so also is the mystery of the Lord's passion and death, which is renewed* by this oblation, equally necessary to salvation, equally to be embraced and held in a pure conscience. For none of the faithful must doubt of the verity of so high a mystery, which is avouched for by so many testimonies, and has been sometimes manifested to individuals by divine revelation. I, the least of all the faithful, in nowise (thanks be to God) doubt concerning it, but with my whole heart do believe, and with sure utterance of my mouth do confess, that the sacrament of divine and life-giving virtue is the true flesh of Christ, whereof we eat, and His true blood, whereof we drink.† For this victim is the body and blood of Christ, the Lamb without spot or blemish, according to blessed Peter's words.‡ That bread is the bread of eternal life, that cup is the cup of everlasting salvation. It is by these divine mysteries that we are cleansed and sanctified, and made partakers of the one Godhead, forasmuch as God abideth in us, and we abide in God. I hear what truth itself says on this subject, and undoubtingly I believe truth, which cannot lie. When the Jews, not knowing the bread of concord, strove, saying, "How can this man give us his flesh to eat?" he answered them in person: "Amen, amen, I say unto you; except you eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, you have not life in you. He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath everlasting life. For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him. As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father, so he that eateth me, the same liveth by me. This is the bread that came down from heaven. He that eateth this bread shall live for ever." §

5. Now, do pray mark, thou perverse teacher of most depraved people,|| and do not with a deaf ear and uncircumcised heart pass by the declaration, "He that eateth ME' (Christ) there speaks

* Frequentatur.

† "We believe, and faithfully confess and hold, that that substance, namely, of bread and wine, by the operation of the divine power, . . . is substantially converted into another substance, that is, into flesh and blood."—Haymo, Bishop of Halberstadt, a scholar of Alcuin, quoted by Mabillon in his Dissertation. Alcuin begs Paulinus, of Aquileia (Ep. xxxvi., t. i. 49), to remember him in his prayers "at that favourable time, when he consecrates bread and wine into the substance of the body and blood of Christ."

‡ 1 Pet. i. 19.

§ John vi.

|| Præmissarum gentium perversa doctrina.

of His own flesh, and not of another. Were it otherwise, this mystery could not be styled so wonderful, and ineffable, and incomprehensible. Whosoever believes God to be almighty, of course believes that He can easily make out of anything what he will. Were it so (as you imagine), it might surely be comprehended in mind and explained in words. But forasmuch as it stands far otherwise with the verity of this great mystery than you, deceived as you are with an heretical spirit, imagine; it is rightly called a mystery of faith.* For it is not to be comprehended by human understanding, and scanned by subtle reasoning; but to be embraced with the devoutest purity of single-minded faith. Hence, our Lord, speaking of this sacrament to some disciples who believed not, saith: "The words that I have spoken to you are spirit and life; but there are some of you that believe not."† In saying, "The words that I have spoken to you are spirit and life," He shews that he has uttered a great mystery: and in subjoining, "But there are some of you that believe not," He shows that this mystery is only a mystery of faith, and of the faithful who faithfully take those words, and therefore to them they are spirit and life; because they spiritually enliven them by the understanding.‡ That faith which human reason provides with experience has no merit. Faith is better than reason, because we arrive at full perfection only by faith; as it is written§—"Unless ye believe, ye shall not understand;" and elsewhere|| "But my just man liveth by faith." For there are few who can prove¶ what they believe; and hence many of those who thought they could, have shamefully erred, whilst, abandoning the humility of faith, they have presumed to soar above themselves by reason. It being certain that Christ liveth in himself immortally and incorruptibly, who is there that can ascertain by reason how He giveth us His flesh to eat? For this wonderful sacrifice exhibits to us Christ, not to be given, but given; not to be slain, but slain: exhibits us not to be redeemed, but redeemed; it exhibits these things to us in reality, whilst the victims of the old law foreshewed all these things as being to come. He who when the doors were shut, could introduce to His disciples, without corruption or any injury to His person, His true body, which He raised from the tomb, can surely give us His flesh to eat without injury or detriment to himself.

6. It is He who without opening the Virgin's womb, entered the world; who with His true body walked upon the waters; who

* In the Canon of the Mass: at the consecration of the chalice.

† John vi.

‡ Spiritualiter intellectu (perhaps, intellecta) vivificant.

§ Isaiah vii. 9, Greek version.

|| Heb. x. 38.

¶ Firmare.

caused the increase of a scanty supply of transient and visible food, whilst the multitudes were eating thereof.* Why, then, doubt when Himself tells thee: "He that eateth me, the same also liveth by me." It is God that doth things great and wondrous, and unsearchable, whereof there is no number. Do not, I pray, search this by reason. The matter is above thee; it is far above the reach of thy power. For no one can understand the mysteries of the body and blood of Christ answerably to the majesty of the subject. Let wonders win faith for wonders; incomprehensible things for things incomprehensible. The divine work, if comprehended by reason, is not so wonderful. Give over searching. Only believe with me that Christ is daily ministered to us. Christ is the food and drink of the Church. The flesh is meat, the blood is drink. Whose flesh? Christ's. Hear his own words: "This is my body." "I am the bread of life." "Do this in remembrance of me." This, then, as a thing to be done, and done often, He has given in charge to the Church, until he come at the end of the world, when will be the rest of the saints.† No longer in the sacrament whereby now the Church is united together, drinking what flowed from the side of Christ;‡ but, in the perfection of everlasting salvation, when the kingdom shall be delivered to God the Father,§ so that in the clear contemplation of unchangeable truth, we shall need no mysteries. Doubt not then, disown not, when thou seest the creature of bread and wine taken from the humble fruits of the earth. Regard the omnipotence of God, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, who by His mere will, without any delay, makes of them His body and blood. When you see water mingled with the wine, you are not to suppose that this is done without reason; for water came forth with the blood from the side of Christ, who is the true vine, when His side was pierced with the lance. || That blood was shed for the sinner's pardon. That water tempers the saving cup. These are the sacraments of the Church, without which there is no entrance to true life; sacraments which are to be administered and received with exceeding piety and great fear and love. Draw nigh to them faithfully, without discussion, for it is the mystery of faith. Draw nigh in a peaceable disposition, for it is the sacrament of unity; in faith and work thou art united to

* Math. xiv., Mark vi., Luke ix., John vi.

† 2 Thess. i. 7.

‡ "We devoutly beseech thee, O everlasting Majesty, that we may receive the bread changed by Thy power into flesh, and the drink in the chalice changed into that blood which flowed from Thy side on the cross."—The MS. from which Mabillon extracted this prayer was written more than a thousand years ago. On the Gallic Liturgy, Book i. c. i. sec. 5.

§ 1 Cor. xv. 24.

|| John xix. 34.

thy mother, the Church; and this unity is denoted by the bread's being of many grains, and the wine of many grapes. Draw nigh with thanksgiving, for it is a mystery of charity.

7. The offering of that bread and cup is the commemoration and showing forth of the death of Christ. This is done not so much in words as in the mysteries, whereby that precious death is more deeply and strongly imprinted on the mind. Therefore He gave this sacrament to His disciples last, that both they and we might have a more enduring remembrance of that charity wherewith He so loved us, so saved us. Approach with a chaste and pure heart. If thou have fallen grievously, if thou be still wedded to sin, bring forth fruits worthy of penance.* Cleanse thy conscience in the first place; to approach defiled would bring a burden to thee, not a relief. The virtue of this sacrifice is such as to be the body and blood of Christ to the just alone, [not] to sinners.† It cleanses sins which are unavoidable in this life. O mystery of love! Christ, foreknowing that we would sin, after the salvation whereby he redeemed us, instituted this ineffable mystery, to the end that we might unceasingly be purified by its sanctification. Thus, to some it brings remission of sins and increase of virtues; to others a grievous judgment and the utmost perdition. Approach reverently and with great awe, for Christ, and nothing else‡ is [therein] given to eat. Fear not when thou eatest God; He has commanded it. When Christ is eaten, what else but life is eaten? If life is eaten, doubtless that which dieth not is eaten. Approach believing and pure. Eat life, drink life. This will be done; that is to say, the body and blood of Christ will be life to each one, if what is visibly taken in the sacrament, be in very truth spiritually eaten, spiritually drunk. To drink, what is it but to live; to eat is to be nourished. Yet thou art so nourished, as not to exhaust that which nourishes thee. For thou shalt have life, and life remains entire. Receive the Lord Jesus in thy inward dwelling. Where Christ's body is, there Christ is verily. Hence in the fulness of love and wonder towards so great mystery, a certain writer indited these lines:—

* Matt. iii. 8.

† "There is the sacrament, and there is the virtue of the sacrament. How many receive from the altar, and die—and die by receiving! Hence the apostle saith, 'eateth and drinketh judgment to himself.' Look to it, therefore, brethren; eat the heavenly bread spiritually, bring innocence to the altar."—St. Augustine, tract xxvi. in Joan.—"He who abideth not in Christ, and in whom Christ doth not abide, doubtless doth not eat His flesh spiritually, although carnally and visibly he eat the sacrament of His body and blood," *ib.*—See Catech. of the C. of Trent.—On the Holy Euchar. § 57.

‡ Non aliud sed Christus.

Thing full of wonder! say, shall human eyes
 That mystery pierce, which Jesus did ordain?
 Lo! on the altar dread, in sacrifice,
 The sacred Lamb—the Lamb of God—is slain.

The victim we divide, in parts we break;
 And yet each part my Jesus whole retains.
 His flesh as food, his blood as drink we take;
 But still he lives, he still entire remains!"

8. This, then, is my faith, and my hope, that, by the gift of God's mercy, is in me; for which we are to be always ready, as blessed Peter directs,* to give an answer to every one that asketh us a reason. This is certainly the faith which I heartily hold, orally profess; with this I desire to live, with it to stand before the tribunal of Christ. Thereby I believe I am discharged from my sins. That it may ever, unto the end, work in me that which is good by humility and love, I earnestly wish and beseech God's mercy. This faith is my staff of defence, to strike the crafty and dissembling utterers of falsehood that belay us as we journey along the present life. This is my buckler to repel the poisonous creatures and pestilential monsters that issue from secret haunts, and to ward off the ruthless sword of enemies, that it may find no limb open and unprotected by faith. Such is our book, such is the treasure of my faith, which treasure I found in the well-tilled field† of the Catholic Church. Such is the faith which the grace of Christ taught me in the bosom of my mother, the Church, and has vouchsafed to increase in me even from the time of baptism. Thus do we believe before God; thus with our lips do we confess before men, that unto men also the sure knowledge may come,‡ and that God may receive a testimony from his image. This, as a fixed law, do Thou, O beloved Christ, the only hope and strength of my salvation, ever guard and watch over, lest at any time the savage pirate and king of confusion snatch it from my heart.

9. And if in this treatise of my faith that I offer to Thy gracious acceptance, anything be unskillfully or incautiously uttered, look not, I beseech Thee, O Searcher of Hearts, so much at what I have said as at what I have wished to say. Thou, Lord, from whom nothing is hidden, Thou knowest how purely and faithfully I desire with all my heart to believe before Thee, and to confess before Thy holy Church, all things that appertain to the exact rule of orthodox faith. If this summary of my faith be correct, I return thanks to Thee, to whom they are due. For if we have no good from ourselves, we are to give ourselves no praise

* 1 Pet. iii. 15.

† Matt. xi. 41, 44.

‡ Ut et hominibus cognitio sua fidem faciat.

for the good that we have. If from Thee, who alone art good,* all good comes, then to Thee whatever good there may be, should be referred. But if, in any point, what I have uttered should be at variance with the rule of faith, I am ready to be corrected by Thy servants, my masters. I am not so wedded to myself as to wish to prefer what I have said before a better opinion. No one is a heretic, but one who becomes such by contention; whereas he who is not ashamed to bear reproof, nor reluctant to admit correction, can in nowise be called a heretic.† But I beseech Thee, O Lord, teacher of teachers, that should anything touching my faith, whether in my heart or in my words, displease Thee, Thou before all wouldst correct, Thou teach, O strength and wisdom of the Father! Do Thou, according to Thy promise,‡ lead me into all truth by Thy Holy Spirit, who teacheth His servants without noise of words. Thou knowest, gracious Saviour, that as the truth is in Thine eyes, that unerringly discern what is right and true, even thus do I desire to believe and confess regarding all things. And this, too, appears to me but little, forasmuch as I desire not only to believe rightly, but also to live well. The one hangs on the other, and the one without the other can by no means please Thee.§ O, lovely, indeed is the bond when both are together! Sinner though I be, I would not for the thirty|| golden shields, make shields of brass. He substitutes the brass for the gold, who yields a tinkling sound of words, without effectual works, and whilst seemingly devout in the number, is detected false by the value of the substance. For a shield is the image of faith, according to the apostle.¶ I beseech, then, Thy gracious goodness: circumcise in me all the vices of my heart and body; give me an increase and perfection of virtues; give me good life and knowledge abundant; grant me by thy grace “to be always steady in faith, and active in work;”** that so, “the faith which my tongue speaketh” and my hand-writing attesteth, “my life may, by holy doings and worthy carriage, declare”†† here and everywhere, now and for ever, world without end. Amen.

* Matt. xix. 17, James i. 17.

† “They who defend, without any pertinacious determination, their opinion, although a false and wrong one—especially an opinion which they have not broached by their own presumptuous daring, but have inherited from parents that have been seduced and have fallen into error—and who with anxious care seek the truth, being ready to amend, when they find it, are not to be called heretics.”—St. Augustine, Epist. 162.

‡ John xvi. 13.

§ James ii. 14, 17, 20.

|| *Three hundred.* He alludes to the history of Roboam.—See 3 Kings x. 17

xiv. 26, 27. 2 Chron. ix. 16, xii. 9, 10.

¶ Ephes. vi. 16.

** Post-communion prayer for third Wednesday in Lent,

†† Collect for Holy Innocents' day

II.

*From a Letter written to the Brethren at Lyons; anno 798.
Epist. lxxv. Tom. i. 109.]*

ON THE CEREMONIES OF BAPTISM.

Now, that you may understand the meaning of this most holy mystery, I will explain these sacred things to you, beloved brethren, in a Catholic interpretation, according to the sense of the holy fathers and ecclesiastical statutes; for we conceive no one is allowed to doubt, that whatever is therein done, hath been enacted most holily, and is of most venerable import.

First, the heathen, when coming to baptism, is made a catechumen, to renounce the wicked spirit and all his baneful pomps. An exsufflation also takes place, to chase away the devil, in order to prepare an entrance for Christ. The wicked spirit is exorcised; that is, is solemnly called on to come forth and retire, and give place to the true God. The catechumen receives salt, that his putrid and running sores of sins may be cleansed by the salt of wisdom, a divine gift. Then is delivered to him the true faith of the Apostles' Creed; that the dwelling which has been freed from, and been quitted by, its former tenant, may be adorned by faith, and prepared as a dwelling for God. Then take place the inquiries* to examine again and again with what steadfastness the sacred words of plighted faith have struck root, after the renunciation of Satan. The nostrils are touched, in order that the catechumen may, to his latest breath, abide in the faith he has embraced. The breast too is anointed with oil, that all entrance may be closed to the devil by the sign of the holy cross. The shoulders, moreover, are signed, that the catechumen may be strengthened at all points. By the anointing of the breast and shoulders are denoted also strength of faith and perseverance in good works.

This done, he is baptized by a triple immersion, in the name of the Holy Trinity. And rightly is man, who was made according to the image of the Holy Trinity, restored to the same image by the invocation of the Holy Trinity. And, after falling into death by the third grade of sin—that is, sin of action†—he, by grace, rises to life, being raised a third time from the font.

* Scrutinia.

† This will be explained by a passage in the foregoing part of this same letter. Alcuin says—"Original sin was perpetrated three ways; by delight, consent, and act. And so all sin is done either in thought, or word, or deed. And the triple ablution

Then he is clothed with white garments, to denote joy for regeneration, and chastity of life, and the beauty of angelic splendour. Then the head is anointed with sacred chrism, and covered with a mystic veil; that he may understand that he bears the kingly diadem* and the priestly dignity, as the apostle saith†—"You are a royal generation, offering yourselves to the living God, as a victim holy and well pleasing to God."

Then he is strengthened with the body and blood of the Lord, that he may be a member of Him who suffered and rose again for his sake.‡

Last of all, he receives, by the imposition of hands, from the high priest,§ the Spirit of seven-fold grace, that he may be strengthened by the Holy Ghost to preach unto others after being made in baptism an heir to eternal life by grace.||

You see how faithfully, reasonably, and wisely, all these things have been commended to our observance. Against Church authority no Catholic, against reasonable custom no thinking man, against pious sense¶ none of the faithful, may presume to contend. And, lest a man be found a schismatic, and not a Catholic, let him follow the most approved authority of the holy Roman Church, that so we may always take patterns for our salvation** from that Church whence we derive the rudiments†† of the Catholic faith; lest the members be separated from their head; lest the porter of the kingdom of heaven repel those whom he finds to have deviated from his doctrine.

seems to answer the three-fold kind of sin, as well in original sin, which is fatal to infants, as in those which are thereto added by men of more advanced age, in will, or word, or deed."—p. 100.

* Diadema regni. This must be the correct reading.—See it. 127.

† 1 Pet. ii. 9, Rom. xii. 1.

‡ Rom. iv. 25.

§ The sacrament of Confirmation.—Rhaban, a scholar of Alcuin's, and afterwards Archbishop of Mentz, repeats the above, and subjoins:—"The baptized person is signed with chrism on the crown of the head by the priest, on the forehead by the bishop: the former unction signifying the descent of the Holy Ghost upon him to consecrate a dwelling for God; the latter unction declaring the coming of the seven-fold grace of the same Holy Spirit with all the fulness of holiness and wisdom and power." (De Instit. Cler. I. 30.) In his time, (the ninth century) Confirmation was usually administered on the eighth day after baptism. In the earlier ages of the Church, it generally followed immediately after baptism. (Tertull. de Bapt. c. 7.) Not universally. (St. Jerome, Dial. Adv. Lucifer.—St. Greg. Ep. 46, l. 8, &c.) In subsequent times, ecclesiastical statutes assigned different ages for the reception of this sacrament: as one year after birth, three years, five years, seven years. (Martene I. 87.) The Catechism of the Council of Trent recommends the age of twelve. § 15

|| Titus iii. 8, 9, 10.

¶ Pietatis intelligentiam.

** Exemplaria salutis.

‡ Accipimus initia.

III.

[*Epist. cxxxiv. Tom. i. p. 196.*]

To the most worthy pastor Ædilbert, Bishop (of Hexham), and to all the Congregation of the Lord's servants in the Church of St. Andrew, ALCHUIN, the client of your charity in Christ, greeting.

Out of a desire of especial friendship, I forward this humble letter of mine to you, most holy men, in order both to renew the bond of old acquaintance, and to recommend myself to your most devout prayers. And if, according to the apostle,* the prayer of one just man availeth much, far more that of all a holy congregation in Christ, whose daily entreaties in peace and unity at the canonical hours, are to be supposed to enter heaven.—No doubt, the separate prayer of each one in secret reaches the ears of Almighty God. Wherefore, with most humble entreaty do I (as far as my request can prevail on your goodness) commend myself to each one, and to the common prayers of all, and the special prayers of every individual, that being, by the prayers of you holy men released from the bonds of sin, together with you, dearly beloved brethren, I may be worthy to enter the gates of life.

O most noble progeny of holy fathers, successors to their honour and venerable life, and indwellers of most beautiful places † follow the footsteps of your fathers; that from these beautiful dwellings, ye may, God so granting, deserve to arrive at a share of the everlasting blessedness of your progenitors, at the beauty of the heavenly kingdom.

Study to know and to fulfil the commandments of God; for He saith:‡ “If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments.” Hence the necessity of reading holy books, that therefrom each one may discern what he ought to follow, or what to avoid. Keep up amongst you the light of knowledge, and let it, by your means, shine on other churches, that your praise may resound in the mouths of all, and that an eternal reward may be reserved for you in heaven. Each one shall receive the reward of his own labour.§ Diligently teach the children and young men the knowledge of books in the way of God,|| that

* James v. 16

† The church of St. Andrew, at Hexham, consecrated by St. Wilfrid, about the year 670. It is described as of extraordinary splendour; nothing equal to it being to be seen on this side of the Alps.

‡ Matt. xix. 17.

§ 1 Cor. iii. 8.

|| “In via Dei,” probably the better reading. The text has, “ad viam Dei.”

they may be fit inheritors of your honour, and also intercessors for us. The prayers of the living do avail the dead both unto the pardon of sins, and unto the further increase of glory.*

He who soweth not, shall not reap; and he who learneth not, teacheth not; and such a place without teachers, cannot be safe, or can hardly be so.† It is great charity to feed the poor with corporal food; but it is a greater to satisfy the hungry soul with spiritual learning. As a careful shepherd seeks to provide his flock with the best pastures, so a good teacher should with all diligence procure for his subjects the perennial pastures of life; for, the increase of the flock is the glory of the shepherd, and the multitude of wise men is the health of the world.‡

I am aware that you know these things, most holy fathers, and readily fulfil them; but charity has given utterance to the words, in the belief that, with pious humility, you would read what, with sober devotion in God's love, I have written. Again and again I beseech you to be pleased to remember my name amongst your friends. May Christ our God hear your pious intercessions for the whole Church of God, and grant you to arrive at the glory of eternal blessedness, most dear brethren!

* Alcuin's 151st letter is a beautiful address to a mother bereft of her son. He comforts her by reminding her that she has still one who is immortal, namely Christ, referring to our Lord's words, Matt. xii. 50. He encourages her to hope in the manifold mercies of God, and the efficacy of prayers and alms. She is not to grieve for one who is gone before her to a place of rest. He adds:—"Of two friends, the death of him who goes first is the more fortunate, because he has one who can intercede for him daily with brotherly love, and expiate with tears the errors of his former life. Nor doubt that the care of pious solicitude which thou takest for his soul avails. It does avail thee and him; thee, because thou dost it in faith and love; him, either for the ease of punishment or the increase of beatitude."—i. 212.

† Locus : . . . aut non aut vix salvus fieri potuit.

‡ Wis. vi. 16.

TRACT 30.

[PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE CATHOLIC
INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN.]

PASTORAL CHARGE

OF

MONSEIGNEUR AUGUSTIN LOUIS DE MONTBLANC,

ARCHBISHOP OF TOURS,

FOR THE LENT OF 1840,

ADDRESSED TO THE CLERGY AND FAITHFUL OF HIS DIOCESE.



[Stereotyped for the Catholic Institute of Great Britain.]

L O N D O N :

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PASTORAL CHARGE.

THE first duty of the pastors established by the Holy Spirit as rulers over the church of God, is that of guarding with fidelity the flock confided to their charge.* Unwearied sentinels, their eyes should be fixed day and night upon the camp of the Lord, in order to detect the slightest movement of the enemy, and to utter the cry of alarm in case of a sudden and unexpected attack.

This duty we are now called upon to fulfil, dearly beloved brethren, even at the risk of wounding certain susceptibilities—but when the defence of the faith is in question, a minister of the gospel must exclaim with Saint Paul, “Do I now persuade men or God, or do I seek to please men? If I yet pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ.”† This, dearly beloved brethren, is our apology, if indeed we need any in your eyes, for it is not probable that our desire to announce to you the truth should induce you to consider us your enemy.

“There are some among you,” said Saint Paul to the Galatians, “who are zealous in your regard, not well—they would exclude you that you might be zealous for them—they would call you unto another gospel, which is not another, only there are some that trouble you and would pervert the gospel of Christ.”‡ These words of the great apostle are perfectly applicable to the circumstances in which we find ourselves placed, and justify the task we have imposed upon ourselves, of establishing one of the most essential points of Catholic doctrine against the assertions of its Protestant opponents.

We conjure our separated brethren not to consider this apology of our faith a direct attack against their persons. Doubtless we must employ the term “Protestant,” the doctrine we defend being opposed to that professed by Protestants and attacked by them; but by this term we imply Protestantism, without in the slightest degree intending to designate personally the members of that communion. We entreat them, therefore, to be convinced that rancour and bitterness are far removed from our hearts, and that we are actuated by no other desire than that of levelling the wall that separates us, and of contributing if possible towards the cessation of divisions which are equally prejudicial to the prosperity of the church and the tranquillity of society.

All parties agree in admitting the necessity of some religion. Infidels themselves are forced to allow, that, in the absence of this principle, there exists no check to vice, no encouragement to virtue; that oaths and engagements have no guarantee, society no solid basis. But if a religion is necessary, there must be *one true* religion, for we may as well deny the existence of God as pretend that he offers us falsehood for our direction, and that he has placed an insurmountable barrier between the truth and man. Such could not be the intention of an infinitely just and holy God. There *is*, therefore, one true religion, and there can be but one, for truth is never in contradiction with itself, and religions that propound doctrines diametrically opposed to each other cannot all be equally true.

* Acts, c. xx. v. 28. † Galat. c. i. v. 10. ‡ Galat. c. iv. v. 17; c. i. v. 6, 7.

Now if we compare Christianity with the religions that do not acknowledge Jesus Christ, it is easy to see that it alone possesses all the characters of truth: no other religion can produce so many vouchers, accumulate so many proofs, or present a system so admirable in all its parts. Thus far there is no ground for discussion, and, Catholics and Protestants, we are agreed in admitting these preliminary articles. But where are we to find Christianity such as it was promulgated by our Lord, such as it was taught by the apostles? This is the important question which we have undertaken to examine and resolve.

There exists a society which claims to be the sole depository of the doctrine of Jesus Christ.—This society is the Catholic church. She alone being enabled to trace back her existence through an uninterrupted succession of pastors to apostolic times, proves that she alone has likewise inherited the succession of the apostles. She appeals to a prescription of eighteen centuries, and fifteen centuries of peaceable and undisputed possession. By the side of this society there exists another, much less ancient, which strives to combat these pretensions. The Protestants say to the Catholic church:—It is not true that you are the church of Christ. You may have been so during a certain length of time, but the treasure of faith has not been safe in your hands. You have corrupted the doctrine of the apostles, and mingled innumerable errors with the truths you received from the Divine Founder. Such is the reproach made by Protestants to the Catholic church—such the pretext of their separation. The accusation is as serious as it is injurious. Those who object to a church that she has imposed upon the world during a period of fifteen hundred years, and that the many illustrious men she has produced have been cheats and impostors, should be provided with strong and incontestable proofs. Besides, this accusation, were it founded in truth, would be more dangerous to Protestantism itself than its supporters imagine. Suppose a man to examine the question coolly and dispassionately, he would say that if Christianity was corrupted almost in its very origin, it could not possibly be of divine institution; for had it been so, God would undoubtedly have provided for the durability of his work; that if those who lived near the times and places where its mysteries were accomplished misunderstood and mistaught religion, it is much to be feared that those who have come later have neither understood nor taught it better; in fine, that if the fathers and doctors of the church, who were equally celebrated for their virtue and learning, did not apprehend the true meaning of the Scripture, it is possible that Luther and Calvin have not succeeded in doing so either; and, therefore, that the second have no greater claim to our confidence than the first. With this argument, which is certainly not deficient in force and reason, he would hold both Catholic and Protestant in equal contempt, and his infidelity would be perfectly justified in his own eyes.

What then are the errors with which the Catholic church is reproached by Protestants? The principal, and indeed the source of all the others, is that of having substituted her own doctrine for that of the Holy Scriptures. To this objection the Catholic church replies, that her doctrine is sure, that her authority is irrefragable, and that there can be no opposition between the Scriptures and her decisions, because she alone is their legitimate and infallible interpreter. This, therefore, dearly beloved brethren, is the principal question between Catholics and Protestants; for if we prove that the church cannot err in matters of faith, it

is needless to object to such and such doctrines as being erroneous. Why discuss transubstantiation, purgatory, confession? These are merely secondary questions. The one upon which they all depend is this:—"What is the rule of faith?" Protestants say, the Scriptures alone. Catholics maintain that it is the authority of the church, the natural interpreter of the Scriptures. This is the subject of the present discussion—but before entering upon it, we beg you, dearly beloved brethren, to remark, that even if the Protestants succeeded in proving that the Scripture is the sole rule of faith, they would not yet have advanced one single step, since there is not one of the dogmas they reject that we do not establish by clear and formal passages of Scripture; whereas, if *we* succeed in shewing the insufficiency of this rule, and the necessity of recognising an authority, supreme Judge of Faith, the cause is finished, and the truth of this one point guarantees that of all the others.

The perfection of beauty consists in unity. Therefore it is that man endeavours to give this character to all his undertakings. In works of art, the great essential is, that all the parts, co-ordinate and corresponding with each other, should form but one *whole*, harmonious in its effect, equal in its proportions. Incoherence is the mark of weakness and mediocrity; Unity, that of genius. Now if man, whose conceptions are so imperfect, seeks to impress the stamp of unity upon his works, this rule has certainly not been violated by God; and in religion, which is the greatest of His works, we must necessarily perceive not only a fixed and invariable plan, but also that character of simplicity and unity, in which consists at once its strength and beauty.

When we find our Saviour inculcating on all occasions the new dogma of charity, giving this virtue as a watch-word and rallying signal* to his disciples—announcing his intention of re-uniting all mankind in the same fold†—above all, when we hear him address this beautiful and touching prayer to his Father: "Holy Father, not for them only do I pray, but for them also who through their word shall believe in me—that they all may be one as thou Father in me and I in thee; that they also may be one in us."‡ We cannot doubt that the great object of his mission was that of concentrating all in unity, and of forming the human race into one family; but, dearly beloved brethren, if Jesus Christ wished to establish this perfect unity, he doubtless intended also to avoid all that was of a nature to introduce disunion and discord into the bosom of the great family he came to found, and to employ at the same time every means calculated to ensure its peace and unanimity. Now we contend that the Catholic principle tends surely towards this object, and that the Protestant one diverts from it. We maintain that the invariable result of private examination is to divide, while that of submission to authority is to re-unite; and thus we see that these have been the means chosen, the plan followed by God from the very day that he laid the foundation of his church in the terrestrial paradise, until that eternally memorable one on which Jesus Christ perfected his work, by transmitting to his apostles the magnificent investiture of power that he had himself received from his Father.

When God created the first man, he did not burthen him with precepts. One single prohibition served to make him feel his dependence, and to try his fidelity. Adam, led astray by perfidious suggestions,

* John, c. xiii. v. 35. † Ibid. c. x. v. 16. ‡ Ibid. c. xvii. v. 20, 21.

wished to analyze his duties, to examine the grounds of his obedience, and to discover the reasons that had determined the Creator to forbid him to eat of the fruit of one only tree. You know what was the result of this principle of examination thus applied for the first time. Adam, despising the authority which he measured by the rules of his own weak intelligence, threw off the yoke; transgressed the limits within which he had been commanded to remain, and entailed his disgrace upon his immense family. Then, for the first time, appeared the mercy and goodness of our God; he placed the remedy beside the evil, and promised a superabundant redemption to the very race he had just cursed. He denounced everlasting enmity and eternal war against the devil, and showed in the futurity of ages the Liberator who should crush his head.* Jesus Christ appears to us already as the Saviour of the world, and to date from this day, "there is no other name under heaven given to men, whereby we must be saved."†

But, dearly beloved brethren, what are the means employed by Providence for the preservation and perpetuation of this precious hope, this consoling dogma, in the world? What is to be the rule of faith in the first ages? The Scriptures? but they did not as yet exist. Nevertheless, if faith was to rest alone upon the evidence of the Scriptures, if all tradition was to be liable to error, the Almighty would never have deprived mankind of the only means of discovering and preserving the truth; and if the sacred deposit of revelation could only be preserved intact in books, he would have endowed the first man with the faculty of writing as well as with that of speech, and would have traced with his finger in ineffaceable characters, the solemn promise he had just made him.

At a later period God chose Abraham—after him Isaac and Jacob—to their hands he committed the trust of tradition, in order that by them it might be faithfully transmitted to their posterity. Here again, every thing rests on testimony; the covenant made with them is neither committed to writing nor formed into a code, and nevertheless it is perpetuated from generation to generation until Moses writes the law; that is to say, during the space of more than two thousand years. Thus we are already authorized in rejecting the Protestant principle, "that the Scripture is the sole rule of faith," since we find that during so long a period fundamental truths were not only confided to tradition, but preserved and transmitted *by* tradition.

We shall be doubtless told that this tradition has been sanctioned by Scripture, and that it is the authority of Scripture that guarantees its authenticity; but this objection, far from weakening, imparts yet greater force to our reasoning, for the subsequent sanction of Scripture proves that the Divine truths had been faithfully transmitted, and thus guarantees the certainty of tradition.

But let us continue our progress through the succession of ages. Amongst all the people of the earth, God selected one to be the depository of his promises. Among this people he chose one tribe to be especially devoted to his service, and in this tribe he chose one man to be invested with the supreme sacerdotal power. Thus at a later period he chose twelve apostles from among his disciples, and among these twelve, one privileged apostle, to whom he said, "Thou art Peter, and upon this

* Gen. c. iii. v. 15.

† Acts, c. iv. v. 12.

rock I will build my church."* The system continues always the same, that of concentrating authority, instead of weakening by dividing it.

To return to the ancient priesthood, he must be little versed indeed in Scripture who imagines that this institution had no other aim than that of superintending the immolation of its victories and organizing the pomp of its ceremonies. What was the inscription worn by the High Priest upon the rational? *Doctrine and Truth.*† Did not this imply with sufficient clearness that he was the guardian of doctrine and truth, and that to him all were to resort for the intelligence of the law? And this rational of judgment was it not the emblem of the supreme power that had devolved upon him in matters of religion?

Again, observe with what care the Almighty seeks to raise his sovereign authority in the eyes of the people, and note the miracles that he performs in order to confound all rival pretensions. Now, the rod of Aaron bears flowers and fruit, while those of the other tribes remain dry and barren. Now, Nadab and Abihu are devoured by fire from heaven for having usurped the functions of the priesthood, and offered strange incense upon the altar of the Lord. Elsewhere it is Core and his accomplices, whom the earth swallows up alive. What, then, was the crime that merited so terrible a punishment? Had they, like Nadab and Abihu, usurped the censor and offices of the priesthood? No, but they endeavoured to introduce a dangerous error; they disputed with Moses and Aaron the authority with which they were clothed by God; they contended that their government was an absolute tyranny, and that a holy people, such as the Jewish nation, ought no longer to submit to so hard and so humiliating a yoke. The words they uttered, in order to excite the people to revolt, are too remarkable to be omitted here:—"Let it be enough for you," said they to Moses and Aaron, "that all the multitude consisteth of holy ones, and the Lord is among them. Why lift ye up yourselves above the people of the Lord?"‡ Thus their crime consisted in transferring to the multitude a right inherent in the priesthood; in exhorting the people to withdraw themselves from the authority divinely established, under the pretext, that, being a holy people and having the Lord in the midst of them, they were competent to guide themselves without the interposition of any authority between the Lord and them. An absolutely similar doctrine is professed at this day by a numerous section of Protestants. Now this doctrine, judged and condemned by God himself at the distance of so many ages, cannot possibly have since become the expression of truth.

It is, therefore, incontestable, that the ancient priesthood was invested by the Almighty with a sovereign authority, to which all were required to yield, and all to obey. It is to the Levites that Moses confides the tables of the law—it is the priests who are to be consulted on all difficult questions relating to religion. Their judgment in these matters is decisive, and the pain of death is pronounced against whomsoever shall refuse to abide by it.§ The law, therefore, was not always so clear as to be understood in the same manner by all persons? God provided against this difficulty, by establishing an authority from whose decisions there should be no appeal. This tribunal always existed among the Jews; Jesus Christ himself recognized its authority; and although the lives of the Scribes and Pharisees were not irapproachable, our Saviour considered

* Matt. c. xvi. v. 18.

† Numbers, c. xvi. v. 3.

‡ Exod. c. xxviii. v. 30.

§ Deut. c. xvii. v. 12.

their sitting on the chair of Moses a sufficient reason for enjoining the people to receive and to submit to their decisions.

We have proved, dearly beloved brethren, that before the written law, the truths of revelation were preserved and transmitted, not by Scripture, but by a faithful tradition; that under the law of Moses these truths were never submitted to individual discussion, but confided to the priests and Levites, to be by them proposed and explained to the people; that authority was the supreme law, and that the judgments emanating from the sanctuary settled all doctrine and terminated all doubts. Let us now examine whether the order established under the old law has been preserved under the new?

Before replying to this question, let us refer to a doctrine alluded to in innumerable passages of the Holy Scriptures, which teaches that all things that happened to our fathers were so many figures of what was to be realized at some future day.* Thus, in this vast and magnificent system, all is so connected and linked together, that it is impossible for us to perceive the slightest interruption of continuity. The church draws her first existence in the terrestrial paradise, when a Saviour is promised to guilty man; her earliest steps are made with the patriarchs; she is cherished in the bosom of Abraham, and Melchisedeck is her high priest; she grows and strengthens under the law of Moses; we see her wandering with the Israelites under the tents of the desert; combating with Josue; reposing in the promised land, and sharing the spoils of the vanquished nations. It is always the same church, built upon the foundation of the prophets before she has her apostles, Jesus Christ being the corner stone of the edifice; always the same faith more or less developed; the same Holy Spirit ever animating and directing the members of this vast body; the same Mediator pacifying Heaven with earth, even before the effusion of his blood; always the same spiritual house, the ancient just Being, the eldest of the family. "Jesus Christ," says St. Paul, "is the end of the law,"† the bond of the two Testaments. "Our fathers were all baptized in Moses, in the cloud, and in the sea, and did all eat the same spiritual food, and all drank the same spiritual drink, and they drank of the spiritual Rock that followed them, and the rock was Christ.‡" And to recur to a yet more imposing authority, Jesus Christ declares that he is not come to destroy the law, but to fulfil.§ If this is the case, dearly beloved brethren, if the church is but the continuation and the plenitude of the law, its plan must certainly be analogous, and the prerogatives granted to the first spouse have doubtless been continued to her successor. If God provided so carefully for the preservation of unity in the ancient church—if he established a permanent, visible authority for the guardianship of sound doctrines—we must conclude that he has taken the same precautions under the new law. We may even infer, that these precautions have been the greater, and the means the more efficacious, in proportion as the object was of more difficult attainment; for it was not now the maintenance of similar rites and doctrines among one "peculiar people" that was in question, but the reunion in the same religion of all the people of the earth.

Let us now proceed to prove that the order of things established under the old law has been continued under the new—that Jesus Christ has per-

* 1 Cor. c. x. v. 11.

† 1 Cor. c. x. v. 1.

‡ Rom. c. x. v. 4.

§ Matth. c. v. v. 17

fecting his church upon a plan previously drawn out, and that the principle of authority has never ceased to constitute the rule of Faith. We have two descriptions of proof to produce: the one founded upon the precepts of Jesus Christ and his apostles, and upon the practice of the primitive church—the other deduced from the difficulty, or rather the impossibility, of applying the Protestant principle, and the danger of the results it carries with it.

All the public life of our Saviour was passed in the exercise of preaching. All the truths he revealed he imposed from authority; he did not write, nor did not he at any time insinuate the necessity of writing down his words. The forty days that he passed with his apostles after his resurrection he devoted to conversing with them upon the new kingdom he had come to found. Had he intended them to consign his divine precepts to a book for the rule of future generations, this was the proper moment for him to command them to collect with care his different instructions, and to form them into one body of doctrine. But in the whole course of his preaching, did our Lord even once make this recommendation to his disciples? Listen to the solemn words he addresses to them, his feet already upon the luminous cloud that is to bear him to heaven: "All power is given to me in heaven and in earth. As the Father has sent me, I also send you. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world.* These last words, which constitute the foundation of Catholic doctrine, explain to us why our Saviour did not command his apostles to write. The precaution was needless, as he formed the engagement to remain with his church to the end of ages, and with such assistance it was impossible that his doctrine should experience the slightest change.

But if Jesus Christ said nothing on the necessity of regulating our faith by the Scriptures, he exacted an absolute submission to the authority with which he invested the apostles, and to leave no pretext for disobedience, he identified himself with them on all occasions. The power which he gives into their hands is the same that he has received from his Father—who hears them, hears him—who despises them, despises him†—he binds what they bind, he loosens what they loose.—If they remit sins, he remits them—if they retain them, he retains them.‡ As Jesus Christ has given so extensive an authority to his apostles, say, dearly beloved brethren, is it necessary to seek for any other rule of faith? Is it even possible that any other should exist? Is not the Scripture itself submitted to this supreme authority (in the sense that to authority alone belongs the right of its interpretation), and do not those who refuse to receive this interpretation fall under this terrible anathema: "If he will not hear the church, let him be to thee as the heathen and the publican?"§

And let it not be said that this immense power was limited to the apostles; for the apostles could not live for ever, and Jesus Christ speaks of a power that is to be perpetuated even to the consummation of the world. He included, therefore, their successors in this promise. He declares elsewhere that the church that he is come to found shall never perish, and that at no time shall the gates of hell prevail against

* Matt. c. xxviii. v. 18, 19, 20; John, c. xx. v. 21.

† Luke, c. x. v. 16.

‡ Matt. c. xviii. v. 18; John, c. xx. v. 23.

§ Matt. c. xviii. v. 17.

it.* We must, therefore, necessarily admit that the promised infallibility has passed from the apostles to the pastors who have succeeded them; and as, in another passage, Jesus Christ announces to the apostles that the Holy Spirit that he will send them will remain eternally with them,† we cannot avoid acknowledging that the same spirit continues to direct those who have succeeded to their inheritance. It was thus that Saint Matthias entered upon all the rights and prerogatives of the apostleship, although he was not present when his brethren received their mission from the Saviour. The fathers have been replaced by sons educated in the same school, guardians of the same doctrine, destined to become in their turn princes and leaders in the church of God.

Certainly, dearly beloved brethren, if the texts we have cited in support of our doctrine are not clear, there is nothing clear in Scripture.

Let us suppose a man of sound judgment and good sense, and perfectly neutral in the questions that divide us. Shew him the passages we have just read; assuredly he will not conclude that the Scripture is the sole rule of faith, but he will comprehend without difficulty that there exists a church, eternal in its duration, infallible in its precepts—a church against which the powers of hell may chafe and fret, but never prevail—a church, in fine, invested with the power of Jesus Christ himself, which says with confidence to mankind, I can neither err nor fail; for Jesus Christ is with me unto the consummation of ages. I am entitled to your respect and veneration, for he who despises me, despises Jesus Christ himself—I have a right to exact your submission and your obedience, for all the judgments that I pronounce on earth are ratified in heaven.

And is not this, dearly beloved brethren, the church such as the prophets represent her to us? Listen to David: “The Most High hath sanctified his own tabernacle—God is in the midst thereof, it shall not be moved. Nations were troubled and kingdoms were bowed down, the Highest himself has founded her; He is our God, our God unto eternity, and for ever and ever: He shall rule us for evermore.”‡

Isaiah is neither less clear nor less sublime: “The mountains shall be moved, and the hills shall tremble; but my mercy shall not depart from thee, and the covenant of my peace shall not be moved.” You here clearly see the divine assistance promised for ever to the church. The prophet continues: “Thou shalt be founded in justice, and every tongue that resisteth thee in judgment thou shalt condemn.” Do you not here recognise the features of a church infallible in her decisions? “My spirit that is in thee, and my words that I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed’s seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever.”§ Is it possible to express more clearly the transmission of infallibility?

When we appeal to the Scripture we must take them as they are. Now, in the passages cited above, and in innumerable others that we could further produce, it is impossible to avoid recognising a fixed, inviolable, infallible authority. But if this authority exists, we must seek no other; and the rule you wish to introduce of examining faith by the Scriptures is not only insufficient but useless, since after you have seriously reflected, maturely examined, you must necessarily return to this sovereign authority (the church), and decide whether the sense you

* Matt. c. xvi. v. 18. † John, c. ix. v. 16. ‡ Ps. 45, 47, 86.
§ Is. c. liv. v. 10, et. seq. Ibid c. lix. v. 21.

attach to such and such passages is in accordance with her interpretation. Should her decisions be different from yours, will you dare say that she is in error? That cannot be, as Jesus Christ is always with her. Will you despise her decisions? Then you despise Jesus Christ himself, and place yourself at once in the ranks of unbelievers.

We have, therefore, clearly shewn that the principle so boasted of by Protestants was never laid down by Jesus Christ; that never did he utter one word from which we can conclude that the Scripture forms the sole rule of faith—but, on the contrary, that he formally and explicitly established the principle of authority. Let us now examine the course followed by the apostles.

If the Scripture alone is to form the ground-work of faith, they will doubtless hasten to collect, to write with the utmost care all the words and actions of our Saviour. They will leave copies of these books wherever they form congregations of Christians; above all, they will particularly recommend their perusal to the faithful, and as each person is to be the interpreter and judge of the doctrine they contain, rules will be given for the understanding and interpretation of the Scriptures. Now the apostles do nothing of the sort. In all their discourses to the people, they never allude to the necessity of referring to the Bible. Of the Jews and Gentiles who are converted in crowds they ask, not if they have well studied and examined the Scriptures, if they are satisfied as to the conformity of the faith proposed to them with that of the divine books. They inquire if they believe, and they baptize them. If a few among them undertake to write, it is some time after the ascension of our Lord, and in consequence of local and particular circumstances; nothing indicates a resolution previously formed, a premeditated design of tracing a complete course of doctrine. In their epistles we find neither fixed order nor determinate plan; whereas, according to the system we combat, they should have given a methodical exposition of Christian doctrine, with its series of proofs and their connexion with each other. We see that they treat now one truth, now another, just as the occasion occurs, without concerning themselves with the order in which they come, or to their bearing upon one another. They appear to regret every moment not devoted to preaching; they write as quickly and briefly as possible, and Saint Paul even is so eager to conclude, that he reserves half of what he has to say for personal explanation: "The rest I will set in order when I come."* This despatch, this voluntary omission of rules and regulations which were to be of such importance to the church, is a sufficient proof that the apostles calculated upon some other means than the Scriptures for the transmission of their doctrines. These means are clearly indicated by Saint Paul in his epistle to the Thessalonians: "Stand fast, and hold the traditions which you have learned, whether by word or by our epistle."† There are, therefore, truths not recorded in Scripture which are to be received and preserved with care, and the apostle recommends the same submission, the same respect for tradition as for Scripture. "The things which thou hast heard of me before many witnesses," says he to Timothy, "the same commend to faithful men, who shall be fit to teach others also."‡

* 1 Cor. c. xi. v. 34.

† 2 Thess. c. ii. v. 14.

‡ 2 Tim. c. ii. v. 2. Protestants themselves admit truths and retain practices that it would be very difficult to justify by formal passages of Scripture. Where, for ex-

We have here, dearly beloved brethren, the rule of tradition clearly established. That which Jesus Christ confided to his apostles, they confide to their disciples, who in their turn confide it to faithful men, to be by them transmitted to posterity. It is thus, that from hand to hand, from age to age, the doctrine of Jesus Christ has been hitherto, and will yet be, perpetuated. Now to those who say that these traditions may have been corrupted, we have but one word to reply—the powers of hell shall never prevail against the church. In hearing it, we hear Jesus Christ himself, and error could never originate with him. The church is the immovable pillar and ground-work of faith—the immutable kingdom of Jesus Christ upon earth, the city of his predilection, over which he will watch even to the consummation of ages. The enemy may hover round its walls, but never penetrate within its precincts; for who can deceive the vigilant eye of the Lord, or force the gates that he has fortified?

To contend, with advantage, against proofs so clear as those we advance in support of Catholic doctrine, it would be requisite for the Protestants to cite passages as explicit in favour of *their* system. We could wish that they would shew us some page of the gospel in which Jesus Christ has said to his apostles: Go teach all people to read, spread the Bible in all parts, teach the faithful to regulate their belief by the doctrines it contains; and to admit nothing but what they perceive to be in accordance with, to reject all that appears to them to be contrary to, Scripture. In order to establish a chain of reasoning parallel to ours, these are the expressions they should bring forward; but such do not exist, either in the gospel or in the writings of the apostles. All that they can find in support of their system is comprised in two or three passages, which are far from being so conclusive as they pretend.

Jesus Christ, say they, referred the Jews to the Scriptures, and recommended them to read it. To arrive at the true signification of the words of our Saviour, we must recall the circumstances under which they were pronounced. His immediate object was to establish one single point of doctrine, the truth and divinity of his mission. The proofs to which he appeals are the miracles that he has wrought. "The works themselves which I do, give testimony of me that the Father hath sent me."* If he afterwards says to the Jews, "Search the Scriptures," it is merely that they may convince themselves according to their own method of reasoning. He avails himself of the respect they entertain for the Scripture, in order to add a proof, which in their eyes must appear incontestable, to that which he had already given them. As they had full confidence in the Scripture, he refers them to this testimony, but the terms that he employs seem to imply that he did not share their opinion

ample, do they find that the Sunday should be substituted for the Sabbath—that baptism conferred by heretics is valid—that the birth, the death, and the resurrection of our Saviour are to be celebrated? What precise passage of Scripture establishes that, although there are two natures in Jesus Christ, there is but one person; and that in this one person there are, nevertheless, two wills? That the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son? These dogmas are doubtless all in Scripture, but are they so clearly expressed as to be intelligible to all persons? and upon all these articles of faith is not tradition their guide, and does it not fix *their* belief as well as ours?

* John, c. v. v. 36.

in this respect: "Search the Scriptures; for you think in them to have life everlasting, and the same are they that give testimony of me."* Thus it is rather a concession that he makes to them than a complete approbation of the principle. He takes advantage of their confidence in the Scriptures to support his mission by the testimony they give of him; but he does not intend that this testimony should be preferred to that of the miracles to which he appeals. Jesus Christ does not here speak according to his own judgment, but according to that of the Jews; and those persons must be strangely pre-occupied with the desire of establishing a system, who see in these words an order and express command to regulate *their* faith by the sole evidence of Scripture.

In another passage Jesus Christ reproaches the Jews with having neglected the law in order to follow their traditions: "For leaving the commandment of God, you hold the tradition of men, the washing of pots and of cups, and many other things you do like to these. Well do you make void the commandment of God, that you may keep your own tradition."† Now is not this, say they, the practice of the Catholic church?

Tradition, according to the Catholic church, is the unwritten word of God, transmitted by Jesus Christ to the apostles, and by them to their successors. This tradition she receives with respect and submission, not as the word of man, but as (what it really is) the word of God. Traditions that have not this origin and that cannot be traced to this sacred source, have neither value nor authority in her eyes. Now what are the traditions here alluded to by our Lord? Arbitrary practices which it was impossible to justify, because it was impossible to prove either their origin or their continuity. Even these our Saviour does not absolutely condemn; he merely reproaches the Jews with preferring these traditions to the law, and he gives them clearly to understand that they might better follow these traditions and not neglect the law: "These things you ought to have done, and not to leave those others undone."‡ It is besides evident that Jesus Christ never intended to censure authentic traditions, transmitted by those who were the guardians of the law, for he prescribes the most absolute submission to all the decisions emanating from this tribunal: "The Scribes and the Pharisees," says he, "have sitten on the chair of Moses; all, therefore, whatsoever they shall say to you, observe and do.§

Our adversaries quote further from St. Paul: "All Scripture, inspired of God, is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct in justice."|| But is not this what we likewise say—what the Catholic church likewise teaches? Yes, without doubt all Scripture is profitable, it is of great help in correcting and instructing; therefore it is that we cite it in all our discourses, that we support by its evidence all the truths that we announce to the people; but we do not conclude that it alone is necessary, because it is good and profitable. This is what Saint Paul never said, and what we can never admit.

Having thus laid down the foundation of Catholic doctrine, it remains for us to examine the principle of the Protestants. The Scripture, say they, is the sole rule of faith, and we are to believe nothing that is not

* John, c. v. v. 39. † Mark, c. vii. v. 8, 9. ‡ Matt. c. xxiii. v. 23.
§ Matt. c. xxiii. v. 2, 3. || 2 Tim. c. iii. v. 16.

therein contained. This principle is easily stated : but it is not so easy to remove the difficulties to which it gives rise.

Doubtless, dearly beloved brethren, the law of God is light and truth ; but man, the sport of darkness and error, has he always the eyes of his intelligence open for its comprehension ? Read, if you can, the innumerable commentaries made by Catholic fathers and doctors upon the sacred text ; read those of Protestants themselves, and then venture to assert that the Scripture clearly explains itself, and that we have only to read to understand it ! Certainly, if so many men of studious lives and profound erudition have frequently given dissimilar explanations of the same text, it is a proof that the Scripture is not always explicit, and that it is not always easy to seize its true meaning. What is clearer, for example, than this simple narration of the Evangelist ? " Jesus took bread, and blessed and broke, and gave to his disciples, and said : Take ye, and eat : this is my body. And taking the chalice he gave thanks ; and gave to them, saying, Drink ye all of this ; for this is my blood of the New Testament, which shall be shed for many for the remission of sins."* It seems impossible to mistake the meaning of these words ; and one might believe that on this subject at least there should exist but one opinion. Yet, as you know, this passage is explained differently by the Catholics and the Lutherans, who themselves do not understand it in the same manner as the Calvinists ; and these two great factions of Protestantism are subdivided into a multitude of sects, each giving a different signification to the same passages of Scripture.†

The Bible is clear, you say. If Jesus Christ had thought so, he would not have given the example of explaining it himself. You remember the two disciples who were going from Jerusalem to Emmaus : they had read in the scriptures that the Messiah would re-establish the kingdom of Israel, and this was precisely what troubled and disconcerted their faith. They now clearly see, they say, that they must no longer rely upon this. But Jesus Christ joins in their conversation :—expounded by this divine commentator, the passages that were before ambiguous, become clear and luminous ; their faith is aroused, their hope revives, their charity is inflamed anew in proportion as Jesus Christ discovers to them the meaning of the sacred texts.‡

Again,—let us remind you of the officer of the Queen of Ethiopia ; he was returning from Jerusalem, sitting in his chariot, and reading the Prophet Isaiah. The passage which at that moment made the subject of his reflections was this—" He was led as a sheep to the slaughter : and

* Matt. c. xxvi. v. 26, 27, 28.

† Extract from a sermon of the Protestant Archbishop of Sunden in Sweden :—

" The unanimous evidence that presents itself to us on all sides, no longer permits us to call in question the deplorable truth, that the Protestant church of Germany is on the eve of dissolution, or rather that there is no longer a church (in the sense of one uniform confession of faith) ; an assembly of Christians, certain of what it should believe and profess, no longer exists. This disunion is now arrived at such a point, that if the Governments would allow the members of their churches to form themselves into Rationalist churches, but a small number would remain faithful to the Evangelical religion."

Here the Archbishop traces the picture of this frightful defection, and concludes by this sentence :—

" Catholicism is at hand, and has already received into its bosom a crowd of distinguished men, who no longer found primitive Christianity in the Protestant church."

‡ Luke, c. xxiv. v. 32.

like a lamb without voice before his shearer so opened he not his mouth." Philip drew near, and inquired if he understood what he read. "How," replied the Ethiopian, "how can I, unless some man teach me?"* To how many persons, in whose hands the Bible is placed, might we not say with Philip to the Eunuch:—"Thinkest thou that thou understandest what thou readest?" It is because all do *not* understand that the Protestant pastors themselves do not cease to interpret the Scripture, to explain it from their pulpits, and it is for this reason, that they endeavour to press their interpretations on the minds of their auditors.

Nevertheless, we cannot too often repeat to them: if the Scripture be clear, we have no need of your interpretations; but if it must necessarily be interpreted, we have as much right to interpret it as you have, and you cannot prove that your interpretation is better than ours. In order to establish the meaning we attach to Scripture, we appeal in support of our belief to the testimony of ages; you, in order to justify your interpretation, merely assert that it appears to you to be clear. You can invoke no authority but your own: you appeal from yourself to yourself, and your ultimate reason is no better than that given by the Jews to Jesus Christ and rebuked by him: "But now you say—We see."† Let others judge which of the two systems has the better guarantee.

It must be allowed then, that the Scripture is not always clear. Saint Peter complained formerly of the abuse made by the Heretics in his time of the Epistles of Saint Paul, "in which," says he "there are some things hard to be understood which the unlearned and unstable strew, as they do also the other Scriptures, to their own destruction.‡ Heretics have never ceased to do what they then did. It has always been in the name of the Scripture that they have introduced their errors, and there is no system, however absurd, which they have not endeavoured to prove by the authority of the holy books. Thus the Gnostics, the Arians, the Macedonians, the Eutychians, the Pelagians, whom Protestants condemn, as we do, all pretended to find in Scripture texts in support of their errors.§

This Society, that the Protestant bishop would wish to see established, has existed for more than eighteen hundred years. It is the Catholic church. No other Society can offer the same guarantees.

That the Protestant rule is not always clear, is already a serious objection—but this obscurity gives rise to yet greater difficulties. Who has the right of interpreting and fixing the sense of obscure passages? Here there are but two courses to follow—either to acknowledge the authority of the Catholic church, or to decide in favour of individual examination. Protestants reject the first, and adopt the second: thus each person is

* Acts, c. viii. v. 31.

† John, c. ix. v. 14.

‡ 2 Pet. c. iii. v. 16.

§ From a discourse of Dr. Isais Tegner, Protestant Bishop of Wexgöe, in Sweden, at the diocesan Synod of 1836:—

"It is said that the Bible explains itself; doubtless it does so; but for whom? for those pure and pious minds in which Christianity has budded forth in some degree with life itself; for those virtuous men who bear in their own breasts the surest key of the true hidden science. But the multitude is no where composed of these chosen spirits. The majority is always made up of those who require to be led, taught, directed. To propagate the Bible, to read the Bible, is too little. To explain the Bible is the great necessity of the church, and a Society formed for this purpose would constitute a Bible Society capable of fertilizing the Association known under that name."

This Society, that the Protestant Bishop would wish to see established, has existed for more than eighteen hundred years. It is the Catholic church. No other Society can offer the same guarantees.

bound to examine whether that which is proposed to his belief be conformable to Scripture or not. Now this examination, to be conscientious, requires a degree of study and research to which the great majority cannot apply themselves. In the first place, all must learn to read. Saint Paul has said, "Faith cometh by hearing:"* in this case, it would have been more correct to say, "Faith cometh by *reading*." Thus, for the greater portion of the human race, examination is impossible, and nevertheless, this portion seems called to the faith in preference to the other. It is to the low and simple that the Heavenly Father reveals his greatest mysteries;† and Saint Paul tells us that among the first Christians there are not many wise; but that God had chosen the weak and foolish things of the world, to confound the wise and the strong.‡ This is not all: each person must carefully examine the authenticity of the Scriptures. His duty is to convince himself that the books that have been transmitted to him by the Catholic church are really by the authors whose names they bear, and that these writers have neither deceived nor been deceived. He must further satisfy himself that these works are really inspired, and as it is always to be apprehended that the translations have not been faithful, and that the original text has not been preserved in all its purity, he should study the languages in which they were composed, in order to be sure that he possesses the word of God as it proceeded from his mouth.§

When the Scripture is thus falsified, can it form a sure rule of faith? and can he who only knows it through the medium of these unfaithful translations be ever sure of possessing its true meaning? And let it not be said, that these difficulties are of our invention; for if we are to admit nothing as an article of faith that we do not find clearly taught in Scripture, it is a duty, and indispensable obligation, for every Protestant to devote himself to these investigations, and to take all the precautions we have mentioned. Should he not do so, he infringes the rule he has laid down, and does not act up to the fundamental principle of his belief. Let it not be said, either, that the Catholics have the same difficulties to contend with, since they prove the authority of the church by the Scripture, and that of the Scripture by the church. One of these authorities has doubtless a reaction upon the other, but there is no "*vicious circle*" such as we are reproached with—our method is simple and logical. In reading the Scriptures with attention, we soon perceive that they combine all the motives upon which human certainty can be founded, and following the rules of ordinary criticism, we arrive at the conviction of the Divinity of Jesus Christ. Now, in studying the gospel by

* Rom. c. x. v. 17.

† Matt. c. xi. v. 25.

‡ 1 Cor. c. i. v. 26.

§ Luther made a version of the Scripture in the vulgar tongue; Zuinglius, after having examined it, published that it was a corruption of the word of God, and the learned Emser, doctor of Leipsic, discovered in it more than a thousand errors. The Lutherans taxed the translation of Zuinglius with the same errors. Ecolampadius and the theologians of Basle made another version, which, according to the famous Beza, is impious in several passages. The theologians of Basle made the same objection to that of Beza. Dumoulin, another learned minister, reproached him with having altered the text of Scripture, and speaking of the version of Calvin, he says that Calvin does violence to the letter of the gospel, that he transposes and adds as he chooses. The divines of Geneva thought themselves obliged to make another version, which they offered as exact; but James I. declared, in the conference at Hampton Court, that it was the worst and least faithful of any that had hitherto appeared. (Trevern, p. 154.)

the light of reason, we find that Jesus Christ has established a sovereign and infallible authority, destined to perpetuate his doctrine unto the consummation of ages. At this point we have no further need of study, and we rest with security under the shade of this tutelary authority. We receive with the utmost confidence the books she gives us, as containing the word of God; we believe even that we cannot possibly arrive otherwise at the certainty of their inspiration, and like Saint Augustin, we should not believe in the gospel, if the church did not guarantee its authenticity.

But to continue our examination of the Protestant system. If no other rule of faith be provided for each one of the faithful than the Scripture, God would at no time have refused the knowledge of this single and indispensable rule: and yet it is only since the discovery of printing that it has been possible to distribute the Bible with such profusion! We should deceive ourselves strangely, if we imagined that in the early ages the Scriptures were in the hands of all believers. Saint Irenæus, who lived in the second century, testifies that a great number of churches were not even in possession of a single book of the Scriptures. Thus, in the most glorious days of Christianity, the rule so boasted of by the reformers was unknown. Will they then venture to assert, that a rule dependant upon an accidental discovery of industry, was that given to man as the sole means of arriving at the truth?

Let us suppose, nevertheless, that all the difficulties we have spoken of are overcome; that each individual has, of himself, acquired the certainty of the authenticity and the divine inspiration of the Scriptures—let us suppose that there no longer exists a doubt as to the fidelity of the translation; and, yet further, let us suppose that all have the means of purchasing a Bible, and all the ability to read it. Now then each person must begin to study, to examine word by word, text by text, all the oracles of the sacred book. And do not say that this is merely a *right* possessed by all—say rather that it is a *duty* of the strictest obligation; for each person has to establish the foundation of his faith, and this foundation must be laid upon his personal conviction, not upon the teaching of others. Now what would be the consequence of this proceeding? Unity would thenceforth be impossible: and yet we have seen that the establishment of unity was the great object of the mission of Jesus Christ. Each individual will have his own creed, his own dogmas, even his own system of morals. Strike the shepherd in his authority, the flock is quickly dispersed. Instead of meeting, as the apostle desires, in the unity of faith, we should wander without any certain path, be carried about with every wind of doctrine, and be ignorant whether we shall believe on the morrow that which has been our faith to-day. The church, the new Jerusalem, the beauty of which was to form the admiration of all the nations of the earth, would be the object of bitter scorn and derision, and the passers by, to use the expression of a Prophet, would assail her with the hisses of contempt.* Instead of the peace which should reign within her walls, no sounds could be heard but cries of revolt and menaces of war. Instead of all uniting to bless the Lord with one heart, and one mouth, there would be as many religions as individuals, and like the children of the proud Babel, each would speak in a strange tongue, and be unintelligible to his brother.

In this disorder, this state of anarchy, this confusion of all ideas, endea-

* Lamen. c. ii. v. 15.

vour if you can, to recognise the glorious and cherished spouse of Christ;—the church, not only exempt from spot or wrinkle, but even from the slightest stain or blemish!*

No—it is impossible that this should be the work meditated by God during eternal ages. It is impossible that Jesus Christ should not have taken precautions that have never been neglected by the obscurest legislators, that he should not have established an authority, to be the infallible interpreter of his doctrine, and guardian of the truths that he came to bring upon the earth.

But to continue.—In Scripture, sects and heresies are often noticed. The Apostles speak of those which existed in their times; they foretell others that were to arise at a future day and divide the church. Saint Paul enjoins Titus to avoid “the man that is a heretic;” and Saint John goes so far as to forbid the interchange of greeting with him.† But in the system we combat no heresy is possible, and consequently the apostles condemned mere phantoms of the imagination! In fact, if there were no immutable rule from which to go astray, no infallible authority to resist, there could be no heresy. This rule, this authority, you say, is the Scripture—the Scripture examined and interpreted according to the views of each individual. Now who shall judge between the Scripture, and the interpreter of the Scripture? In whatever way you understand it, you must either admit a controlling power, independent of the Scripture, or, you must allow that there are no heretics, and that there never have been any; that those of whom the apostles speak deserved this appellation as little as others, as in interpreting the Scripture they exercised no more than their right—nay, you must even say that they fulfilled a duty, and that they merely applied the rule that you now wish to introduce.

But, dearly beloved brethren, if each person be free to interpret the Scripture as he chooses, why should Protestants refuse this privilege to Catholics? for if the opinions of individuals appear to them so respectable, the uniform and unvarying belief of the most numerous Society of Christians in the world must be of some value. In vain do they pretend that we have mingled errors with the ancient faith—as there is not one of these pretended errors unsupported by passages of Scripture, the question is, whether they or we have apprehended the true meaning. Now we have an imposing majority in our favour, besides the constant tradition of eighteen centuries. Perhaps they will say that the Scripture is no rule for us, as we submit its interpretation to a supreme authority. But what does this prove, excepting that we have a guarantee the more; and that the sanction of ages gives us a greater certainty, than they can possess, of being in the right in our own interpretation: the decisions of a jurisconsult, however learned and exalted he may be thought, have certainly much greater force, when he can produce the judgments of all the upper courts in strict accordance with his opinion. Now this is the whole question between the Protestants and us. They appeal to the testimony of Scripture—we do so likewise. They give such and such interpretations of such and such passages, they say it is their right—but we give a different interpretation of these very same passages, and we contend that it is *our* right, as well. Now, which is the best of these interpretations? The Protestants support theirs upon individual opinion: we, ours, upon the constant tradition of the church, and we maintain that private interpretation can never have the

* Eph. c. v. v. 27.

† Tit. c. iii. v. 10. and 2 John, v. 10.

same right as that which has been received in all ages, and corroborated by the testimony of the fathers and doctors from the first centuries to the present time.

But now we come to another difficulty, which is not less embarrassing. Protestants themselves are obliged to admit as a truth, that there exists a church, charged with the instruction of the people; a church upon which our Saviour has conferred incontestable power and privileges, which he has commanded us to hear as himself; that in this church there is a regularly constituted hierarchy, "of pastors and doctors, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ."* But, according to the views of those who pretend that each person is the arbiter of his faith, this power, these privileges, this hierarchy of the church is but a fiction—the church itself a chimera. In fact, why give the mission of teaching to this church if no one is bound to follow her teaching? Why command us to hear her, if we may brave her censure with impunity? Of what advantage are pastors and teachers, if each person has the right of building his own faith upon the Scriptures? Such an institution is not only useless, but even dangerous; for the pastors, whoever they may be, Catholics or Protestants, will influence, by their instructions and explanations, opinions that should be free, impose their views upon the faithful, who should follow only their own, and impress a foreign direction upon the researches and examinations that every one should make for himself. Thus, according to your system of free-examination, the church is a word totally devoid of meaning; you take from her hands the sceptre of authority placed in them by Jesus Christ, when he said, "Go and teach all nations;" you break the weapons that were given to her, "unto the pulling down of strongholds, destroying counsels, and every height that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every understanding unto the obedience of Christ."† In the doubts, in the discussions, that arise the church can have no voice, for she can no longer give a conclusive decision; and certainly if the great apostle returned among us, we should not now hear him cut short all difficulties by these words, so full of apostolic liberty and severity: "If any man seem to be contentious, we have no such custom, nor the church of God."‡ Such lofty language would ill-become the powerless state to which the Protestants would wish to reduce this church.

But, say they, "We acknowledge that the church is invested with the power of ordaining rites and ceremonies, and that authority belongs to her in controversies of faith." True; but to what do you reduce this authority, when you lay down this other principle—that the Scripture is the supreme rule, and that the church may not order any thing that is contrary to the written word? § By this additional article you reduce the church to the state of complete nullity from which you had at first appeared to withdraw her. For, of what weight in controversies of faith can be an authority capable of ordering things contrary to Scripture? and how can this authority set others right, if she require correction herself? Here the alternative is inevitable: either the church can teach nothing contrary to Scripture, and then you return to the Catholic doctrine; or it may happen, as you suppose, that she does teach things con-

* Eph. c. iv. v. 11. † 2 Cor. c. x. v. 4. ‡ Articles of the Church of England.
§ 1 Cor. c. xi. v. 16.

trary to Scripture, and then say no longer that authority belongs to her in controversies of faith; for if she can err, her teaching is absolutely null, and the moment she loses her infallibility she loses all her influence. You say that the church may not ordain any thing contrary to the written word. But how are you to know that she has committed this error? Who is to judge between the church and the Scripture? Who is to decide that in such and such cases the church teaches things contrary to the sacred text? It is you that claim this right for yourself; and, according to your principles, there can be no other judge than you. But of what value is your judgment? After having denied infallibility to the church, will you assert infallibility for yourself? You make no such pretension. But then, if you are not infallible, you may deceive yourself; if your opinions are liable to error, you cannot guarantee the signification that you attach to Scripture: your faith has, therefore, no solid foundation—you are consequently reduced to doubt; and being unable to cast into the sea of human opinions the firm and sure anchor of which the apostle speaks, you must necessarily be tossed to and fro, from rock to rock, at the caprice of the winds and of the tempest.

Let us conclude, dearly beloved brethren. The authority conferred by Jesus Christ upon his church is a sovereign and infallible authority. As we have already remarked, this is the whole question between the Protestants and us: all the objections they make, all the difficulties they bring forward against particular dogmas of the Catholic church, do not advance the controversy one step. The whole inquiry turns on this point: Whether Jesus Christ has given infallibility to his church? We believe that we have proved that he has; and that, in following this church, we do not walk in darkness; for that He who is the way, the truth, and the life, is with her, and will continue to be so to the consummation of ages. The Scripture is as dear, as sacred, to us as to Protestants. It avails not to show that it is our rule; that it is so, we know, and knew before their time: it is incumbent on them to show that it is our *only* rule. It is out of respect for Scripture that we refuse the right of interpretation to individuals; and our refusal is grounded on these words of Saint Peter: "That no prophecy of Scripture is of private interpretation." The reason given by this apostle is conclusive: "For prophecy came not by the will of man at any time: but the holy men of God spoke, inspired by the Holy Ghost,"* and therefore it should not be interpreted by man's caprice.

We shall conclude, dearly beloved brethren, by repeating to you the counsels addressed by Saint Paul to the first Christians: "Stand fast and hold the traditions which you have learned; knowing well that the church is the pillar and the ground of truth. Having faith and a good conscience, which some rejecting have made shipwreck concerning the faith. The desire of money is the root of all evils; which some coveting, have erred from the faith. and have entangled themselves in many sorrows. Do not forsake our assemblies as some are accustomed. As we said before, so now I say again, if any one preach to you a gospel besides that which you have received, let him be Anathema."†

What sayest thou, great apostle! and whither art thou carried by thy zeal for the truth? Ah! rather let us hear thee express this other sentiment, dictated to thee by thy charity for the children of the dispersion

* 2 Pet. c. i. v. 20.

† Epis. St. Paul, *passim*.

of Israel : " I have great sadness," sayest thou, " and continual sorrow in my heart, for I wished myself to be an anathema from Christ for my brethren."*

Such are also our feelings towards you, who, although our faith is no longer the same, we love to call our brethren. Where, alas ! is the time when we all walked together in the same path ; when we inhabited in unanimity the paternal house ; when we were sheltered in the same fold—protected by the staff of the same pastor ? You well know, beloved brethren, that *we* have not quitted you—that it is you who have separated from us. Why then prolong this cruel separation ? Return, return to the Catholic church, the house of the living God. Your estrangement has saddened her heart, but has not destroyed her maternal affection. You do not surely think of us more severely than did your fathers ; they allowed that all the conditions of salvation were to be found in the Catholic church. What then can deter you from joining us, since your most celebrated divines have agreed that we are not in the way of perdition ? In returning to us you do not change, you merely again become what you once were. It is only on the mountain of Sion that you can adore in spirit and truth. Oh, return ! and let us again meet in the unity of faith—let us embrace to part no more—let us form together but one heart and one soul !

As for those who have abandoned our communion, we are sure that their own judgment has already condemned them. We call on them to meditate upon this awful sentence of the apostle : " It is impossible for those who were once enlightened, have tasted also the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost ; have, moreover, tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, and are fallen away, to be renewed again to penance ;"† and upon these not less alarming words of Saint Peter : " It had been better for them not to have known the way of justice, than after they have known it to turn back from that holy commandment which was delivered to them."‡ We leave to their own consciences the task of accusing and condemning them. The altar that rejoiced their youth, where they were nourished with the flesh and blood of the Lamb ; the sacred tribunals, witnesses of their tears and contrition ; the stones even of the sanctuary, will one day rise up against their apostasy. The remorse that already is their portion will revive with greater terror at their last moments, and the faith that they have betrayed will accuse them at the tribunal of the Sovereign Judge. Nothing, therefore, remains for us but to pity and to pray for them.

* Rom. c. ix. v. 2.

† Heb. c. vi. v. 4.

‡ 2 Pet. c. ii. v. 21.

TRACT 31.

[PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE CATHOLIC
INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN.]

THE CATHOLIC SCRIPTURIST

OR, THE

Plea of the Roman Catholics.

SHewing

THE SCRIPTURES TO HOLD THE ROMAN FAITH IN ABOVE FORTY
OF THE CHIEF CONTROVERSIES NOW UNDER DEBATE.

BY JOSEPH MUMFORD, PRIEST,

OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

No. 4.

NINTH POINT.—*Of the Sacraments of the Church, and of the Ceremonies which the Church useth in administering these Sacraments, as also on other occasions.*

TENTH POINT.—*Of Baptism, which is the first Sacrament.*

ELEVENTH POINT.—*Of Confirmation.*



[Stereotyped for the Catholic Institute of Great Britain.]

LONDON :

Sold by all Catholic Booksellers, price One Halfpenny; or Two Shillings
and Sixpence per Hundred for gratuitous distribution.

PRINTED BY C. RICHARDS, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, CHANCERY CROSS.

CATHOLIC INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN, 14, SOHO SQUARE, LONDON.

Established July 9, 1838.

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POINT IX.

OF THE SACRAMENTS OF THE CHURCH, & OF THE CEREMONIES WHICH THE CHURCH USETH IN ADMINISTERING THESE SACRAMENTS, AS ALSO IN OTHER OCCASIONS.

1. HAVING treated of the Church, and her chief Pastor, it followeth to treat of the Sacraments of this Church. And because our Church useth several ceremonies in the administration of these sacraments, (and especially in sacrifice of the Mass) as also in other several occasions (a thing much scoffed at by our adversaries) we will here also treat of these ceremonies.

2. First then concerning the sacraments in general, before we come to treat of every particular sacrament, to prevent mistakes, I define a sacrament to be *an outward sign, instituted by Christ, signifying the inward grace which it confers, when duly received.* And here it must be exactly noted, that every such outward sign, or holy ceremony, (by the applying of which, inward grace is infallibly conferred, when it is duly received) must needs be a sign, or ceremony instituted by Christ. For nobody but Christ could annex the infallible gift of inward grace to the applying of such an outward sign.

3. Now if any one will stand contending to prove, that a sacrament is something else, and ought to be defined otherwise; all that I need to say in confutation of him, is, that I will find in Scripture seven such holy signs, or ceremonies, to the due application of which the gift of inward grace is infallibly annexed. And for this reason, I say, that these are either seven true sacraments, or else seven things much better than those which your definition will allow to be sacraments. For by these seven, that divine quality of heavenly grace is conferred; by yours it is not. But before I come to show our seven sacraments in particular, to be such holy signs or ceremonies instituted by Christ (from whom all grace is derived) I will in the second place, treat of the ceremonies of the Church which Protestants are pleased to account foolish, childish, apish, comical, &c.

4. I say then, that the light of reason teaches us in all actions (which we desire to raise above the rank of vulgar actions) to devise some ceremonies to set that action forth in such a manner, that all shall, by the very sight of it, be

cessors did tell the first Christians, that it was so, and together with their first faith they received that doctrine, and they with that faith delivered it to their successors. And thus all believed for some time. But then you must come to some other time, in which some one man began first to teach, that those texts are to be understood literally, as they found, and that one man taught that Christ was really present in the sacrament, and being so, was also to be adored. Now when this one man began this doctrine first (for some one man must have been at first the beginner) it could not but seem new, as being never heard before; it could not but seem suspected of falsity, as being notoriously then contrary to what all true believers in the world believed. It could not but be manifestly accounted of all understanding men to be idolatrous, as teaching that to be adored for God, which all (instructed by the apostles and their successors) taught to be nothing else but bread and wine. It could not but be accounted a doctrine incredible, which must needs teach the great body of a man to be wholly contained in a small quantity of a little piece of bread. And which must needs teach, one and the self-same body to be really present at a thousand several places, and to be eaten there, and yet to be still present here; which also must needs teach, that there should not be bread and wine where our own senses tell us there was nothing else but bread and wine; yea, where (as then) faith itself told them the self-same thing. This being so, I ask this unanswerable question, how could this one man, (who must first begin to broach this new doctrine,) be able to set it forth so plausibly, it being a doctrine so against all reason, all sense, all experience, and all faith of all men, (at that time,) and also a thing so hard to persuade men of piety and of understanding for fear of open idolatry, and plain innovation in religion,—so hard to persuade bad and weak understanding persons, who, for no kind of gain or benefit, were to be made go directly, not only against their ancient faith, but to go flatly against their own understanding and common sense? How could (I say) this one man be able to persuade this strange, new, unprofitable, hard doctrine, not to one town only, or city, or to one country or nation only, but to the whole multitude of Christians, from the rising of the sun even to the going down thereof? And this so, that no one is known to have either by word of mouth, or writing, opposed his doctrine, but all to have so readily, and so peaceably, and so unanimously embraced it; that no kind of mention should be made in any history of the least stop it had, or of the least contradiction made any where against it, or of the least taxing it either of novelty, or of strangeness; yea, no mention is made in any one country (though there be so many countries in Christianity,) when, or where, or by

whom this strange new doctrine was begun. But behold on the sudden all Christianity (for so it was as all learned men know) all Christianity, I say, both in the East and in the West, both amongst those who hold with the Roman Church, and those who stood in defiance of it, either amongst the "Grecians, Georgians, Abyssines, Æthiopians; all, I say again, all of them (who would be called Christians) every where firmly believing, every where professing, and confessing the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament, and falling on their knees to adore him. Is it possible, that in a point so hard as this is, so many, so differing in customs, languages, manners, educations, interests, opinions, and beliefs, so distant from one another in place and affections, in dictamens and practices, should all be found at once, (and no body can tell at what time first) to consent most unanimously? Could so great a thing as this be done upon the persuasion of one man, and done so silently, that no one single writer should be found to record who that onnipotent man was, or by what means he could possibly effect a thing so incredible all Christianity over, without finding any where, amongst good or bad, learned or unlearned, any considerable opposition? This seems to me a thing so incredible, that all you can say against our faith in this point, is nothing so hard to believe as this alone. Wherefore if this cannot be so, as surely it cannot, you must all be forced to confess, that when the faith was first preached by the apostles, and their successors, they did not teach your doctrine concerning this sacrament, but they taught and delivered our doctrine. And then you will soon understand that all the difficulties here mentioned be easy to be answered. For hence you will easily understand, how no other beginning than that of our first Christendom, could be found of this doctrine, because such a doctrine (as this is) found so universally spread over all Christendom, and never recorded to have been accounted new, or to have had any particular author, or opposer, could not possibly have had any other beginning; or if it had, more notice would have been taken of it. But coming in with first Christianity, you cannot wonder to see all Christianity found embracing it. And though it be a doctrine containing so many difficulties, yet being proposed as a part of that Christian doctrine, with all those powerful motives (which first moved all Christians to be Christians) you cannot wonder to see those who received Christianity, to receive also this Christian belief. Whereas if they all had at first received the contrary belief; surely at the first proposing of this known novelty, some body or other, in some one place of Christianity or other, would have opened his mouth and said, "We cannot adore that for God which the whole torrent of antiquity, from Christ to us, hath taught to be bread, as also our senses tell us. Had it been to be

adored, the apostles, and those who were taught by them, would have taught us so, or at least somewhere some body or other would have heard some news of this doctrine before now. But that which you say is too new to be true, it is too contrary to all people's faith, to all practice, to all reason and common sense." Can any man imagine, that in all Christianity there was neither grace nor wit enough to say this? And certainly, at that time, the very saying of this must needs have quite overthrown that new paradox, or at least have withdrawn thousands in all nations from following of it with so great facility. For, against a novelty so notorious and so absurd, so much would have been said, so much would have been written, so much would have been acted in councils, either general, or national, or provincial, that some small mention of all this would have come to notice of posterity, as we see things of a thousand times lesser concernment have done. Even by your own backwardness to believe Transubstantiation, and by your great wondering at us for believing it, and by the many and great difficulties which you still object against us, you may clearly see, how evidently true all that is which I have here so fully set down, because it imports so much.

3. Let us go on now: when (Joh. vi.) Christ said, "I am the bread of life," v. 48, and v. 51. "The bread which I will give you is my flesh, for the life of the world. The Jews therefore strove amongst themselves, saying" (as you Protestants say,) "How can this man give us his flesh to eat? Jesus therefore said unto them; Amen, Amen, I say to you, unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, you shall not have life in you. My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. These things he said, teaching in the Synagogue." And he was so far from declaring himself to speak figuratively, that by all he was conceived so manifestly to mean literally, that many of his disciples, and not only ill-affected persons, hearing, said, "This saying is hard, and who can believe it?" And all this happened, though, even then, he told them, that "the words he spoke to them were spirit and life." Because, as I said, these words ought to have raised up their spirits to believe this flesh of his not to be mere man's flesh, but to be joined with the Divinity, which was able (by virtue of its omnipotency) to give them his flesh to eat like bread, and his blood to drink like wine; yet there being not faith enough for this high point, "from that time many even of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him." v. 67. That you may evidently see, how hard this doctrine would have sounded at first broaching of it in the Church, if Christ had not delivered it, seeing that, at that very time when it came first, even from his mouth, it found so small acceptance even amongst

many of his disciples, "Jesus, therefore, said to the twelve, will you also depart? Peter answered, we believe and know thou art the Son of God;" and so art able by that thy Divinity, to which thy flesh is joined, to give us thy flesh to eat like bread. Now to what end had either this been said, or Christ, the lover of souls, permitted all those *many disciples to go back* to their ruin, and now *to walk no more with him*; to what end this, if he might have saved them all by declaring in a word, that he only intended to give a sign, or figure of his body to eat? This one word would have saved both them, and would also have saved those millions and millions, which afterwards believed these words to be literally meant, as I expounded them; and St. Peter seems to have understood them, when to make them appear credible, he said, "We believe, and know thou art the Son of God;" and consequently that thou canst make good thy word, which had been a very easy matter, if he only spoke of giving his flesh to be eaten in a mere sign or figure of it: had St. Peter thought this, I dare say, he would have pulled the other disciples back, saying, "our Master only speaks of giving a sign of his body." Had this been so, then also undoubtedly the other Evangelists, when they had come to write of this mystery (which had scandalized so many before their writing,) would not have increased the scandal by writing so unanimously of this sacrament, in words sounding so loud a literal sense as these do, "this is my body; this is my blood." But they would rather have lessened the difficulty by declaring it only to be a figure, which they might have done in a word. St. Paul was so far from declaring it to be so, that (1 Cor. xi. 27) he flatly saith, "Therefore whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink the chalice of our Lord unworthily, he shall be guilty of the body and blood of our Lord." Which could not be, unless he received the body and blood truly, and not in a figure only. To eat a paper-picture of Christ makes no such heinous guilt, though it be done by a sinner, and it be also a figure of his body.

4. St. Luke also had been particularly to blame in increasing the scandal by expressing so clearly a literal sense, (chap. xxii. v. 19). "This is my body which is given for you. This cup is the New Testament in my blood, which chalice shall be shed for you." I say, *which chalice*, that is, *that which is contained in the chalice* shall be shed for you. Now wine was not shed for us, but his true blood. His true blood therefore was the thing contained in the chalice. For though by the Latin or English words, we cannot tell whether Christ said, his blood should be shed for them. or the chalice, or cup; yet St. Luke writing in Greek, makes it evident to all (who know that language,) that he said, *the chalice should be shed for us*, for he speaks in the nominative case, by a word

which cannot agree with the blood, which in Greek is the dative. Now thus having proved that Christ literally said, *this is my body*; I have proved also, that *this is not bread: for it is his body*; which is as good a consequence as this, *this is a stone, therefore it is not bread*. Or, *this is not bread, for it is a stone*.

5. Coming now out of Scripture to answer the chief objections, I begin with one which doth afford me a new strong argument. They object then idolatry to us for adoring that which is bread. I answer, that according to Scripture, idolatry cannot be found in the only visible Church of Christ, for Scripture saith clearly of this Church, (Isa. ii. 18.) "And idols shall be utterly abolished." Again, (Ezech. xxxvi. 25.) "And I will pour upon you clean water, &c., and from all your idols will I cleanse you." And in the next chap. v. 23 "Neither shall they defile themselves any more in their idols." Again, (Micha v. 12.) "Thou shalt no more adore the works of thy hands." Again, (Zachar. xiii. 1.) "In that day shall be a fountain lying open to the house of David. And it shall be in that day, saith the Lord of Hosts, I will cast off the names of idols out of the land, and they shall be remembered no more." Hence I argue thus: in the whole visible Church there continued, and doth still continue adoration of the sacrament, but idolatry did not continue in the whole Church visible; therefore adoration of the Holy Sacrament is not idolatry. Moreover, if worshipping this Holy Sacrament were idolatry, all Christianity (for many ages practising this adoration) had committed idolatry, and Christ's Church (for so many ages) had quite failed, as is clear out of the third and fourth points. For Christ had no other Church for many ages, but that which every where practised this idolatry, as you miscall it. Or, tell me if you can, what other visible Church Christ had upon earth different from the Roman in faith and worship, for the thousand years before Luther. If this be the only visible Church Christ had upon earth, then I have proved it could not be guilty of idolatry.

6. Against such a torrent of Scripture as we have for us, you ground yourselves not in the Scripture, but in philosophy, which, tried by Scripture, will be found to fail you in all your objections. First, then you object that an accident cannot be without a substance. We answer out of Gen. i. 3. "God said, be light made, and light was made." Light is a quality or accident. Yet hence St. Basil; St. Greg. Naz., and Theodoret, are of opinion, that light was without any substance at all: for the Scripture specifies no substance in which it was put. Whence follows that at least they must needs think it possible that light should be without a substance. Secondly, you object that the same body of Christ cannot be multiplied so often over. We answer again out of Gen. ii. 21, "Our

Lord God cast a dead sleep upon Adam, and when he was fast asleep he took one of his ribs, and filled up flesh for it. And our Lord God built the rib which he took of Adam into a woman." I ask how many times over must this one rib be multiplied, before a whole woman (of a comely proper stature) could be made up of it? After the same manner God can of one ordinary brick make a pillar of many feet high, by multiplying that one brick. In the like manner our Saviour multiplied those five "barley loaves with which he fed above five thousand." (John vi.) For if he made new loaves, he did not feed them with those five, but with those many hundred new loaves which he made, and yet the Scripture saith, v. 12, 13. "After they were filled, they gathered the remnants and filled twelve baskets with the fragments of the five barley loaves," and not of any new loaves created by Christ: so that the bread which was eaten remained still to be eaten. And it is worth our noting, that our Saviour did this miracle immediately before he did first declare this strange doctrine of giving his flesh to be eaten like bread by every one, that so when he should presently declare this strange doctrine, they should have no reason to disbelieve the possibility thereof. For his disciples seeing that he had done that most prodigious miracle so very lately, ought not presently to have said, "This is hard, and who can bear it?" Neither ought they so soon "to have walked apart from him," as there St. John saith they did, but rather they ought to have said with St. Peter, "We believe and know thou art the Son of God," able to make thy words good, "as thou wert able so to multiply so few loaves."

7. Hence appears a solution of that which also they still object: one body cannot be in two places at once. For if whole Eve were made of one rib of Adam, (as the Scripture testifieth,) surely the whole substance of that one rib must have been in many places, or else Eve would have been a very little woman, or Adam must have had very great ribs. Again our Protestants commonly read thus, (Acts iii. 21) "Whom the Heavens truly must contain" (we read, Receive) "until the time of restitution of all things." Hence they infer, that after Christ's ascension the Heavens at all times must contain his body. Therefore, (say they,) after his ascension his body cannot be on earth. This their own text shall refute them thus. The Heavens must, at all times, after his ascension contain his body. But after his ascension, the earth also did contain his body, therefore his body can be contained in two distant places. And, if in two, why not in three, and more? Make the Scripture judge of this point, and it will clearly cast you; for did not Christ, after his ascension, appear in his true body to St. Paul? (Acts ix.) "Who said, who art thou, Lord? And he answered, I am Jesus," (v. 5, and v. 17.)

Ananias saith to him, "The Lord, even Jesus that appeared unto thee in the way that thou camest." That he appeared in his own true body I prove by evident Scripture; for, by reason of this his apparition, St. Paul numbers himself amongst those who with their own eyes had seen Christ, risen again in his true body. For, labouring to prove Christ's resurrection in a true, and not in a phantastical body, (as some heretics will have it,) he proves it by eye-witnesses, who all must have seen Christ now risen in his true body, or else their testimony is vainly brought to prove a true resurrection of the flesh; he then bringing eye-witnesses, who had seen Christ now risen in his true body, makes himself as true an eye-witness of this as any other. For, thus he speaks, (1 Cor. xv. 4 &c.,) "He rose again, and was seen of Cephas, after that of the eleven. Then he was seen of more than five hundred brethren together: moreover, he was seen of James, then of all the apostles. And lastly of all, he was seen also of me." To wit, in his true body, or else all others may be said to have seen him in a phantastical body; and also because any other manner of seeing him, had been to no purpose to prove the true resurrection of dead bodies, which is here his drift. Where supposing himself (by these eye-witnesses) to have proved this, he presently saith, (v. 12) "How do certain amongst you say that there is no resurrection of the dead?" Yet again, (Acts xxii. 14) "But he (Ananias) said to St. Paul, the God of our Fathers had preordained thee, that thou shouldst know his will, and see that Just One, and hear the voice of his mouth." Therefore he appeared in a true body which had a *voice* and a *mouth* of flesh. But as Christ saith, (Luke xxiv. 39) "A spirit hath no flesh and bones as you see me have." Yet again, (Acts xxiii. 10) St. Paul seeth Christ on earth, for when there was made a great dissention, the tribune "fearing lest Paul should be torn in pieces by them, commanded the soldiers to go down and take him out of the midst of them, and to bring him into the castle. And the night following, the Lord stood by him and said: "be constant, for as thou hast testified of me in Jerusalem, so must thou testify of me at Rome also." Here we have that very Lord of whom St. Paul did testify, *standing by him* in the castle far distant from Heaven, by which is evident in how distant places Christ's body may be. To disprove so many clear texts, give me but one (if you can,) that St. Paul did not see Christ after his ascension, in his true body upon our earth; if you cannot do this, you are cast by Scripture in this point, which proveth that one body can be at the same time in two distant places.

8. Lastly, they object that so great a body as Christ's body is, cannot be in so small a compass as a little bit of bread. We still answer out of Scripture. First, (Matt. xix. 26,)

where speech is of making the great body of a camel pass through a needle's eye, Christ saith, "with men this is impossible." Where note, that Christ here, according to the three Evangelists, speaks of such a passage through a needle's eye, as is *impossible with men*; so that though with men there is no such thing possible as penetration of several parts of the same great camel's body, brought into so small a compass as is a needle's eye, yet not so with God: *with God all things are possible*. Secondly, God can put two different bodies so as to take up only the place of one body; therefore he can put all the parts of one body so, as to take up only the room of the least part, with which he can penetrate all the rest. Thus, (Joh. xx. 19,) "When the doors were shut, where the Disciples were gathered together, for fear of the Jews, Jesus came and stood in the middle." So that, as, at his birth, his body penetrated through his mother's womb, at his resurrection, through the great stone of his monument, and as, at his ascension, he did not make a hole through the body of the Heavens, but his body was penetrated with those heavenly bodies, so here it penetrated through the shut door, or wall; and so two bodies were in one place at once; by which also we prove that one body may as easily, by his power, be in two places at once. Wherefore it is to you, (who against Scripture thus stand still alleging philosophy,) that we must say with St. Paul, (Col. ii. 8) "Beware lest any man deceive you by philosophy and vain fallacy, according to the tradition of men, and the elements of the world, and not according to Christ," against whom you cite Aristotle.

POINT XIII.

OF COMMUNION UNDER ONE KIND.

PROTESTANTS complain we take half of the sacrament from them. We complain they have taken five sacraments from us, and grace from all seven. And as for this sacrament they have taken both the body and blood of our Saviour from it, and left only bread and wine. If we had taken wine away, no great hurt, wine being nothing but wine. To the purpose we have a full, complete, and perfect Sacrament, when we have such an outward sign as signifieth, and containeth invisible grace. The consecrated bread alone doth this; in this therefore we have a full, complete, and perfect Sacrament. Christ speaks this clearly, (Joh. vi. 48,) "I am the bread of life; your fathers did eat manna in the desert, and they died. This is the bread that descendeth from Heaven, that if any

man eat of it he die not. I am the living bread, that came down from Heaven. If any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever." Behold as full an effect of the sacrament as is any where promised to both kinds. And he being living bread, you have all him in it, and so you are deprived of nothing. He gave us his body, not his carcase without blood. In his body we have all, both body and blood. You take both from us; we give both. Agreeable to this, saith St. Paul, (1 Cor. xi. 27,) "Therefore, whosoever shall eat this bread, or drink this chalice of our Lord unworthily, he is guilty of the body and blood of our Lord," which he could not be, if he did not receive both *body and blood*; so that by either *eating or drinking* both are received. Again, (Luke xxiv. 30,) "And it came to pass while he sat at table with them, (the two disciples in *Emmaus*,) he took bread, and blessed, and brake, and did reach to them." Twice Christ with his own hands gave the communion. First, at the last supper under both kinds. Secondly, here at *Emmaus* under one kind only. For many holy Fathers (without ever scrupulizing at the giving only one kind) absolutely say, Christ here gave them the communion. And the text insinuates as much, by the use of those sacramental words, of *taking, blessing, breaking, reaching*, with the ensuing effect of *opening their eyes to know him* to be the same Christ, who at his last supper had done the same action. So that it is the more probable that he did administer the communion under one kind, than that he did not. How then dare you absolutely condemn this? They object, *drink ye all of this*. (Matt. xxvi.) But this command was only given to all then present, and was fulfilled; *and they all drank of it*, (Mark xiv. 23.) So when he commanded, *do this*, he did not command laymen to do what he did. Their other objections are excellently answered by the Scriptures, alledged in the Council of Trent, (Sess. xxi. c. i.) in these notable words, he that saith, "Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, you shall not have life in you;" hath also said, "If any one eat of this bread, he shall live for ever." And he that said, "He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath life everlasting;" hath also said, "The bread which I will give you is my flesh, for the life of the world." He that said, "Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him;" hath likewise said, "He that eateth this bread shall live for ever." What need we more than to live for ever?

TRACT 33

[PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE CATHOLIC
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THE
CATHOLIC SCRIPTURIST
OR, THE
Plea of the Roman Catholics.

SHEWING

THE SCRIPTURES TO HOLD THE ROMAN FAITH IN ABOVE FORTY
OF THE CHIEF CONTROVERSIES NOW UNDER DEBATE.

By JOSEPH MUMFORD, PRIEST,
OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

No. 6.

FOURTEENTH POINT.—*Of the Mass, or of the Holy Eucharist as it
is a Sacrifice.*



[Stereotyped for the Catholic Institute of Great Britain.]

LONDON :

Sold by all Catholic Booksellers, price One Half-penny, or Two Shillings
and Sixpence per Hundred for gratuitous distribution.

PRINTED BY C. RICHARDS, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, CHANCING CROSS.

CATHOLIC INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN

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POINT XV.

OF SAYING MASSES, AND OTHER PUBLIC PRAYERS IN
THE LATIN TONGUE.

1. IN St. Matth. chap. i. v. 17. "All the generations from the transmigration of Babylon unto Christ fourteen generations," a very long time. And yet all this time the Jewish Church (the only true church in the world) had all her scriptures, and all her public service, and prayer (which was all taken out of the Psalms the law, and the prophets) in that very language in which they were written, to wit, in old Hebrew; that is, in a language well known indeed to the common people of the Jews before their transmigration into *Babylon*; but in their captivity at *Babylon* they lost the knowledge of their old Hebrew language (in which all their Scriptures were written) and did not perfectly learn the Chaldean, or Babylonian language; whence they made a mixture of both those languages, which was called the Syriac language. The very letters and characters of this language differ as much as the Greek letters differ from the Latin: so that those who can perfectly read the one, cannot so much as read the other. Neither do they understand one another, more than the Italians can understand Latin, which was their ancient native tongue. The Scriptures were not at this time (but some good time after Christ) translated into Syriac, as your great doctors (who have set forth the Bible of so many languages) do profess in their preface to their Bible. And, by the way, they also (in the same preface) plainly and openly confess, that in no parish in Christendom they could in any of those nations (which they have caused to be searched for old copies) find so much as one ancient service-book written in a language understood by the vulgar or common people of the place. A testimony to their own condemnation and confusion. The knowledge then of the old Hebrew tongue, in which all the Scriptures were written, being so much lost in the captivity of *Babylon*, they had all their Scriptures and public service (which was taken out of the law and the prophets, and Psalms) read in a language unknown to all the common people, and this was done for fourteen generations.

2. Hence presently after their captivity, when they first returned into their country, *Esdra*s was forced by himself and others, to interpret the law for them, (*Nehem.* viii. 13). So when our Saviour upon the cross did, in the old Hebrew words of the Psalm, say as it was first

C. SCRIPTURIST. 7.—34.

written, *Eli Eli Lamasabachani*, (Matth. xxvii. 46), St. Matthew, who did write his Gospel in that new kind of Hebrew or Syriac (which was vulgarly spoken by the Jews in Christ's days), is forced to interpret these words, saying, *which is interpreted, my God, my God why hast thou forsaken me?* For this reason also he interpreted several other Hebrew words. A manifest sign they could not be understood by the Jews (in whose language he did write) without interpretation. And as he who writes English should ridiculously interpret English: so if those words of the Psalm had been written by David in the same language in which St. Matthew did write, it had been ridiculous for him to add their interpretation. Josephus the Jew tells you, what a world of schools there were in *Jerusalem*, for children to learn the law and prophets, they being written in a language otherwise unknown. Well then, as those who have not been now at our Latin schools, understand not our Latin Bible and service: so then, the vulgar sort understood not their Scriptures, nor their common service taken out of them, and read in their Synagogue before their sermons and exhortations, which St. Paul calls, *the lesson of the law and prophets*, (Acts xiii. 5). Neither after the captivity did the vulgar understand the words of "Moses, who of old times hath in every city those who preach him in the Synagogue, where he is read every Sabbath," (Acts xv. 21). Read, I say, but not (as then, understood by the vulgar. This practice was practised before the eyes of Christ and his apostles, and they never did the least reprehend it, or give order to have the Bible turned into the Syriac language, that the vulgar might understand it. Why then must we be blamed for using either Scriptures, or divine service, in a language not understood by the people?

3. Secondly, I ask what you say to that place of Levit. xv. v. 17: "Let no man be in the tabernacle when the high-priest goeth into the sanctuary to pray for himself and his house, and for the whole assembly of Israel, until he come forth." See you not here public prayer made expressly *for the whole assembly*, and yet no one of the assembly permitted to hear, or see, what there was done by the priest, to God for them, even then, when the priest made an atonement for himself, for his household, and for all the congregation of Israel. Again, (Luke i. 10): "All the multitude of the people was praying without at the hour of incense. The priest was doing his duty within (where he could neither be seen nor heard by the people without) yet they assisting at the priest's function, done for them, were not less partakers of the benefit thereof, though they could neither see

him, nor hear him: so prayer made and offered up for the people in a low voice, or in an unknown language, is available to them who know not the particular meaning of the words said for them. It is sufficient when they know they contain a particular praise of God, and a special worship of him, and a peculiar recommending of our necessities unto him. And that they are, as most pious prayers approved by the Church, and recommended by all the learned men thereof, who very well understand them. Now a petition well made, even when it is presented by a petitioner, who understands not the language in which the petition is made, obtains of the king, or emperor (who understands it) as much, as if the petitioner had perfectly understood every word of it. When the children (Matth. xxi. 16) cried in the temple, *Hosanna to the Son of David*; though they knew not what they said, yet Christ called it a *perfect praise*, saying, "that out of the mouth of infants and sucklings thou hast perfected praise." A rich jewel in the hands of an infant, who knows not to penetrate the value of it, doth not, for that cause, cease to be truly of as great value, as when it is in the hands of a jeweller. So Latin prayers in the mouths of the vulgar, be as precious in the sight of God, (when they be said with equal devotion) as when they are in the mouths of great scholars. You, who scorned to use Latin service, soon came to see your *English* service with all scornful contempt banished out of almost all your churches. And your people did soon grow to like no service at all, since they disliked the Latin service.

4. I will now examine our adversaries chief ground in Scripture, which is out of the 1 Corinthians, ch. xiv. Where I would have the reader to note, that until verse 14, St. Paul only speaks of using an unknown language in preaching, exhorting, interpreting, and teaching, in all which exercises we still use the vulgar tongue: so that hitherto he hath nothing against us. From the 14th verse he begins indeed to speak of praying, but not of public Divine service, but of such extempore prayer as is made before all, that all may join with it; and he speaks there, not of the use of any set form of prayer, practised by the Church (as the Liturgy is) but he manifestly speaks only against the use of an unknown and barbarous tongue, in the making of such hymns, and canticles, and prayers, as many then did use to make by Divine inspiration, in the presence of the whole congregation, to edify the brethren assembled; and to excite them to love, to honour, and praise God; not intending chiefly to pray to God for the people, as we do in our Liturgy, of which kind of set form of prayer St. Paul cannot be said to speak. For it is

apparent, that among the *Corinthians* (to whom he wrote) there was no use at all of an unknown or barbarous language in the liturgy, or Divine service; wherefore of this St. Paul could not complain, for their liturgy was undoubtedly in Greek, which was the known language among them; and in which he did write this very epistle to them. Also in which they had their set forms of prayer. Now then St. Paul speaks not at all against the use of an unknown tongue in either the liturgy, or in any other usual set form of public prayer, for there was no abuse at all in that kind, but he only speaks against that use, practised by some in those extempore canticles, prayers and hymns (which then divers used), yet of such kind of prayers also (though made in unknown and barbarous tongues) he saith, v. 14: "If I pray in an unknown tongue, my spirit prayeth," and this great good I have by my prayer, *but my understanding is without fruit*; that is, without the fruit of instruction, or edifying others. A fruit which ought to be sought for by those, to whom God had so particularly given that miraculous gift of speaking in several tongues, purposely that they might excite, and stir up the people of several tongues and nations to the knowledge, praise, honour and love of God; and therefore he addeth, "I will pray in spirit, I will pray also in understanding," that in those prayers I may not deprive the standers-by of that fruit. But you must know that neither the mass, nor the set forms of prayer in our liturgy, are ordained for this end of instructing others. Because for this we have other exercises of catechising, expounding, exhorting, preaching, &c. But chiefly those prayers are appointed to the priest (who well understands them), to offer them up to God for the people. The epistles and gospels, which contain instructions, are interpreted and fully declared to the people in our churches upon those days on which they are bound to assemble, and to resort to mass. The other chief parts of the mass are in all masses the same. And being so often used (and therefore upon occasions so often declared to the people) they must indeed be very *idiots*, if they know not when to say *Amen*, when to kneel, to adore, to knock their breasts, when to arise, when to stand, or to do any thing else that concerns them, or is proper for them to do. Therefore it cannot be said against our mass, what is objected from verse 16: "Else when thou shalt bless with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen, at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understands not what thou sayest." This (as I said) cannot be said of our so well known set form of prayer and service, which we all knowing to be approved by the Church. and to

be understood, and so highly esteemed by our learnedest men, fear not to say *Amen*, or to join our intention with any part of it; neither doth its approbation depend on our *Amen*. I answer therefore that St. Paul spoke of those extemporary blessings, canticles and lauds, or such like inspired prayers of private persons, which he recommends to be said in the vulgar language, yet the contrary is not ill, though it be less perfect. For even to him who doth the contrary it is said, v. 17: *Thou verily givest thanks well*, and not foolishly, or superstitiously: *But the other is not edified*, which fruit and end thou shouldest chiefly have intended, God having to this end given thee this gift. And therefore in such exercises of devotion, "I will speak five words with my understanding rather than ten thousand words in a tongue," that is, a barbarous tongue, strange to the hearers, because the chief end of these exercises is to edify, and excite the people to praise God; whereas the chief end of the liturgy is to pray to God for the people.

5. I also note that St. Paul doth not so much as mean here to exclude the use of such well known tongues as the Greek and Latin were, that is, such as were the languages well known to all the better bred sort of most nations; so that here is nothing against the mass said in Latin through the Latin Churches, or in all those western parts where all knowing and understanding men very commonly know this language. I prove this manifestly: for if St. Paul should call this praying in a tongue (your Bible puts in a different letter, the word *unknown*) so as to make such a tongue as this, unfit for public service in these countries, he himself had notably transgressed in this matter, for he writes to the *Romans* in Greek, knowing well that they spoke Latin only, and that the vulgar knew no other language. Yet he did thus write to them a very large epistle in Greek now divided into sixteen chapters. And although he did write this chiefly for their instruction and edification: Behold this was done even by him, who said before, "I had rather speak five words with my understanding, than my voice might teach others, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue." You must not then call speaking in an *unknown tongue*, the speaking in such languages as are well known to the more learned of those people, to whom you speak. Wherefore you must not say he spoke in a tongue, or an *unknown tongue* to the *Romans*, when he wrote in the Greek tongue to them, though he was not understood by the vulgar of them, but only by the more learned sort. Now then, as he cannot be said to have spoken in an unknown tongue to the *Romans*, when he wrote this epistle to them in Greek, because Greek is not a barbarous tongue, wholly *unknown* to

the better sort : so a *Roman* priest saying mass in Latin in the western parts, doth not say mass, or speak in a tongue that is a tongue wholly unknown to the better sort. Wherefore as the Greek tongue was not judged a tongue unfit for St. Paul writing to the *Romans*, even when their instruction was chiefly to be regarded : so it is not unfit, when not instruction, but making prayer for the people to God, is chiefly intended, as in the mass. Read the *Rhemish* Testament, handling this chapter very well.

6. And observe also, that the service of the Catholic or universal Church, is best celebrated by a Catholic or universal tongue, such as Greek is in the East ; Latin in the West ; tongues, not subject to such alterations and peril of changes, in substantial words, as vulgar languages are, and therefore less fit for the everlasting perpetuity and universality of the Church. If at our conversion we had had our mass in the old British, or old English language, who would now have understood it? Yea, who doth not laugh at all English he reads, which is much above an hundred years standing? It was most unfit the liturgy should be so often chopped and changed, as vulgar languages alter. Or that it should usually be so often turned into several tongues, not understood by the Church representative. So that she could not pass her judgment, whether there were any gross corruptions crept into this most Divine service. Therefore in respect of universality, both of all ages (for which the Church was to last), and of universality of all nations (through which she was to be spread), no language is more fit for her public constant service, than Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. God regarded unity in worship so much, that he would have the whole nation of the Jews (for a thousand and six hundred years) only to sacrifice in one place ; though it might be objected, that this much hindered the many and frequent sacrifices which would otherwise have been offered, if in any place they might sacrifice. To keep unity in religion, it is most rationally ordered, that sacrifice should be celebrated with prayers in one and the same language over one and the same Church. Moreover, it is well known, that a distance from what is ordinary and vulgar, produces respect and reverence. And on the other hand it was found, that public service in *English* was soon vilified and contemned by the vulgar *English*, and at last, with all expressions of contempt and derision, quite exploded, and abolished. Cast pearls before swine, and the Scripture tells you how they will behave themselves towards them.

7. Lastly, shew me but one service-book in all the fifteen hundred years before *Luther* in any one vulgar tongue, which agreeth with your service-book, and for that one book's sake we will all come to your service.

TRACT 35.

[PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE CATHOLIC
INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN.]

DIALOGUES

ON THE

SPIRIT OF THE METHODIST PREACHERS

TOWARDS THE

CATHOLIC RELIGION AND CLERGY,

BY

THE REV. J. A. MASON,

Catholic Priest at Stourbridge, formerly a Methodist Preacher.

No. I



[Stereotyped for the Catholic Institute of Great Britain.]

L O N D O N :

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DIALOGUE I.

On the Spirit of the Methodist Preachers towards the Catholic Religion and Clergy.

Methodist.—Heigh! What Namos! Is it you walking here all alone in dumbly mood, and reverie of some dark Popish superstition, I suppose; for nothing else, I wot, can occupy your musings?

Namos.—Be not so rash and uncharitable, neighbour Methodist, but remember the words of Scripture, which you profess to make your rule of faith and conduct, and which tells you thus: “Judge not before the time; until the Lord come, who will both bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of hearts; and then every man shall have praise from God.” That is, as he deserves it, if I understand the Apostle: the one for avoiding rash judgment, and the other according as his motives are righteous or unrighteous. And this agrees with Mr. Wesley’s comment on these words, who says: “Every faithful steward shall have praise of God.”

Meth.—Ah, ah! Namos! What, quote Scripture? Why we have a pamphlet now in circulation, in which it is said that a Popish priest, not having a Bible in his house, when pressed by a Protestant disputant, went to the library of his college, but could not find one; pray, Namos, how do you know Scripture?

Namos.—This is only one sample of the rest of the gross and wilful lies fabricated by your preachers, and ignorantly (I hope) circulated by you, or your brethren, to bring odium on the Catholic Church; but how such statements can be believed by any rational man, I pretend not to judge; this I know, however, that such statements would do more to lead me to inquire into Catholicity, and embrace it, than to deter me from it. Can you tell me, neighbour, where was the Bible kept before a Methodist or Protestant existed, and when the world was Catholic?

Meth.—The Catholics must then have had the Scriptures; but I suppose it was a dead book, nobody understood it.

Namos.—Indeed! How is it, then, that not only are all our colleges possessed of Bibles in all languages, but of commentaries ancient and modern; and all our theology is founded upon the Scriptures, our priests expound them, and a material part of their education is the regular reading of them, and thoroughly understanding their meaning?

Meth.—I thought you followed tradition as your rule, not the Scripture.

Namos.—There you mistake again. We follow Divine and Apostolical traditions truly, because the truths of Christianity were originally delivered by tradition only, and existed only in that state for many years before the New Testament was written, and many more still before their various parts were collected and formed into a canonical volume. All the ancient churches were founded, and their faith received by tradition; and this ancient traditional faith is received by us as explanatory of the written word; but we hold no mere traditions of men as divine truth, nor any traditions at all that are repugnant to the letter or spirit of the sacred volume; and if you, or any Protestant, can prove that the Catholic Church holds any dogmas repugnant to the ancient faith of the Church, I for one will renounce my religion. Supposing Johanna Southcote had maintained that her trumpery was the true doctrine of Methodism, would you not appeal not only to Mr. Wesley's writings, but also to the ancient faith of Methodism, as taught by the Conference, and believed by the ancient Methodist societies, in proof of the falsehood of her pretensions?

Meth.—I should.

Namos.—Well, then, so do we appeal to the New Testament, and the still more ancient faith of the Church that our doctrines are true, and the novelties of Methodism or Protestantism false.

Meth.—I see that the charge in the tract, that you have no Bibles in your colleges, is false, and no doubt you have commentaries too, but I suspect they are little better than waste paper, except for yourselves; nobody else knows of them, and nobody else prizes them.

Namos.—You acknowledge that the tract is false; take care, then, that you do not believe these tracts, for they are literally stuffed with falsehoods of the most impudent, glaring, and wicked device that ever degraded the writings of men. As to your suppositions that our commentators are neither known nor prized, your own preachers could tell you differently, would they tell the truth. Dr. Adam Clarke made great use of them, and indeed he could not have made his commentary what it was without them; Cornelius a Lapide, Estius, Calmet, and others, were known, prized, and used by him, sometimes with an acknowledgment, and often without one; much of what he has given as his own was filched from Catholic authors, as any one who compares them may see.

Meth.—Calmet? Why I have heard of Calmet; he wrote a Dictionary of the Bible, did he not?

Namos.—To be sure he did, a very excellent and learned work; and also a Commentary on the Holy Scriptures, in nine folio volumes, or twenty-six volumes in quarto, containing most diffuse, profound, and erudite expositions of the sacred text, as also most learned dissertations and prefaces which are a library in themselves. Indeed I may truly say there would have been little sacred learning in the world, had it not been for the divines of the Catholic Church, commonly called Roman Catholic. What would the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge have been, had they not the ancient Catholic libraries in store?

Meth.—Well, I do believe you thus far; but these are the privileges of the learned amongst you, and not of the people at large; the Bible is withheld from yourselves, and you are obliged to depend upon the dicta of your priests for everything.

Namos.—Are not the greater part of your people obliged to depend on your preachers, as men of greater knowledge than themselves?

Meth.—To a certain extent we depend upon them; but we have the Bible and the right of private judgment.

Namos.—Yes, you have the Bible, but how many cannot read it? And if they can read it, how many trust to the supposed better judgment of their preachers in expounding it, or what necessity is there for preachers and commentators among you? You have also private judgment; but what if your judgment is at a fault, do you not then trust to the expositions of your preachers?

Meth.—Certainly we do.

Namos.—And is it not reasonable and just that the illiterate should depend upon the learned divines of the Church for their knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures, especially on abstruse matters?

Meth.—I grant it; but there is sufficient for edification that is plain.

Namos.—Partially so; but is not edification increased by the more luminous expositions of your preachers, even in the more simple truths?

Meth.—It is so, for this is the virtue of preaching.

Namos.—And are not many essential truths wrapped up in language that requires learning to unfold it, guarding the people against error, and leading them into, or confirming them in the faith? Witness the doctrine of the Trinity.

Meth.—I cannot deny it.

Namos.—But you say we are not allowed the Bible.

Meth.—I have read so, and been told so.

Namos.—You can neither rely on what you have read, or been told; you see what a falsehood your pamphlets have palmed upon the ignorance and credulity of the people as regards the existence of the Bible amongst us; and there is no falsehood so great that some among you will not circulate, and do not circulate, for the evil purpose of keeping people from inquiring into the Catholic religion; but if you will come to my house, I will show you a Protestant Bible, and several editions of Catholic Bibles, now in my possession of my own, in various languages; and Testaments in English, French, Latin, Greek, and Italian. I can also point out converts to our religion, who had not a Bible till they became Catholics; and others who had Protestant Bibles and still retain them, and are well-versed in them, but who have added a Catholic Bible to their store, and no one prohibits it, or objects to it, but applauds it.

Meth.—This is quite contrary to all I have heard, and my opinion is quite altered; but it is wonderful that we should be thus imposed upon by men calling themselves ministers of God.

Namos.—Not at all. Do you not remember how a lying spirit filled the prophets of Ahab (or Achab) to deceive him to his destruction? And when Micheas warned him, and prophesied differently, one of them smote

Micheas on the cheek, saying "Hath the spirit of the Lord left me, and spoken to thee?" or as your version has it, "Which way went the spirit of the Lord from me to speak unto thee?" Again, did not Passur (or Pashur) smite Jeremias, the true prophet of God, and put him in the stocks, because he prophesied truth to the house of Israel? Were not all the true prophets of God belied and persecuted? Nay, were not Jesus Christ himself and all his apostles treated even in a worse manner by the Scribes and Pharisees and elders of the Jewish nation? And if it was so in the green tree, will it not be so in the dry? Believe me, or if you will not believe me, believe the testimony of the sacred records, that error will ever be opposed to truth, darkness to light, nature to grace, and the interests of self to the interests of true religion. When you can gather figs from thorns, and grapes from thistles, then you may expect different fruit from your preachers, but not till then. They are interested in maligning and misrepresenting the Catholic religion and clergy, and as long as they are governed by that interest they will act the part of Sedechias to Micheas, the prophet of the Lord. Nevertheless, if you are imposed upon, it is often your own fault, for their falsehoods are often covered with so transparent a veil that he who runs may read them. Open your eyes, my good neighbour; look behind the gauze, and if you do not see the features of the agents and their master your dimness will be as surprising as their impudence.

Meth.—But, how can they think of converting Catholics by such means?

Namos.—This is not the object of the better-informed among them; they are too wise to think of it, at least as regards intelligent and pious Catholics. They know well they shall not get these; they seek to glean up the wilfully-ignorant (for none need be ignorant in the Catholic Church) and the viciously-inclined, who will not obey the precepts, or endure the restraints of our religion. They prowl about the fold to catch the leapers, and about the pasture to seize the headstrong and wayward. But their principal object is to keep you and the people in general from inquiring, by keeping up your prejudices, and preventing your access to the sources of knowledge; they will not enter in themselves, and they that would they hinder, or if in any case they cannot hinder, they will persecute.

Meth.—But in some cases they seem to prove what they assert by referring to the actions of priests, bishops, popes, and decrees of councils.

Namos.—Yes, they delight to lay their scenes at a distance; priests in Ireland, France, Italy, Spain; bishops and popes of by-gone times, or so remote in place that to ascertain the falsehood would be difficult, and to prove the truth of the case impossible or next to impossible. But what is sufficient evidence to you of the general falsehood of such charges is, first, the absurdity of many of them, and secondly, the inability of the accusers to give any sufficient data of them. Have you never heard Catholics ask for names, and places, and dates, on such occasions?

Meth.—Yes, I have.

Namos.—And they have refused, and shewn, by their perturbation and

endeavours to crush the inquirer, that they were unable to substantiate their charge.

Meth.—I have seen this also, and been mortified.

Namos.—Well you might; it proves the whole to be a forgery, either on the spot or a flying forgery, caught up for the purpose of effect on the public mind. But supposing some of these charges true, it would be either an abuse of a rule, or a gratuitous crime against all rule. Now, I ask, is a holy rule to be abandoned because an individual has abused it? Evidently not, or the rule of Methodism that you shall pay a shilling for your ticket each quarter must be abandoned because a preacher has embezzled the money; or the meeting of the classes must be abandoned on the same ground. Judas profaned the sacrament, therefore Christians must have no sacrament. Would this be just?

Meth.—No!

Namos.—Well, then, if among the thousands of priests or bishops one hundred are found to have perverted it, the sin lies at their door; but the rule is no less holy and necessary. If they commit a crime against rule, then religion has nothing to do with it but to condemn it, and rectify the evil as soon as possible. I say, therefore, that supposing the charges true to their full extent, which they never are, but generally misrepresented or false in toto, the truth and necessity of the Catholic religion are not invalidated one single jot. They may talk of a few popes being immoral, so was Judas, and so are some Methodist preachers. They may tell of councils against councils, and they only prove their own ignorance by the charge; for legitimate council never was opposed in matters of doctrine to legitimate council; and matters of discipline have nothing to do with faith, but may change with times and circumstances, which the doctrines of faith never can. On all such charges the true Catholic looks down with indifference and contempt; he asks, What is my religion? And the answer to the question is an answer to all their ravings.

Meth.—But they say your priests sell pardons and indulgences, and that every crime has its price.

Namos.—To be sure! This sounds like truth, does it not? Do you think that the wise and the good of any age would have owned such a Church to be the spouse of Christ, or have ministered in it for a day? To pass over the fathers and lights of antiquity, would a Fenelon, Bossuet, Massillon, Borromeo, Francis de Sales, Baron de Renti, Thomas a Kempis, and thousands of other saints and eminent men for piety and learning, have sullied their names and endangered their salvation by belonging to such a synagogue of Satan? Nay, would any of the emperors and states of Europe have tolerated such a system among their people? The question is sufficient for a thousand such charges. And do you think that they did not know their religion better than ignorant Methodist preachers? And yet this monstrous calumny is hawked about with infinitely less credit to the hawker than penny whistles, trumpets, tape, and cotton balls, by the pedlar of the market and the fair. Of such mighty merchandize Jacob Stanley carries his basket, the least among the little, for he has lately visited my door with only six articles in his stock of

trade, and these the meanest of the sort and worse for wear ; yet, bold as Samson and more boisterous still, he cries with nasal twang, come, buy my wares ! Among these articles were found a pretended license from our Church to murder father, mother, wife, or sister, for ten shillings and sixpence, a less sum by eighteen pence than for burning a house, which is charged twelve shillings. He had nothing to offer for killing brothers, or other relations ; these, perhaps, he had sold before, or lost on his vagrancy. I ask you, neighbour, as a sensible man, is this credible ? Would states have tolerated it, and saints approved it ? You must answer, No ; then whence can we trace these calumnies but to the lying spirit that dwells in the hearts of the children of disobedience.

Meth.—Then are no spiritual benefits sold in your Church for money ?

Namos.—I answer, no ! No more than your paying the clergyman for a funeral, your weekly contribution to your class reader, and shilling at the quarterly visitation of the classes, or your contributions for erecting your chapels, and alms-deeds for their support, can be called purchase and sale of religious blessings. You are bound to honour God with your substance, and God has cast the support of religion upon you, promising heavenly gifts in proportion as you give, according to your ability, of your earthly store. Indeed, “The earth is the Lord’s and the fulness thereof, and the cattle upon a thousand hills are his”—and in giving a portion of it to his worship, you give him back his own as an acknowledgment that the whole is from his bounty, and to draw down a blessing upon yourself and your family. If this is a sale of religion, then God sells religion. The parable of the talents, the widow’s mite, the cup of cold water, the divine and apostolical injunctions, all confirm this truth. There are no such cases of sale amongst us as amongst you ; no one is deprived of church communion and its attendant blessings because they cannot pay ; every appeal is to the religious zeal and pious generosity and gratitude of our people towards God and his cause.

Meth.—But did not Leo the Tenth allow pardons for sin under the name of indulgences ?

Namos.—Certainly not. In the first place, an indulgence is no pardon for sin at all, for no one can gain an indulgence who is not in a state of grace, or a justified state ; it supposes sin already pardoned ; but God pardons sin and yet exacts temporal punishment, as he did in Adam, in David, and as he does in many evident instances among us. The Church knowing this, and to meet the case as much as she could, enacted canonical penances, remnants of which still exist in the Established Church. At times she commuted or changed the canonical penance, or liability to it, for works of mercy, charity, piety, and benevolence, one of which was alms deeds to the poor, or to build and support churches raised to the glory of God, the honour of religion, the salvation of souls. Leo was then building St. Peter’s at Rome, the metropolitan temple of the Christian world. He offered an indulgence to those who contributed towards the pious work according to their ability, agreeably to the apostolic injunction—“To do good and to communicate forget not, for with such sacrifices God’s favour is obtained”—or as your version has it—“With such sa-

crifices God is well pleased." The preaching of this indulgence was to call sinners to repentance, to bring them to a reconciliation with God, and to expound the conditions and advantages of a sincere endeavour to gain the indulgence. I shall probably have to recur to this subject at another conference with you, and therefore I shall only now add that if Tetzels or any other man made an improper use of this indulgence, on his head be the blame, not on the Church, or the pope, of whom historians record piety, virtue, honour and fame. I will now ask a question. If a preacher be called to open a new chapel, and he impresses on his audience the words of Christ—"Give, and it shall be given to you, good measure, pressed down, shaken together." If he point out how acceptable such sacrifices are to God, and beneficial to his children in drawing down his blessings temporal and spiritual upon them. Do you blame him?

Meth.—Never!

Namos.—Why, then, blame the Church for recommending similar sacrifices as acceptable to God, especially when she teaches that an indulgence, not only confers no pardon for sin, since it requires a previous conversion of heart, but that it does not even obtain for us the remission of any part of the punishment due to sin already pardoned, without a sincere desire, manifested by a penitent life, of satisfying the justice of God as much as human infirmity will permit. United to these dispositions, an indulgence, which is nothing more than a commutation of punishment, a diminution of the works of satisfaction, is in perfect accordance with the severest principles of morality.

Meth.—With a proper understanding of an indulgence, I should say
80.

Namos.—And if the pope himself had not observed discretion in the application of a just rule, by granting an indulgence in any particular case without sufficient reason, the Church is not to be blamed, because the Church, in the Council of Trent, Sess. xxv. Decret. de Indul. commands moderation in granting them, and condemns too great facility, lest ecclesiastical discipline should be relaxed, and the means of pardon be abused through a presumptuous confidence. (Bossuet's Exposition.) If the president of your conference acts wrong, in opposition to your principles, do you condemn the whole of Methodism on that account?

Meth.—No! Certainly, I should be unjust indeed to do so.

Namos.—You see, then, how much of malice, misrepresentation, and falsehood there is in your preachers and tracts upon these subjects, and how guarded you ought to be in receiving their testimony.

Meth.—Your remark is just; but I have many other things to say to you, but our time is gone.

Namos.—I shall be happy to meet you on another occasion and discuss every thing with you in the spirit of truth and charity. Adieu.

September 9, 1840.

TRACT 36.

[PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE CATHOLIC
INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN.]

THE
CATHOLIC SCRIPTURIST
OR, THE
Plea of the Roman Catholics.

SHewing

THE SCRIPTURES TO HOLD THE ROMAN FAITH IN ABOVE FORTY
OF THE CHIEF CONTROVERSIES NOW UNDER DEBATE.

By **JOSEPH MUMFORD, PRIEST,**
OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

No. 8.

SIXTEENTH POINT.—*Of the Sacrament of Penance, or Confession.*

SEVENTEENTH POINT.—*Of the Sacrament of Extreme Unction.*

EIGHTEENTH POINT.—*Of the Sacrament of Holy Order.*

NINETEENTH POINT.—*Of the Sacrament of Matrimony.*

TWENTIETH POINT.—*Of the Single Life of Priests.*



[Stereotyped for the Catholic Institute of Great Britain.]

LONDON:

Sold by all Catholic Booksellers, price One Penny, or Five Shillings
per Hundred for gratuitous distribution.

PRINTED BY C. RICHARDS, ST MARTIN'S LANE, CHANCERY CROSS.

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Established July 9, 1838.

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POINT XVI.

OF THE SACRAMENT OF PENANCE, OR CONFESSION.

1. EVEN in the old law some particular confession of particular sins was under precept appointed to the Jews, (Numb. v. 6.) "Speak to the children of Israel; man or woman, when they shall do any of all the sins that are wont to chance to men, and by negligence have transgressed the commandment of their Lord, and have offended, they shall confess their sin. And (if their sin were in point of wronging their neighbour) they shall restore the principal itself, and the fifth part over to him against whom they sinned." Behold confession, behold restitution; and for satisfaction, *the fifth part* over and above to be given. And, besides that, sacrifice to be offered to God, so to repair the dishonour done him.

2. The new law, perfecting the old, confession was elevated by Christ to a sacrament, giving grace, (John xx. 23.) "He said to them, receive the Holy Ghost; whose sins you forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins you retain, they are retained. But Thomas was not with them when Jesus came;" yet no man can deny, that this power was also given to Thomas. Whence appears, that it was not given only to those who then were present, as a grant given merely for their sakes, and to increase their authority; but this grace was given for the sake of all belonging to Christ's flock, of which flock the far greater number lived after the times of the apostles.

3. That this text is literally to be understood (as I have interpreted it) may be demonstratively proved by the same argument by which we proved that text, *this is my body*, to be literally understood, (Point xii. n. 2). For if the apostles, with the first faith did not deliver this literal sense, but only taught this power to end with them, and that no man after their days either had power to forgive sins, or stood obliged to confess them; then you must say, that in some after age, some one man began first (for always one begins at first) to vent abroad these two strange things: *First*, "That all priests had power to forgive sins. *Secondly*, that all Christians, guilty of sin, were bound under pain of damnation, to confess their sins to the priests, though they were ever so foul, or ever so secret." But shall any one man make me believe, that this single man's doctrine, so new and so hard, could presently, without contradiction, grow to be so generally received and practised, not in one, but in all parts of Catholic

Christianity? And that no history should tell us who this man was? where, or when he broached this doctrine? or how he could so bewitch all, that no man should contradict him, or that no one should have grace or wit to say; "If priests had this power; or if all Christians had this strict obligation, surely the apostles and their successors would have made this known, and they would have made both priests and Christians to do their duty in this kind? For their only saying this, would have (then) been enough to have stopped this man's mouth. Neither is the doctrine of confession, or the practice of it so easy to be brought in, that it could possibly be thus silently and speedily entertained, yea, and entertained all the Christian world over, without contradiction or opposition, even so much as in any one single place, for we no where hear of any such contradiction.

4. I know, after confession was every where practised, that the Novatian heretics did oppose it, saying, that "it was a dishonour to God that man should forgive sins." But all Catholics hold this to be an heresy in them. And St. Ambrose saith to them (Luke i. 7): "Why should it be more a dishonour to God, or be more inconvenient, that man should forgive sins by penance, than by baptism, seeing it is the Holy Ghost who in both cases doth it by the ministry of the priests:" So he. In baptism the priest says; *I baptize thee*; that is, *I wash thee*. I ask from what? surely from sin; according to that (Acts xxii. 16.), *Rise up, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins*. I ask again, can your priests or ministers wash sin away? You will answer, that they can administer the sacrament, which washeth sin away, and so they wash away sin, not by their own power, but as ministers of Christ's Sacraments. Just so each priest saith, *I absolve thee*; yet our priests absolve not by their own power, but as ministers of Christ they administer the sacrament of absolution, which cancels all sins. Lastly, I observe, that when Christ did forgive the paralytic his sins, (Matth. ix.) the multitude was so far from saying this was a dishonour to God, that "the multitude glorified God, who gave such power unto men," v. 6.

POINT XVII.

OF THE SACRAMENT OF EXTREME UNCTION.

THE very name of this sacrament has become even unknown to us here in England, who boast so much of the word of God. And yet, according to the word of God, there is not

any sacrament at all, which can be more manifestly proved a true sacrament than this, both in regard of the outward or visible sign, or in regard of the invisible grace. This visible sign is proved evidently by our Saviour, because nobody but he could annex the gift of invisible grace to this visible sign; to which sign most clear Scripture doth testify this grace to be annexed: For so we read, (Jam. v. 14): "Is any man sick among you? Let him bring in the priests of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of our Lord." (Behold the visible outward sign of this sacrament.) And, in the next words, behold the invisible grace annexed thereto: "And if he be in sins, they shall be remitted him." Now (good Protestant) give me leave to ask thee this one question, is there any time in which it more imports a man to have so good a warrant, as God's word is for the remission of his sins, than in the time of his departure out of the world? Behold then here a means to obtain this remission, even at this very time; and this means warranted by the very word of God. And yet without any ground at all, in God's word, you have rejected a thing so important to all Christians, though you found the practice of all Christianity to be conformable to the words as they sound; how doth this stand with your pretence of reforming our errors by the rule of Scripture? You go so flatly contrary to clear Scripture, even in a point of abolishing a sacrament, which was used by all the Catholic Church before your reformation, and having so clear a text for it, and no one single text against it.

2. To take away the force of this text; first, in place of *priests* you are pleased, against all antiquity, to read *elders*, because the Greek word that signifieth *priests*, in vulgar use signifieth *elders*. Now this is as ridiculous, as if one would say, *the bigger of the city*, in place of saying, *the major* (mayor) *of the city*, because the word *major* signifieth the *bigger*; or as if, for the like cause, you would call a *doctor of physic*, a *teacher of physic*, whereas a *doctor* is well known to signify such a degree. As also a *major* (mayor) is notoriously known to signify a secular office, or dignity in a city: so the name put in Greek for a priest, *presbyteros*, is as notoriously known to signify a *priest* endued with a priestly order, office, and function in the Church of God. Whence this name is improperly translated *elder*, when Church affairs are manifestly referred to, as in this instance St. James speaks of some ministry or other, by which sins are forgiven.

3. I know that those who grant, that here is a command (for councils you will have none) to anoint the sick with

true oil, pretend that this was commanded to be done only for obtaining a miraculous cure. A doctrine full of absurdities. The *first* of which is novelty. The *second* is flat contradiction to the text, expressing the chief effect to be sought for (not to be the health of the body, but of the soul), "and if he be in sins, they shall be forgiven him." The *third* absurdity is to say, there was in the Church (for a time) a command to any one sick among us, to seek for a miraculous cure. The *fourth* is to say, that any priest or elder whatsoever, might be called in to work this miraculous cure. Upon what authority of Scripture or history is this said? Give me leave in the last place to ask, if ever you did read or hear, that at the use of any element, which was not sacramental, sins were promised to be forgiven by any one, even of Christ's apostles?

4. Other of your doctors will have this anointing with oil, to be only the oil of devout prayers, or charity. But first, where have you that, at your elders' or priests' prayer? it will follow, that "if the sick man be in sins, they shall be forgiven him." Do you not scoff at priests' forgiving sins, and will you allow a sure warrant, attested by God's own word, that at the priests' prayer, yea, at the elders' the sick man's sins shall be forgiven? Again, this free licence of interpreting *oil* to be prayer or charity, opens a gap to interpret all that is said of applying water in baptism, to be understood only of applying the clear and cleansing streams of heavenly doctrine, teaching them to believe in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, without ever casting water on them. Again, did ever any holy father thus interpret this place of St. James? Shall I, upon your hitherto unheard of interpretation, go and forsake a remedy taught me by the practice of all the Church, and by so clear a text, upon which remedy the forgiveness of my sins at the hour of my death, and consequently my eternal salvation, may depend? God give me my wits, and I will never do it.

POINT XVIII.

OF THE SACRAMENT OF HOLY ORDER.

1. HERE also Scripture teacheth an outward visible sign, to which the giving of inward grace is annexed. 1 Tim. iv. 14: "Neglect not the gift which is in thee." (Here you have the inward grace given.) "With the laying on of the hands of the presbyters." Here you have the outward sign by which

it is given. Again, 2 Tim. i. 6: "I put thee in remembrance, that thou stir up the gift of God which is in thee." Behold the inward grace, "by the putting on of my hands." Behold the outward sign, at the putting on of which, that inward grace was conferred. Note, that though St. Paul were called from Heaven, and had received the true Spirit of God, yet he was ordained by the imposition of hands, Acts xiii. 3.

2. Now I pray you, where have you one text in Scripture to prove Holy Order not to be a sacrament? And so I say of Matrimony, Confirmation, Penance, Extreme Unction.

POINT XIX.

OF THE SACRAMENT OF MATRIMONY.

1. When (Gen. ii. 22) our Lord "had built the rib which he took of Adam into a woman, and brought her to Adam; Adam said, this now is the flesh of my flesh, wherefore man shall leave his father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife, and they shall be one flesh." In the New Testament (Matth. xix. 5: Mar. x. 7) our Saviour repeats those words, and hence infers; "Therefore they are not two, but one flesh. Then of himself he adds, "That therefore which God hath joined together, let no man separate." Now St. Paul repeating part of our Saviour's words here cited, saith, "This is a great mystery" (we read sacrament); "but I speak in Christ, and in the Church." (Eph. v. 31). Although St. Paul applies here the very name of sacrament to Matrimony, (which name is not once in all Scripture applied to any of the other sacraments) yet it is not from hence we infer Matrimony to be a sacrament; for by that word, in this place, we know he only means a mystery; yet a sacramental mystery. But we infer out of his discourse, that this mystery is now elevated by Christ to be a sacrament, because St. Paul cited the words of Christ spoken (as we have seen out of St. Matthew) when he did abrogate the law of Moses (which law permitted, in several cases, husband and wife to be separated), and spoken also when he declared expressly that he would have this contract made hereafter inseparable; saying, "That which God hath joined together, let no man separate." Christ then marrying to his Church for ever, would elevate this chief contract, that is in mankind (which he made from that time to be an inseparable contract), to signify this most sacred mystery, and therefore he saith: "This is a great sacrament or

mystery," so much, and so nearly "concerning Christ and the Church," as St. Paul tells us.

2. We may here note their impiety, who, knowing by St. Paul, that Christ thus inseparably had wedded his Church, do notwithstanding presume to call this his beloved spouse a whore and a harlot, falsely accusing her of superstition and idolatry. But to proceed, marriage being levated by Christ to be a great sacrament, or sacred mystery, and to signify the inseparable conjunction between him and his Church, a signification so far beyond its own nature (which was only to be a civil contract) he made it a fit ceremony, to which now he might annex his grace given, to the parties joined by this sacrament, to observe matrimonial continency. "That every one may know to possess his vessel in sanctification and honour, and not in the passion of lust, as Gentiles." (1 Thess. iv. 4.) They therefore having this grace, given to this end, are thereby enabled more fitly to express in their mutual fidelity and affection, the mutual fidelity and affection which should be for ever between Christ and his Church. This is the proper effect of the grace given in matrimony.

3. By this our doctrine of matrimony, let any impartial man judge whether we or our adversaries honour it more; they having taken this chief honour of being a sacrament from it, which we allow to it, are now come to celebrate it in profane houses, before justices, and this only for civil ends intended by the commonwealth. Neither have they one text of Scripture to prove that their ministers ought always to join others in matrimony.

POINT XX.

OF THE SINGLE LIFE OF PRIESTS.

1. Matrimony being a sacrament, and giving grace, it may seem to some that all should do better to make themselves partakers of this grace. I answer, that the want of this one grace is more than abundantly recompensed by those many great, and often received graces, of which a single life makes us far more capable, as of receiving more frequently and worthily the sacrament of sacraments, the body and blood of our Lord, which priests daily do, with great increase of greater graces; very singular graces also are obtained by prayer, to which chastity doth exceedingly conduce, as Scriptures teach.

2. Let us hear the Scripture (Luke i. 23) : " And it came to pass that after the days of his office were expired, he (Zacharias the priest) departed into his house : and after these days Elizabeth his wife conceived." Hence it appears to be true, which St. Jerome saith, *contra Jovian*, (l. i. c. xix.) and (Ep. l. c. 3), that, even in the old law, the priests, who offered the holy Host for the people, did not so much as stay in their own houses ; but were purified, and so separated, for that time, from their wives. Whence the Scripture saith, " After the days of his office, he departed into his house ; and after those days his wife conceived." Our priests of the new law being to offer daily sacrifice, are daily to observe virginal purity.

3. Again even in married laymen, St. Paul approves abstaining from their wives, " For a time, that they may give themselves to prayer." (1 Cor. vii. 35.) " And this (saith he) I speak to your profit, not to cast a snare upon you, but for that which is comely. And that you may attend upon the Lord without distraction." Priests therefore, who daily should be attending upon our Lord, and praying for themselves and the people, and so often also sacrificing, should daily abstain from woman, as St. Jerome argues, (l. 1, c. xix.) *contra Jovian*.

4. Thirdly : (1 Cor. vii. 32) : " He that is without a wife is careful of the things that pertain to our Lord, how to please God ; but he that is with a wife, is careful of the things that pertain to the world." Priests should still be in a state most capable of being " careful of things that pertain to God, and how to please him." Therefore they should not have wives ; " For he that is with a wife is careful of things that pertain to the world," which priests should not be. But if any men, surely priests, chiefly, should be the men, " who make themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake." (Matth. xix. 12.)

5. Fourthly : " No man being a soldier to God, entangleth himself in the affairs of this life, that they may please him who hath chosen him to be a soldier." (2 Tim. ii. 4.) Of all men, clergymen should take care to please him, who hath chosen them to be soldiers to him, and therefore they, of all men, should not " entangle themselves with secular businesses," and worldly affairs. And yet if they be married, necessity enforceth them to entangle themselves in them above all other married men. For the greater part of other married men have a settled estate left them to leave their children. But the greater part of clergymen live wholly on the benefices which they can get. And being well-bred, and made fit

company for the chief of the parish, they also, and their wives, and their children, look high, and must be highly maintained. To maintain them thus, only by the benefit of a benefice (enjoyable at the furthest during life, and perhaps to be taken away far sooner) there is a kind of necessity for them to make hay apace whilst the sun shines; they not knowing how little while that may be, and knowing that it cannot be long. But let us proceed.

6. Fifthly: "It behoveth therefore a bishop to be the husband of one wife." (1 Tim. iii. 3.) In the first birth of Christianity, virginity was so rare both among Jews and Gentiles, that it was not possible to find men endued therewith, who were both of the sufficient maturity in years, and knowledge, and experience in affairs, that is requisite in bishops and priests. Yet, even then, the apostles would have this at least observed, that no man, who married a second wife, should be made a bishop: no, nor a deacon: and therefore not a priest. And thus this place is understood by the councils, and fathers unanimously. See the Rhemish Testament on this place. But as for marrying after priesthood received, it is a thing wholly unheard of in God's Church. "Neither is there one authentic example thereof in the whole world," as the same Rhemists say. St. Paul adds yet further: "Let the deacons be the husbands of one wife." (v. 12.)

7. Ridiculous is the interpretation of those who say St. Paul would only have such made deacons, priests, bishops, who have but one wife at once. For this is to require no more than he requires of all Christians. If you say, he yet requires of them that they never had at one and the same time more wives than one before their conversion, this is shewed evidently not to express the meaning of these words; for he useth just the same words, and the like expression, when he could have no such meaning. For, (chap. v.) where he speaketh of choosing a widow (for the end there intended) he in like manner saith, "She should be a widow, having been the wife of one man, (v. 9.) How ridiculous is it to say that here (where there is just the same expression) the meaning is, that only such should be chosen to be widows (for the end here appointed) who had had but one husband at one time before her conversion. For neither Jews nor Gentiles did ever permit women to have more husbands than one at once. It had been therefore ridiculous to require that which could not but be.

8. Your chief objection against all this, as also against vowed virginity, is that you conceive St. Paul, (1 Tim. iv. 3): to teach that this is "the doctrine of Devils forbidding to

marry." I answer that St. Paul speaks only against the doctrine of heretics, (cited by the Rhemists here, to which add the Manicheans, and others) who taught that the use of marriage came from a bad God, or Devil. As for us we honour marriage more than you, for we hold it to be a sacrament, which you do not. Neither can you say that we absolutely forbid marriage, because we forbid, or rather declare marriage to be by God forbidden, to those persons only, who cautiously and willingly have either vowed virginity, when they might have married, if they pleased, or who cautiously and willingly (when they might as freely have married) undertook holy orders, to which state they knew none were admitted but such as would voluntarily and freely profess virginity. For the Church now, abounding with very sufficient choice of worthy persons, who will voluntarily make such vows, and undertake freely such a profession, will admit no others to holy orders, because she is taught, (in all the texts I cited in the beginning) that these are the fittest. With us therefore there is no man, or woman, who might not have married if they would. And therefore we cannot be said to forbid marriage, unless you will say that St. Paul did forbid marriage, when he forbid bishops, deacons, and vowed widows to pass to second marriage. This is only to forbid breaking of vows to such as voluntarily would make them, when they might freely have married.

9. Your other objections are foul corruptions of Scripture. The first of them is this (1 Cor. ix. 5):—"Have we not power to lead about a woman, a sister, as also the rest of the apostles, and our Lord's brother, and Cephas?" Here in place of a woman, your Bibles read a wife, making the Holy Ghost restrain the word *Gynaika* to a wife, though it is known that this word is usually put for a woman, whether wife, or not wife. Here the Rhemist Testament shews how antiquity ever expounded this place of leading about such devout women as followed Christ "to minister to him," (Matth. xxvii. 55.) I could thus have maintained myself, saith St. Paul, by partaking of your temporal goods, to whom I give spiritual, goods. But to burthen nobody, I (being a tradesman) have made it my glory to maintain myself by the labour of my own hands. Yea your own Bible but two chapters before translated the self-same Greek word, for such a woman as could not be a wife. (1 Cor. vii. 1.) "It is good for a man not to touch a woman." Translate (if you dare) "It is good for a man not to touch a wife," *Gynaika*.

10. The second corrupt text you object is Heb. xiii. 4. For where we read word for word out of the Greek, "mar-

riage honourable in all," you read, "marriage is honourable in all men," adding the verb *is*, and the noun *men*; yet your best Bibles have not this noun (*men*) and they print this verb (*is*) in a different letter. As also in the former text they did print the word *woman* in the margin. This juggling the vulgar do not perceive. And the Bibles used it to make them take for the true text, that which is but their interpretation of it. But if a man would presume to add a verb, which should come as near as may be, to the mind of the apostle, then he should put the verb in the imperative mood thus, "Let marriage be honourable in all." For St. Paul uses this mood in the first verse, "let brotherly love continue;" and in the second, "Be not unmindful," &c.; and in the third verse, "Remember them in bonds. The fourth verse being the one we speak of, should be likewise expressed by a verb in that mood, especially seeing he still goes on in that mood in the fifth verse, "Let your conversation be without covetousness. The apostle's sense then seems clearly to be, "Let marriage be honourable in all:" that is, let no man dishonour his marriage-bed with either unfaithfulness to his spouse, or with unnatural or brutish lust; and so his next words very fitly are, "For God will judge fornicators and adulterers." But your Bible by a double imposture makes a quite different sense. The first is to put the verb in the indicative mood, "Marriage is honourable:" and because this alone helped not much, you used a second imposture in the words following, which in Greek are *en pasi*, in Latin, *in omnibus*. And in both languages all scholars see that there is doubt whether this should signify in all men, (taking the adjective in the masculine gender), or in all things, taking it in the neuter gender. Our Bibles leave it as they find it in all. But your Bible undertakes absolutely to determine the sense of the Holy Ghost, and makes him say roundly, "Marriage is honourable among all men." Thus your Bible. (Anno 1577.) Yea, "*Inter quosvis*," saith Beza, (1565,) that is, "Marriage is honourable among any kind of persons." Out of which new Scripture the people easily infer, marriage is honourable among those who have received holy orders, or have made vows of virginity: and the text being thus stretched they might add, "Among brothers and sisters, father and daughter." But we shall (in the next point, No. 5) shew how flatly this consequence is contrary to St. Paul, who plainly denounceth damnation to such as have married after they had vowed chastity. Your objection is sufficiently answered by having showed a double corruption in the text alleged, as many of you do allege it.

TRACT 37.

[PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE CATHOLIC
INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN.]

DIALOGUES.

THE
SPIRIT OF THE NEW BIRTH
EXEMPLIFIED IN
METHODIST PREACHERS

TOWARDS THE
CATHOLIC RELIGION AND CLERGY,

BY
THE REV. J. A. MASON,
Catholic Priest at Stourbridge, formerly a Methodist Preacher.

No. II.



[Stereotyped for the Catholic Institute of Great Britain.]

L O N D O N :

Sold by all Catholic Booksellers, price One Halfpenny ; or Two Shillings
and Sixpence per Hundred for gratuitous distribution.

DIALOGUE II.

The Spirit of the New Birth, exemplified in Methodist Preachers

Meth.—Well met, neighbour : since our last meeting, I have had several conversations with our people, and they all tell me, that you Catholics are a poor, ignorant, priest-ridden people : that you know nothing of justification by faith ; nothing of the new birth ; nothing of the witness of the Spirit bearing testimony with your spirit that you are born of God ; in short, you know nothing of the scripture way of salvation by the blood of sprinkling ; your whole religion consists in reciting creeds and forms of prayer, like parrots ; acting Latin masses in splendid robes, and ceremonies, like the actors of a pantomime ; you make the pope your God ; saints your mediators ; images your idols ; priests your law-givers ; cruelty your piety ; wickedness your business ; and purgatory your hell.

Namos.—These are serious charges, indeed ; and, if true, we may well be a by-word of reproach, not only among Christians, but among the heathen themselves. But do you really believe them to be true ?

Meth.—I should be sorry to attribute these principles to you ; for you have too much good sense to embrace them in theory, or reduce them to practice. You have lived many years amongst us, and we have seen nothing to justify such an opinion of you.

Namos.—Let us have no equivocation, and, above all, no flattery. Do you believe that these are the principles of the Catholic church ?

Meth.—I do not attach them so much to the Catholics of England, for they are a more reasonable people, and there are many honourable exceptions, even among them, one of which I deem you to be ; but on the continent they are known to be very superstitious.

Namos.—I thank you not for your distinction in my regard, nor will any good English Catholic thank you for it in their's. In reference to these charges, the English Catholics are no better, in any sense, than their brethren throughout the world ; we will not have your gratuitous exceptions in our favour, for our religion is the same in all places ; and for myself I will say, I wish that I was half as good as thousands on the continent whom you call superstitious. To cut off every plea for exception, therefore, I will put the question in a more definite form : Do you believe that such are the principles of the Roman Catholic religion ?

Meth.—With a reserved observation, which I shall probably make by-and-by, and with this remark, that I have little personal acquaintance with your religion, but depend upon what I hear about it ; I should say I do believe it ; for all our preachers tell us so ; and good men will not lie, nor make such charges without absolute proof of their truth.

Namos.—You say rightly, that good men will not lie, nor make charges without proof ; and therefore out of your own mouth your preachers are condemned ; for they make charges in the face of the clearest evidence to the contrary. Do you not remember the exclamation you were obliged to utter respecting your preachers in our last dialogue ?

Meth.—I do ; but I am loath to condemn them ; they are men born again of the Spirit of God ; men of prayer ; men called of God to preach the gospel, and going about doing good ; men justified by faith, and who

either have acquired full sanctification, or are pressing forward after it; such men will not lie, or assert such things without evidence.

Namos.—How do you know that they are such men as you take them to be?

Meth.—We know it by their own testimony; by the spirituality of their prayers and preaching; by their experience of the things of God, declared in the meeting of the classes and the love-feasts; and, finally, by the agreement of their feelings with our own, with the scripture, and other servants of God living and dead.

Namos.—I shall not discuss your feelings at present, neither do I mean to assert that all your preachers will forge lies of Catholics; but many of them will not stick at doing so, and others blindly and servilely circulate them as truths, to their own disgrace and our injury, and that in the face of the clearest evidence to the contrary, if they would examine it with impartial minds; and if they will not, it is not our fault but theirs. Even Mr. Wesley, in his sermons and other writings, whenever he speaks upon our Church grossly misrepresents and distorts its principles, and that in the face of evidence which he ought to have known, and must have known, to the contrary. He could praise a De Renti, a Kempis, and other eminent men of our religion, and yet depict that religion as the sink of iniquity. And your preachers not only tread in his steps, but they excel him in bold and reckless defamation.

Meth.—I do not think that he or they would willingly and knowingly defame you; they may hear and read things of your Church that are false, and retail them as true, and if they are deceived it is their misfortune, not their crime.

Namos.—Suppose a serious charge in circulation against you personally. Would not a conscientious man examine its source, whether it came from an interested or disinterested person—a friend or an enemy; and weigh its probability or improbability? Would he not listen with pleasure to any explanations you could give, and gladly seize upon any thing that could justify or extenuate your conduct, before joining in the outcry?

Meth.—I think, nay, I am sure, he would be very careful to act with justice, truth, and charity in such a matter.

Namos.—We must go farther than this; if he have the Spirit of Christ and be born again of God, and consequently have the love of God poured into his heart by the Holy Ghost given to him, does not the Apostle say, this charity thinketh no evil; rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth; that it is patient, kind, envieth not, dealeth not perversely; believeth all things, *i. e.* on the most favourable side; hopeth all things, even when there is some cause for fear; and that if we love God, we shall love all men, enemies as well as friends, for God's sake? Now will such a man forge charges against you; or solicit reports that he may emblazon them on his banner, in order to raise a spirit of hatred and persecution against you?

Meth.—One that has the Spirit of Christ will not do these things.

Namos.—And “if any man have not the Spirit of Christ he is none of his.” To whom then does he belong?

Meth.—Our preachers tell us, he belongs to the devil.

Namos.—And yet such is the conduct of your preachers towards us; collecting the vilest trash, the most loathsome tales to circulate them as

anecdotes of our conduct. And for what purpose is all this done? Evidently to excite hatred in the public mind against us as a people. In vain do you say they may think what they say to be true. They have abundant means of information at hand of rectifying any errors, but they will not use them; therefore the falsehood is not their misfortune, but their crime.

Meth.—What means have they of detecting the falsehood?

Namos.—I have told you already. First, the total inconsistency and absurdity of many of the charges, which require a man to abjure common sense before he can believe them. Such as one lately circulated of a priest sitting at a table in the church and making clothed frogs leap across it, telling the people they were souls from purgatory. Such also is your charge that we believe the pope to be God; and another which I named in the last dialogue, told, if not forged on the spot, of a priest having a man murdered that his heart might be offered in sacrifice. Secondly, they have access to both laity and clergy, of whom they might inquire; and books that would instruct them if they wished it.

Meth.—They say you are not to be believed on your oaths, much less on your bare assertion, when your religion is in question.

Namos.—Now is not this very strange, and evidently false and absurd? What was it that kept Catholics so long from all offices in the state, but their respect for an oath? If they did not think an oath binding before God and man, why did they scruple to take an oath? And why were Protestants willing that we should take them? They were always ready to offer an oath, and receive our pledges. And why, above all, should a Catholic be more ready to lie when his religion is in question than at other times? If he will perjure himself for religion, he will be sure to do it in matters of less consequence. If that which has the strongest hold upon his conscience, as being most sacred, cannot restrain him, most assuredly nothing else can. But the books to which I referred as a means of information respecting our doctrines and morality were not made for Protestants, but Catholics, both adults, children, and neophytes,—I mean our catechism, and books of instruction and devotion. Surely it is our interest to teach them true Catholic principles, that we may make them sound Catholics. Will you say we are not to be believed, then?

Meth.—Ah! Here comes the reserved point. I should be sorry to say you would deceive your own people as to your doctrines, though I have heard it said; but I think you have books for various stages, and do not let persons into your religion all at once.

Namos.—Do you think we wish to form our people into sound backbone Catholics?

Meth.—Of course, it is your interest so to do, for rotten members will benefit no Church; but you may teach them your doctrines, without making them acquainted with all your impositions and principles of persecution, and back scenes of iniquity; when I say you may do this, I mean your priests, who are said to hide these things behind the curtain.

Namos.—If these principles and back scenes exist, our priests as a body must be inwardly corrupt, must they not?

Meth.—Certainly.

Namos.—And inward corruption must manifest itself outwardly, for a corrupt fountain must send forth impure streams. Now where do you find these wicked priests? It is not only vain, but desperately wicked, in you to

talk in this manner, unless you can bring proof of your assertions, and that not of one only, for a single priest may fall, as well as other men, but proof of the body being immoral:—did iniquity ever exist long in back scenes, without coming forth boldly in front? Was a man ever diseased within, without outward and visible signs of it being soon manifested? I now demand these outward and visible signs of the wickedness of our clergy.

Meth.—I have none to give; I depend upon hearsay, but I confess I have known several priests who seemed good men.

Namos.—Would it not be more charitable and just in you to take these for evidence rather than hearsay report? This hearsay knowledge is the bane of truth and peace. But I have something more to say—this supposed iniquity is either a part of our religion or it is not; if it is a part, then these principles must be taught to our people, as part of their religion, and to prepare them for the scenes they will witness, or the priests and their religion would be abandoned, and Catholicity undone. Do not bad men initiate their disciples into their vices?

Meth.—They do.

Namos.—If it be no part of the Catholic religion, then that religion is not responsible for the vices of any man whether priest or layman. But where do you suppose that our priests could hide these vicious principles?

Meth.—It is said, in Latin and Greek books which the laity cannot read.

Namos.—Not read? Why thousands of Catholic laity in this country, as in all others, are educated men, and can read Latin and Greek as well as the clergy.

Meth.—But the books containing these principles are kept from them.

Namos.—Our libraries are open, our booksellers' shops, at home and abroad, are full of all sorts of Catholic works; and a large collection of theological and other books was lately sold by public auction, not far from this place, to which the Protestant clergy and laity were invited by advertisement. Besides this, the charge is at variance with other charges, such as the one often made that our priests "compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and when they have gained him, they make him tenfold more a child of hell than themselves." This does not look much like keeping their iniquity to themselves; on the contrary, if it prove any thing, it is that they make the laity worse than themselves; consequently, as I have been taught by a priest, I must be a worse villain than the priest who taught me. Are you fond of this conclusion?

Meth.—Not at all, I have never seen or heard of any act of villany in you; nor have Catholics as a body in this country so many bad men among them, I do believe, as are to be seen among Protestants. I know many who, in all the moral and social duties of life, are as praiseworthy as any men. This made me think when our preachers held up the Catholic religion and priesthood in such horrible colours, that Catholics were better than their religion, and that the priests hid the worst parts of it from them. And yet I have often heard the words of Christ to the Pharisees, just quoted by you, applied to the Catholic people, and I have thought it strange that with almost the same breath we should charge Catholics with being worse than their priests, and yet say that the priests hide the worst parts from them, and they are better than they; neither could I reconcile it with the character of the Catholics I knew, so that I

seemed in a maze of contradictions—and these contradictions have often produced a most anomalous feeling in my mind—I have seen many a Catholic whom I could one moment press to my bosom, and the next cast him from me as a serpent; the one feeling he merited as a man, the other was produced by the thought that he was a Catholic.

Namos.—I am not at all surprised at these feelings, nor at your being puzzled; thousands of Methodists must be equally so with yourself; but I am glad you now see these contradictions. I grant that many professed Catholics are bad men, and it is possible that here and there a priest may not be what he ought to be; but I aver of all such, that it is in opposition to their religion, and from the same carnal mind that governs many Protestants; but their religion is holy, just, and true; and no Catholic is half so good at all times as his religion dictates. I will now ask a question or two connected with this subject: 1st. How can a man be better than his religion? religion is the standard of a man's morals; and this standard is so high that the best of men have a difficulty in living up to it, while most men live far below it. The perfection of the Catholic is in embodying his religion in his disposition and actions, and by these you may know how far he is guided by his religion.

Meth.—Your reasoning is sound, and I begin to see that we have rested too much on what our preachers told us, without due examination.

Namos.—My next special question is: Can those men be born of God, renewed after the image of Him who is righteousness and truth, and does the spirit of truth and charity dwell in them? St. John says, "He that is born of God loveth God, and if he love God, he will love his brother also; and if any man say he loveth God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar, and the truth is not in him." Our Lord says, "The whole of the commandments is contained in this word, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbour as thyself." Now if we love our neighbour we shall not judge rashly of him, not malign him, but judge righteous judgment, and never speak to his injury, but from necessity and perfect knowledge, and always in truth and soberness. This question is similar to one propounded before, and must be answered in the same way; that men who violate truth, honour, honesty, and charity towards Catholics, whether priests or laity, are not born again, nor can the spirit of Christ dwell in them; the whole is a figment of the fancy and an awful deception.

Meth.—But they say they have charity towards Catholics, but not towards their religion.

Namos.—And do they not manifest an uncharitable spirit towards the Catholic people, and depress and persecute them where their influence extends? Every Catholic convert finds this spirit to his sorrow. They cry up the right of private judgment, and free interpretation of the Bible, but if a man happens to find the Catholic religion there, he is condemned and contumeliously treated. Again, as I have before said, What is the object of their constant declamations, but to render the Catholic people odious to the world? Does the spirit of Christ allow a Christian to be uncharitable towards another person's religion?

Meth.—It allows and requires that we expose the defects, errors, and dangers of a false religion.

Namos.—Yes, certainly. But do not charity, justice, and truth require also that we examine diligently, carefully, and at the proper sources,

viz. the teachers of that religion, and know what they believe and what they do not, before we judge of its truth or falsehood? Ought we not to have clear conclusive evidence of guilt before we condemn? Nay, ought we not to have an infallible standard of truth and rule of faith, so as to give absolute certainty to the judgment that we do not mistake error for truth and truth for error? And must not we, in order to this certainty, have an infallible interpreter when needed? for a rule being infallible, truth in itself is not sufficient if it is liable to be misunderstood. Now the Bible, though it contains infallible truth, is liable to conflicting interpretations, as is proved by the various sects around us, and neither Methodists nor any other Protestants allow of any infallible interpreter; consequently they cannot have the necessary certainty that any system of doctrine among Protestants is free from error; and therefore they of all people are bound to exercise charity towards every form of the Christian religion, and consequently towards the Catholic religion. Now, I ask, can any of these questions be affirmed of the Methodist preachers? Do they examine diligently, carefully, and at the proper sources? Will they ask, or will they take our expositions of our own faith? And do they come to judgment upon our doctrines with that diffidence in their own fallibility and fear of mistake which should ever attend their decisions?

Meth.—Certainly not. They own themselves liable to err, and yet they arraign and condemn your religion as if they were infallible as God himself; and I must acknowledge that they take their own assertions for facts, without care whether your belief and practice be such or not.

Namos.—There are many other reasons which require people to pause before they condemn the Catholic religion: 1. Its antiquity. 2. Its apostolical origin and great extent. 3. The great numbers of wise, learned, and good men who have adorned it from age to age. Lastly, the consideration that there is much of science about our religion, of which it is often said, that although there are places where the lamb may wade, there are others where the elephant may swim; and therefore every mind is not qualified to judge upon our religion, for all men are not elephants in this sense; and for men like your preachers to emulate them is ridiculous. Would you make a cowherd a judge of paintings, or a plough-boy of precious stones?

Meth.—Certainly not.

Namos.—Would you yourself attempt to act Terence or Shakspeare, or give lectures in anatomy, physiology, geology, or any other science, without being qualified by a competent master?

Meth.—I should be very presumptuous to do so; but I think the simile is wanting in parity.

Namos.—Not much, my friend; for the ignorance of your preachers regarding the Catholic religion is as great as their want of charity, truth, and delicacy, in its condemnation. This is proved as much by the tracts in circulation as by the charges with which you began our present conversation. I have now shown to you that religion ought to be approached with caution and deference, handled with delicacy, and judged with charity and truth; and that your preachers violate all these rules of just judgment, and form a hideous caricature of our religion, which they expose instead of the true likeness, in order that they may excite bitterness, contentions, revilings, persecutions, and every other bad passion against us

"speaking evil," as St. Jude says, "of that which they know not." Nor do I think that they are capable of duly appreciating our religion so much as the cowherd the masterpiece of an eminent painter, or the plough-boy a casket of precious stones, for these will discern some beauty and value in them; but the same may be said of our religion in their regard as the prophet said of its Author, "It is a root out of a dry ground, there is no form or comeliness in it, and when they see it there is no beauty that they should desire it. It is despised and rejected of men, they hide their faces from it; it is condemned and not esteemed." Yet to those whose eyes God has opened, "it is blackened indeed, but beautiful and comely, all fair, and there is no spot or wrinkle in it."

Meth.—But does not the Scripture say of God's people, "They shall all be taught of the Lord;" and that "He giveth wisdom to little ones?"

Namos.—Yes, to little ones, to the humble, docile, and simple-hearted. To the lovers of truth and the honest and diligent inquirers after it. These and all God's people are taught of him; but how are they taught?

Meth.—By his Spirit within them.

Namos.—Yes, but the Spirit of God always acts in unison with the true ministers of God, and manifests itself by congenial fruits. Were not the Jewish people taught of God by the Prophets? Were not the first Christians taught by the Apostles and those who lawfully succeeded them?

Meth.—Certainly.

Namos.—You see then that the Spirit of God worketh with, and by, their ministry, and it is thus that God's people are all taught of the Lord. But I ask, are your preachers taught of the Lord to hate and calumniate the Catholic religion, its clergy and people? Is this the Spirit of Christ? Are these the fruits of the New Birth? Then let me retain the old birth. And indeed there is something significant in this; for their birth is a "new" one; unknown to the Scriptures, unknown to Christianity, unknown even to natural virtues; if there be any thing old in it, the Apostle has expressed it in these words: "Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these: enmities, contentions, wraths, strifes, dissension, sects, and such like, of which I foretell you as I have foretold you, that they who do such things shall not inherit the Kingdom of God."

Meth.—You have left out idolatry.

Namos.—Because it only exists in charges against us, and not in fact amongst us; but the above qualities of the old man are manifest daily among your tract-framers and speech-makers; and their spirit is shown to be the very quintessence of all that is flesh in man, or spirit in the fallen angels. Tell me, neighbour, as an honest man: can these dispositions be of God?

Meth.—I must say, they cannot.

Namos.—Can the men, in whom they are found, be born of the Spirit of God, and have his testimony that they have passed from death to life?

Meth.—They cannot; they must have deceived themselves, and taken the workings of fancy for the Spirit of God: but I should like to have the charges with which I started answered, and know something more of your religion.

Namos.—Your wishes shall be granted on a future occasion: at present our time is gone. Adieu.

TRACT 38.

[PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE CATHOLIC
INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN.]

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CONVERSION OF AN AMERICAN FAMILY;

BY

THE RIGHT REV. DR. HUGHES,

BISHOP OF BASILEOPOLIS, AND COADJUTOR OF NEW YORK.

From the "ANNALS OF THE PROPAGATION OF THE FAITH."



[Stereotyped for the Catholic Institute of Great Britain.]

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Sold by all Catholic Booksellers, price One Halfpenny ; or Two Shillings
and Sixpence per Hundred for gratuitous distribution.

PRINTED BY J. L. COX & SONS, 75, GREAT QUEEN STREET, LINCOLN'S-INN FIELDS

CATHOLIC INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN, 14, SOHO SQUARE, LONDON.

Established July 9, 1838.

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AN ACCOUNT
OF THE
CONVERSION OF AN AMERICAN FAMILY,
&c.

THE following narrative has been addressed to the central committee of Paris, by Mgr. Hughes, Bishop of Basileopolis, and Coadjutor of New York:—

“ Among the instances of conversions from Protestantism, there have been some of persons eminent by their position in society, and distinguished by their talents. There is one case, in particular, within my knowledge, the circumstances of which cannot but edify those pious and devout souls, who are associated in your truly Catholic and holy work. In the interior of the diocese of New York, in Onondago county, there is a little congregation, composed entirely of converts from Protestantism. It consists of eighteen souls, already received into the church, and two, who as Catechumens, are preparing for baptism. Nearly all are members, or immediate relatives of the principal family; and when the first conversion took place, the nearest priest was at a distance of sixty miles. Even at present they have no priest nearer than eighteen miles. The head of this family is a farmer of large wealth and property; a man of good education, and strong understanding, who has been a representative of the county in the legislature. From himself and his excellent lady, I had the account of their conversion, which I shall give as nearly as possible in their own words. But *written* words can convey no idea of the expression of spiritual joy and peace of soul which beamed on their countenances whilst they related it.

“ One evening in the spring of 1836, a pedlar was passing along the road in front of their house. The road, as usual in

spring, was deep ; and his horse, in dragging the waggon through the mud, broke some of the harness, and he could not proceed. Colonel D—, the farmer referred to, seeing the situation of the poor man from his window, came out and ordered his men to assist in extricating the waggon. As it was near night, he invited the pedlar to stay at his house till morning, when he might proceed on his journey. After supper, the farmer entered into conversation with his guest, and the time passed agreeably until the hour for retiring approached ; when, all at once, it occurred to Madame D—, that perhaps the pedlar was a Catholic ; and the idea of having a Catholic to sleep under her roof, frightened her very much. She spoke to her husband ; for, believing, as she had been taught, that Catholics were idolaters, and capable of every crime, she thought it sinful, as well as dangerous, to harbour one of them in her house. Her husband made the inquiry, and found that the poor man was really a Catholic—but it was too late to send him away.

“ Colonel D—, who had found his guest very sensible and modest in conversation, thought it a pity that so apparently honest a man should be involved in the supposed errors of our faith ; for, although he did not partake in the alarm of his wife (who had probably never seen a Catholic before), still this much he was at least convinced of, that no man of common sense could believe in what he imagined to be the absurdities of our doctrine. Pitying the man, and yet curious to hear what answer he would give, Colonel D— began to expostulate with him, and express his surprise that he should believe in the doctrines of the Church of Rome. The traveller answered with great modesty and prudence. He said that he was a firm Catholic, but unqualified, for want of education, to defend or explain his doctrine. He concluded by saying, that if Colonel D— *knew* what the Catholic faith was he would have a better opinion of it.

“ Next morning the pedlar, in returning thanks for the kindness and hospitality he had received, observed that he had a book, which he would be happy to leave, and which might induce Colonel D— to think better of the Catholic Church. To this the Colonel agreed, and invited the pedlar to call at the house when he should have occasion to pass that way again.

“ The gentleman began to read his book, the first Catholic work he had ever seen on the subject of religion, and as he advanced he was struck and surprised at the unexpected strength of the arguments from Scripture, from reason, and the early fathers, in favour of the Catholic faith. Passages that struck him as particularly forcible, he would read aloud to his wife. At first, she thought it a sin to listen, but as her husband thought otherwise, her scruples on that point soon gave way, and she be-

came so interested in the subject, that she soon ventured to read the book herself. In this way they continued for several months, until the pedlar returned. They asked him if he had any more books on the same subject, and fortunately he was able to supply them. Colonel D— obtained from him a list of all the Catholic works on the subject that could be procured in New York, and wrote to have them forwarded. Hitherto he and his family were the most steady, and among the most influential members of the Presbyterian Church; but the perusal of these books produced a singular and painful effect on his mind with regard to the whole Protestant system. He had been sincere as a Protestant, and now his confidence in Protestantism was shaken. The idea which began to predominate in his mind was that Protestantism could not be the Church, nor could its ministers be the true ministers of Jesus Christ. This idea was at first rather a doubt than a conviction of his mind. He thought it his duty to consult his minister, but the effect was rather to increase than remove his doubt. He required some proof to satisfy him that Protestantism was the *Church*, and that the ministers were not mere laymen, void of all ministerial character. He found that all the answer he could get was only evasive of the question, and mere sophistry. The minister, however, placed in his hands a work of his own on the Apocalypse of St. John, intending to prove that the Pope is Anti-Christ, and that the Church of Rome is apostate and idolatrous. This, the minister told him, would remove all his doubts.

“ It so happened that, the very day on which this took place, the pedlar called again at the house. Colonel D— told him what the minister had said, and showed him the book which had been placed in his hands as a key to the Apocalypse. The pedlar requested him to lay it aside until he could present him with another on the same subject, by a Catholic author, and then to read them both together. This was agreed to. The book here referred to is a work written about the middle of last century, by an English bishop, Dr. Walmsley, under the title of ‘*Pastorini*.’ It is not such a work as an enlightened director would place in the hands of a Protestant who is seeking for Catholic truth. Like all works written on the Apocalypse, it necessarily abounds with much speculation. But, in the present instance, it would seem as if the zeal of the poor man was under the guidance of wisdom from above, for what was Colonel D—’s astonishment when, reading and comparing these two books on the same subject, he discovered that whatever was remarkable for a spirit of faith and piety in the work of his minister *had been copied line for line and word for word from ‘Pastorini!’* and what was not copied consisted of denunciations and calumnies against the Catholics,

and which he knew to be nothing but calumnies. He pointed out this circumstance to his wife, and though as yet they had not made up their minds to embrace the Catholic faith, still, all these together had utterly destroyed their faith in Protestantism.

"In the mean time the Colonel ceased to attend their worship. He who had been a deacon, the principal support of the church, not only absented himself from the communion and public worship, but lost no opportunity of proving to his neighbours, that neither the true church nor the true ministry of Christ is with the Protestants of any denomination. The people were confounded—for being a man of superior mind and education, they were unable to reply to what he said; and being also a man of known probity, his opinions had great weight. He sought all opportunities also to prove the same to the ministers, but they avoided him, apprehending, no doubt, what would be the consequence if they did otherwise.

"In order to allay the doubt which his remarks were exciting among the people, the ministers and elders deemed it wisest to charge him with heresy, and have him and his wife tried before an ecclesiastical court, for having denied the doctrines of the sect. They ordered the process, however, in such a way, that he should not have the opportunity of speaking in his own defence. It must have been an affecting sight to behold these persons, in the same congregation in which they had worshipped God from their childhood, arraigned by the ministers whom they had been attached to; surrounded by neighbours and friends whom they loved, and on their trial for the testimony which they had borne against the errors of their former religion, and in favour of truth. As yet they had never seen a Catholic, except the poor man to whom they had given hospitality during the night. The residence of the nearest priest was sixty miles, or twenty leagues distant. However, they felt, as they told me, an inward calm and peace of mind, which they could not account for. The trial commenced with Mrs. D—; she was asked specifically her belief on such and such points of doctrine, to each of which she made reply. At length, to the great astonishment of all (and even of herself when she thought of it afterwards), she stood up in the midst of the congregation and said: 'My belief, my whole belief, is in whatever the Roman Catholic Church teaches. All, whatever *that* Church teaches, I believe firmly; all whatever that Church condemns, I disbelieve and reject. Now this is my faith, and I bid you farewell.' She and her husband immediately retired from the church, and returned to their home, leaving the poor ministers at a loss what to do.

"From this time they continued to instruct themselves further in the principles of the Catholic doctrine, by means of the books

which had been purchased and obtained from the city. They lent out these books to such of their neighbours as would read them, and one after another they entered on the same course of examination by which they had been guided to the knowledge of the truth. These formed associations of prayer, and especially the prayers for mass on Sundays—and continued in this way from the period of their quitting the church at the trial in September 1836, until the Christmas following, when Colonel D— and his wife took their private carriage, and in the coldest weather, and over roads that were almost impassable, travelled to Utica, where the nearest priest was stationed, in order to be at mass on Christmas morning, and to receive their new birth in the waters of baptism on the nativity of our Redeemer. They also engaged the clergyman to visit them for the purpose of baptizing the others, who desired it with equal ardour. The sister and brother-in-law of Mrs. D—, their two daughters and son, and others of their neighbours, followed the example, and embraced the faith, until at the period of my visit in July last they were in all sixteen who had abjured Protestantism and been received in the communion of the church.

“They have now a church and priest within eighteen miles, where they attend mass on Sundays, whenever it is possible. But, besides this, Colonel D— has fitted up a private chapel in his house, separated from the parlour by folding doors, and the priest visits them to say mass and administer the sacraments occasionally on a week-day. There they have their altar adorned and decorated in the richest manner that the resources of the country would allow. Silver candlesticks, a very neat ivory crucifix, white fine linen, and beautiful fresh flowers at the foot of a small picture of the blessed Virgin, constituted its decorations when I had the happiness of paying this excellent family a short visit last summer. Evening and morning the family, and on Sundays and festivals, when they cannot go to mass, the whole little flock assemble before this altar, and unite in the prayers and devotions of our holy religion: but when the priest comes, their joy is complete. Colonel D— throws his rooms open, and invites all his Protestant neighbours to attend, ‘and,’ said he, ‘in spite of their prejudices, they are forced to acknowledge themselves struck with a feeling of awe, in witnessing even the *outward ceremonial of the holy sacrifice*, and the profound attention of those who assist at, and believe in it.’

“I had but a few hours to spend with them, the journey, going and returning on the same day, having been thirty-six miles. I hardly spoke—I listened in silence, and with secret emotion, wishing my own heart to share in all the *feelings* of faith and joy which I saw abounding in theirs. I was reminded of the first

Christians—they appeared and spoke as persons who, by a special grace of God, had been put unexpectedly in possession of the heavenly treasure, and who were still in the freshness of their joy and gratitude. This was particularly observable when they contrasted the emptiness of their former worship with that of the real presence of Christ in the holy Eucharist—the sacrifice and communion of the Christian altar.

“Colonel D— told me that for the first year after he renounced Protestantism and embraced the Catholic faith, his neighbours and former friends became estranged and shunned him. So much so, that he had almost determined at one time to sell his plantations, and remove into some neighbourhood where he should not be exposed to such painful treatment. ‘But,’ he added, ‘latterly they were more reconciled, our intercourse is more free and general. Instead of being driven away by their prejudices against the Catholic faith, I have thought it rather my duty to stay and try to remove those prejudices.’ ‘For,’ continued he, ‘they are ignorant, not only respecting the Catholic, but also respecting their own religion; and such is my opinion of the integrity of many of them, that I have no doubt, but if their ignorance could be removed, they would themselves return to the religion from which our forefathers separated without any just cause.’”

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